

APOLLODORUS

THE LIBRARY

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
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IN TWO VOLUMES

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YASUNOBU OSAKI

TO
MY OLD TEACHER AND FRIEND
HENRY JACKSON, O.M.

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ERRATA.

VOL. I.

P. 73 *For* "Thestius" *read* "Agrius."

VOL. II.

P. 54. *For* "later version" *read* "earlier version."

INTRODUCTION

I.—THE AUTHOR AND HIS BOOK.

NOTHING is positively known, and little can be conjectured with any degree of probability, concerning the author of the *Library*. Writing in the ninth century of our era the patriarch Photius calls him Apollodorus the Grammarian,¹ and in the manuscripts of his book he is described as Apollodorus the Athenian, Grammarian. Hence we may conclude that Photius and the copyists identified our author with the eminent Athenian grammarian of that name, who flourished about 140 B.C. and wrote a number of learned works, now lost, including an elaborate treatise *On the Gods* in twenty-four books, and a poetical, or at all events versified, *Chronicle* in four books.² But in modern times good reasons have been given for rejecting this identification,³

¹ Photius, *Bibliotheca*, p. 142a, 37 sq., ed. Bekker.

² W. Christ, *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur* (Nördlingen, 1889), pp. 455 sqq.; Schwartz, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, i. 2855 sqq. The fragments of Apollodorus are collected in C. Müller's *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, i. 428 sqq.

³ This was first fully done by Professor C. Robert in his learned and able dissertation *De Apollodori Bibliotheca* (Berlin, 1873). In what follows I accept in the main his arguments and conclusions.

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and the attribution of the *Library* to the Athenian grammarian is now generally abandoned. For the treatise *On the Gods* appears, from the surviving fragments and references, to have differed entirely in scope and method from the existing *Library*. The aim of the author of the book *On the Gods* seems to have been to explain the nature of the deities on rationalistic principles, resolving them either into personified powers of nature¹ or into dead men and women,² and in his dissections of the divine nature he appears to have operated freely with the very flexible instrument of etymology. Nothing could well be further from the spirit and method of the mythographer, who in the *Library* has given us a convenient summary of the traditional Greek mythology without making the smallest attempt either to explain or to criticize it. And apart from this general dissimilarity between the works of the grammarian and of the mythographer, it is possible from the surviving fragments of Apollodorus the Grammarian to point to many discrepancies and contradictions in detail.³

Another argument against the identification of the mythographer with the grammarian is that the author of the *Library* quotes the chronicler Castor;⁴

¹ Joannes Lydus, *De Mensibus*, iv. 27; *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, iv. 649.

² Athenagoras, *Supplicatio pro Christianis*, 28, p. 150, ed. Otto; *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, i. 431, frag. 12.

³ See C. Robert, *De Apollodori Bibliotheca*, pp. 12 *sqq.*

⁴ Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, ii. 1. 3.

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for this Castor is supposed to be a contemporary of Cicero and the author of a history which he brought down to the year 61 B.C.¹ If the chronicler's date is thus correctly fixed, and our author really quoted him, it follows that the *Library* is not a work of the Athenian grammarian Apollodorus, since it cannot have been composed earlier than about the middle of the first century B.C. But there seems to be no good ground for disputing either the date of the chronicler or the genuineness of our author's reference to him; hence we may take it as fairly certain that the middle of the first century B.C. is the earliest possible date that can be assigned to the composition of the *Library*.

Further than this we cannot go with any reasonable certainty in attempting to date the work. The author gives no account of himself and never refers to contemporary events: indeed the latest occurrences recorded by him are the death of Ulysses and the return of the Heraclids. Even Rome and the Romans are not once mentioned or alluded to by him. For all he says about them, he might have lived before Romulus and Remus had built the future capital of the world on the Seven Hills.

¹ Suidas, *s.v.* Κάστωρ; Strabo, xii. 5. 3, p. 568; W. Christ, *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*, p. 430. He married the daughter of King Deiotarus, whom Cicero defended in his speech *Pro rege Deiotaro*, but he was murdered, together with his wife, by his royal father-in-law. Among his writings, enumerated by Suidas, was a work *Χρονικὰ ἀγνοήματα*.

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And his silence on this head is all the more remarkable because the course of his work would naturally have led him more than once to touch on Roman legends. Thus he describes how Hercules traversed Italy with the cattle of Geryon from Liguria in the north to Rhegium in the south, and how from Rhegium he crossed the straits to Sicily.¹ Yet in this narrative he does not so much as mention Rome and Latium, far less tell the story of the hero's famous adventures in the eternal city. Again, after relating the capture and sack of Troy he devotes some space to describing the dispersal of the heroes and their settlement in many widely separated countries, including Italy and Sicily. But while he mentions the coming of Philoctetes to Campania,² and apparently recounted in some detail his wars and settlement in Southern Italy,³ he does not refer to the arrival of Aeneas in Latium, though he had told the familiar stories, so dear to Roman antiquaries, of that hero's birth from Aphrodite⁴ and his escape from Troy with his father Anchises on his back.⁵ From this remarkable silence we can hardly draw any other inference than that the writer was either unaware of the existence of Rome or deliberately resolved to ignore it. He

¹ The *Library*, ii. 5. 10. ² *Epitome*, vi. 15.

³ *Epitome*, vi. 15b. It is to be noted, however, that this passage is not found in our manuscripts of Apollodorus but has been conjecturally restored to his text from the *Scholia on Lycophron* of Tzetzes.

⁴ The *Library*, iii. 12. 2. ⁵ *Epitome*, iii. 21.

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cannot have been unaware of it if he wrote, as is now generally believed, under the Roman Empire. It remains to suppose that, living with the evidence of Roman power all around him, and familiar as he must have been with the claims which the Romans set up to Trojan descent,¹ he carefully abstained from noticing these claims, though the mention of them was naturally invited by the scope and tenor of his work. It must be confessed that such an obstinate refusal to recognize the masters of the world is somewhat puzzling, and that it presents a serious difficulty to the now prevalent view that the author was a citizen of the Roman empire. On the other hand it would be intelligible enough if he wrote in some quiet corner of the Greek world at a time when Rome was still a purely Italian power, when rumours of her wars had hardly begun to trickle across the Adriatic, and when Roman sails had not yet shown themselves in the Aegean.

As Apollodorus ignored his contemporaries, so apparently was he ignored by them and by posterity for many generations. The first known writer to quote him is Photius in the ninth century A.D., and the next are John and Isaac Tzetzes, the learned Byzantine grammarians of the twelfth century, who made much use of his book and often cite him by

¹ Juvenal repeatedly speaks of the old Roman nobility as *Troiugenaë* (i. 100, viii. 181, xi. 95); and the same term is used by Silius Italicus (*Punic.* xiv. 117, xvi. 658) as equivalent to Romans.

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name.¹ Our author is named and quoted by scholiasts on Homer,² Sophocles,³ and Euripides.⁴ Further, many passages of his work have been interpolated, though without the mention of their author's name, in the collection of proverbs which Zenobius composed in the time of Hadrian.⁵ But as we do not know when the scholiasts and the interpolator lived, their quotations furnish us with no clue for dating the *Library*.

Thus, so far as the external evidence goes, our author may have written at any time between the middle of the first century B.C. and the beginning of the ninth century A.D. When we turn to the internal evidence furnished by his language, which is the only remaining test open to us, we shall be disposed to place his book much nearer to the earlier than to the later of these dates. For his Greek style, apart from a few inaccuracies or solecisms, is fairly correct and such as might not discredit a writer of the first or second century of our era. Even turns or phrases, which at first sight strike the reader as undoubted symptoms of a late or degenerate Greek, may occasionally be defended by the example of earlier writers. For example, he

¹ See e.g. Tzetzes, *Scholia on Lycophron*, 178, 355, 440, 1327; *id.*, *Chiliades*, i. 557.

² Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* i. 42, 126, 195; ii. 103, 494.

³ Scholiast on Sophocles, *Antigone*, 981, ταῦτα δ' ἱστορεῖ Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τῇ Βιβλιοθήκῃ.

⁴ Scholiast on Euripides, *Alcestis*, 1.

⁵ As to the date of Zenobius, see Suidas, s.v. Ζηνόβιος.

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once uses the phrase *ταῖς ἀληθείαις* in the sense of "in very truth."¹ Unquestionably this use of the plural is common enough in late writers,² but it is not unknown in earlier writers, such as Polybius,³ Alcidas,⁴ and even Isocrates.⁵ It occurs in some verses on the unity of God, which are attributed to Sophocles, but which appear to be undoubtedly spurious.⁶ More conclusive evidence of a late date is furnished by our author's use of the subjunctive with *ἵνα*, where more correct writers would have employed the infinitive;⁷ and by his occasional employment of rare words or words used in an unusual sense.⁸ But such blemishes are comparatively rare. On the whole we may say that the style of Apollodorus is generally pure and always clear,

¹ ii. 7. 7.

² For examples see Babrius, lxxv. 19, with Rutherford's note; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 522; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* ix. 557; Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, ii. 178, iv. 815. ³ Polybius, x. 40. 5, ed. Dindorf.

⁴ Alcidas, *Odysseus*, 13, p. 179 in Blass's edition of Antiphon. However the genuineness of the *Odysseus* is much disputed. See Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, i. 1536.

⁵ Isocrates, xv. 283, vol. ii. p. 168, ed. Benseler.

⁶ *The Fragments of Sophocles*, edited by A. C. Pearson (Cambridge, 1917), vol. iii. p. 172, frag. 1126, with Jebb's note, p. 174.

⁷ i. 4. 2, *συνθεμένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἵνα . . . διαθῆ*: i. 9. 15, *ἤτήσατο παρὰ μοιρῶν ἵνα . . . ἀπολυθῆ*: iii. 12. 6, *ποιησαμένου εὐχὰς Ἡρακλέους ἵνα αὐτῷ παῖς γένηται*: *Építome*, v. 17, *δόξαν δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἵνα αὐτὸν ἐάσωσι*.

⁸ For example *ἐκτροχάζειν*, "to run out" (ii. 7. 3), *προσανέχειν*, "to favour" (ii. 8. 4). For more instances see C. Robert, *De Apollodori Bibliotheca*, pp. 42 sqq.

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simple, and unaffected, except in the very rare instances where he spangles his plain prose with a tag from one of his poetical sources.¹ But with all his simplicity and directness he is not an elegant writer. In particular the accumulation of participles, to which he is partial, loads and clogs the march of his sentences.

From a consideration of his style, and of all the other evidence, Professor C. Robert inclines to conclude that the author of the *Library* was a contemporary of Hadrian and lived in the earlier part of the first century A.D.² Another modern scholar, W. Christ, even suggested so late a date for the composition of the work as the reign of Alexander Severus in the third century A.D.³ To me it seems that we cannot safely say more than that the *Library* was probably written at some time in either the first or the second century of our era. Whether the author's name was really Apollodorus, or whether that name was foisted on him by the error or fraud of scribes, who mistook him or desired to palm him off on the public for the famous Athenian grammarian, we have no means of deciding. Nor, apart from the description of him by the copyists as "Apollodorus the Athenian," have

¹ See for example his description of the Cretan labyrinth as *οἶκημα καμπαῖς πολυπλόκοις πλανῶν τὴν ἐξοδὸν* (iii. 1. 3, compare iii. 15. 8); and his description of Typhon breathing fire, *πολλὴν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ στόματος πυρὸς ἐξέβρασε ζάλην* (i. 6. 3).

² C. Robert, *De Apollodori Bibliotheca*, pp. 40 sq.

³ W. Christ, *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*, p. 571.

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we any clue to the land of his birth. He himself is silent on that as on every other topic concerning himself. But from some exceedingly slight indications Professor C. Robert conjectures that he was indeed an Athenian.¹

4) Turning now from the author to his book, we may describe the *Library* as a plain unvarnished summary of Greek myths and heroic legends, as these were recorded in literature; for the writer makes no claim to draw on oral tradition, nor is there the least evidence or probability that he did so: it may be taken as certain that he derived all his information from books alone. But he used excellent authorities and followed them faithfully, reporting, but seldom or never attempting to explain or reconcile, their discrepancies and contradictions.² Hence his book possesses documentary value as an accurate record of what the Greeks in general believed about the origin and early history of the world and of their race. The very defects of the writer are in a sense advantages which he possessed for the execution of the work he had taken in hand. He was neither a philosopher nor a rhetorician, and therefore lay under no temptation either to recast his materials under the influence of theory or to embellish them

¹ C. Robert, *De Apollodori Bibliotheca*, pp. 34 sq. Amongst these indications is the author's acquaintance with the "sea of Erechtheus" and the sacred olive-tree on the Acropolis of Athens. See Apollodorus, iii. 14. 1.

² This is recognized by Professor C. Robert, *De Apollodori Bibliotheca*, p. 54.

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for the sake of literary effect. He was a common man, who accepted the traditions of his country in their plain literal sense, apparently without any doubt or misgiving. Only twice, among the many discrepant or contradictory views which he reports without wincing, does he venture to express a preference for one over the other. The apples of the Hesperides, he says, were not, as some people supposed, in Libya but in the far north, in the land of the Hyperboreans; but of the existence of the wondrous fruit, and of the hundred-headed dragon which guarded them, he seemingly entertained no manner of doubt.¹ Again, he tells us that in the famous dispute between Poseidon and Athena for the possession of Attica, the judges whom Zeus appointed to adjudicate on the case were not, as some people said, Cecrops and Cranaus, nor yet Erysichthon, but the twelve gods in person.²

How closely Apollodorus followed his authorities may be seen by a comparison of his narratives with the extant originals from which he drew them, such as the *Oedipus Tyrannus* of Sophocles,³ the *Alcestis*⁴ and *Medea*⁵ of Euripides, the *Odyssey*,⁶ and above all the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius.⁷ The

¹ Apollodorus, ii. 5. 11.

² Apollodorus, iii. 14. 1.

³ Apollodorus, iii. 3. 5. 7 *sqq.*

⁴ Apollodorus, i. 9. 15.

⁵ Apollodorus, i. 9. 28.

⁶ Apollodorus, *Epitome*, vii.

⁷ Apollodorus, ii. 9. 16-26. However, Apollodorus allowed himself occasionally to depart from the authority of Apollonius, for example, in regard to the death of Apsyrtus. See i. 19. 24 with the note; and for other variations, see C. Robert, *De Apollodori Bibliotheca*, pp. 80 *sqq.*

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fidelity with which he reproduced or summarized the accounts of writers whose works are accessible to us inspires us with confidence in accepting his statements concerning others whose writings are lost. Among these, perhaps, the most important was Pherecydes of Leros, who lived at Athens in the first half of the fifth century B.C. and composed a long prose work on Greek myth and legend, which more than any other would seem to have served as the model and foundation for the *Library* of Apollodorus. It is unfortunate that the writings of Pherecydes have perished, for, if we may judge of them by the few fragments which survive, they appear to have been a treasure-house of Greek mythical and legendary lore, set forth with that air of simplicity and sincerity which charm us in Herodotus. The ground which he covered, and the method which he pursued in cultivating it, coincided to a large extent with those of our author. Thus he treated of the theogony, of the war of the gods and the giants, of Prometheus, of Hercules, of the Argive and the Cretan sagas, of the voyage of the Argo, and of the tribal or family legends of Arcadia, Laconia, and Attica; and like Apollodorus he seems to have paid great attention to genealogies.¹ Apollodorus often cites his opinion, and we cannot doubt that he owed much to the writings of his

¹ See W. Christ, *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur* p. 249; *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, ed. C. Müller, i. 70 sqq.

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learned predecessor.¹ Other lost writers whom our author cites, and from whose works he derived materials for his book, are the early Boeotian genealogist Acusilaus, who seems to have lived about 500 B.C., and Asclepiades of Tragilus, a pupil of Isocrates, in the fourth century B.C., who composed a treatise on the themes of Greek tragedies.²

Compiled faithfully, if uncritically, from the best literary sources open to him, the *Library* of Apollodorus presents us with a history of the world, as it was conceived by the Greeks, from the dark beginning down to a time when the mists of fable began to lift and to disclose the real actors on the scene. In other words, Apollodorus conducts us from the purely mythical ages, which lie far beyond the reach of human memory, down to the borderland of history. For I see no reason to doubt that many, perhaps most, of the legendary persons recorded by him were not fabulous beings, but men of flesh and blood, the memory of whose fortunes and family relationships survived in oral

¹ As to the obligations of Apollodorus to Pherecydes, see C. Robert, *De Apollodori Bibliotheca*, pp. 66 *sqq.*

² For the fragments of Acusilaus and Asclepiades, see *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, ed. C. Müller, i. 101 *sqq.*, iii. 301 *sqq.* Another passage of Acusilaus, with which Apollodorus would seem to have been acquainted, has lately been discovered in an Egyptian papyrus. See *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Part XIII, edited by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt (London, 1919), p. 133; and my note on Apollodorus, *Epitome*, i. 22, vol. ii. p. 151. As to the obligations of Apollodorus to Acusilaus and Asclepiades, see C. Robert, *De Apollodori Bibliotheca*, pp. 68 *sqq.*, 72 *sqq.*

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tradition until they were embalmed in Greek literature. It is true that in his book, as in legend generally, the real and the fabulous elements blend so intimately with each other that it is often difficult or impossible to distinguish them. For example, while it seems tolerably certain that the tradition of the return of the Heraclids to Peloponnese is substantially correct, their ancestor Hercules a few generations earlier looms still so dim through the fog of fable and romance that we can hardly say whether any part of his gigantic figure is solid, in other words, whether the stories told of him refer to a real man at all or only to a creature of fairyland.¹

¹ In favour of the view that Hercules was a man of flesh and blood, a native of Thebes, might be cited the annual sacrifice and funeral games celebrated by the Thebans at one of the gates of the city in honour of the children of Hercules (Pindar, *Isthm.* iv. 61 (104) *sqq.*, with the Scholiast); the statement of Herodotus (v. 59) that he had seen in the sanctuary of the Ismenian Apollo at Thebes a tripod bearing an inscription in "Cadmean letters" which set forth that the tripod had been dedicated by Amphitryon, the human father of Hercules; and again the statement of Plutarch (*De genio Socratis*, 5; compare *id. Lysander*, 28) that the grave of Alcmena, mother of Hercules, at Haliartus had been opened by the Spartans and found to contain a small bronze armlet, two jars with petrified earth, and an inscription in strange and very ancient characters on a bronze tablet, which Agesilaus sent to the king of Egypt to be read by the priests, because the form of the inscription was supposed to be Egyptian. The kernel round which the Theban saga of Hercules gathered may perhaps have been the delivery of Thebes from the yoke of the Minyans of Orchomenus; for according to tradition Thebes formerly paid tribute to that ancient and once powerful people, and it was Hercules who not only freed his people from that badge of servitude, but

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Again, though the record of the old wars of Thebes and Troy is embellished or defaced by many mythical episodes and incidents, we need not scruple to believe that its broad outlines are true, and that the principal heroes and heroines of the Theban and Trojan legends were real and not mythical beings.

Of late years it has been supposed that the heroes and heroines of Greek legend are "faded gods," that is, purely imaginary beings, who have been first exalted to the dignity of deities, and then degraded to a rank not much above that of common humanity. So far as I can judge, this theory is actually an inversion

gained so decisive a victory over the enemy that he reversed the relations between the two cities by imposing a heavy tribute on Orchomenus. There is nothing impossible or even improbable in the tradition as recorded by Apollodorus (ii. 4. 11). Viewed in this light, the delivery of the Thebans from the Orchomenians resembles the delivery of the Israelites from the Philistines, and Hercules may well have been the Greek counterpart of Samson, whose historical existence has been similarly dimmed by fable. Again, the story that after the battle Hercules committed a murder and went to serve Eurystheus as an exile at Tiryns (Apollodorus, ii. 4. 12) tallies perfectly with the usage of what is called the heroic age of Greece. The work of Apollodorus contains many instances of banishment and servitude imposed as a penalty on homicides. The most famous example is the period of servitude which the great god Apollo himself had to undergo as an expiation for his slaughter of the Cyclopes. (See Apollodorus, iii. 10. 4.) A homicide had regularly to submit to a ceremony of purification before he was free to associate with his fellows, and apparently the ceremony was always performed by a foreigner in a country other than that in which the crime had been committed. This of itself entailed at least temporary banishment on the homicide. (See Index, *s. vv.* "Exile" and "Purification.")

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of the truth. Instead of the heroes being gods on the downward road to humanity, they are men on the upward road to divinity; in other words, they are men of flesh and blood, about whom after their death fancy spun her glittering cobwebs till their real humanity was hardly recognizable, and they partook more and more of the character of deities. When we consider the divine or semi-divine honours paid in historical times to men like Miltiades,¹ Brasidas,² Sophocles,³ Dion,⁴ Aratus,⁵ and Philopoemen,⁶ whose real existence is incontestable, it seems impossible to deny that the tendency to deify ordinary mortals was an

¹ Herodotus, vi. 38.

² Thucydides, v. 11.

³ *Etymologicum Magnum*, s.v. Δεξιων, p. 256. 6; Istrus, quoted in a life of Sophocles, *Vitarum Scriptores Graeci Minores*, ed. A. Westermann (Brunswick, 1845), p. 131; *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, ed. C. Müller, i. 425. The poet was worshipped under the title of Dexion, and "the sanctuary of Dexion" is mentioned in an Athenian inscription of the fourth century B.C. See Ch. Michel, *Recueil d'Inscriptions Grecques* (Brussels, 1920), No. 966, pp. 761 sq.; G. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*³, No. 1096 (vol. iii. pp. 247 sq.). Compare P. Foucart, *Le culte des Héros chez les Grecs* (Paris, 1918), pp. 121 sqq. (from the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, tome xlii.). In this valuable memoir the veteran French scholar has treated of the worship of heroes among the Greeks with equal judgment and learning. With his treatment of the subject and his general conclusions I am happy to find myself in agreement.

⁴ Diodorus Siculus, xvi. 20.

⁵ Polybius, viii. 14; Plutarch, *Aratus*, 53; Pausanias, ii. 8. 1, ii. 9. 4 and 6.

⁶ Diodorus Siculus, xxix. 18, ed. L. Dindorf; Livy, xxxix. 50. Heroic or divine honours are not mentioned by Plutarch in his impressive description of the funeral of Philopoemen (*Philopoemen*, 21); but he says that the Messenian prisoners were stoned to death at the tomb.

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operative principle in ancient Greek religion, and that the seeds of divinity which it sowed were probably still more prolific in earlier and less enlightened ages ; for it appears to be a law of theological evolution that the number of deities in existence at any moment varies inversely with the state of knowledge of the period, multiplying or dwindling as the boundaries of ignorance advance or recede. Even in the historical age of Greece the ranks of the celestial hierarchy were sometimes recruited, not by the slow process of individual canonization, as we may call it, but by a levy in mass ; as when all the gallant men who died for the freedom of Greece at Marathon and Plataea received the first step of promotion on the heavenly ladder by being accorded heroic honours, which they enjoyed down to the second century of our era.¹

Yet it would be an error to suppose that all Greek heroes and heroines had once been live men and women. Many of them were doubtless purely

¹ As to the heroic honours accorded to the dead at Marathon, see Pausanias, i. 32. 4 ; *Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum*, ii. No. 471. Remains of the sacrifices offered to the dead soldiers have come to light at Marathon in modern times. See my commentary on Pausanias, vol. ii. 433 *sq.* As to the heroic honours enjoyed by the dead at Plataea, see Thucydides, iii. 58 ; Plutarch, *Aristides*, 21 ; G. Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca ex lapidibus collecta* (Berlin, 1878), No. 461, p. 183 ; *Inscriptiones Graecae Megaridis Oropiae Boeotiae*, ed. G. Dittenberger (Berlin, 1892), No. 53, pp. 31 *sq.* In the inscription the dead are definitely styled "heroes," and it is mentioned that the bull was still sacrificed to them by the city "down to our time" (*μεχρις εφ' ημων*).

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fictitious beings, created on the model of the others to satisfy the popular craving for supernatural patronage. Such in particular were many of the so-called eponymous heroes, who figured as the ancestors of families and of tribes, as the founders of cities, and as the patrons of corporations and trade guilds. The receipt for making a hero of this pattern was simple. You took the name of the family, tribe, city, corporation, or guild, as the case might be, clapped on a masculine termination, and the thing was done. If you were scrupulous or a stickler for form, you might apply to the fount of wisdom at Delphi, which would send you a brevet on payment, doubtless, of the usual fee. Thus when Clisthenes had created the ten Attic tribes, and the indispensable heroes were wanted to serve as figure-heads, the Athenians submitted a "long leet" of a hundred candidates to the god at Delphi, and he pricked the names of ten, who entered on their office accordingly.¹ Sometimes the fictitious hero might even receive offerings of real blood, as happened to Phocus, the nominal ancestor of the Phocians, who got a libation of blood poured into his grave every day,² being much luckier than another hero, real or fictitious, at Phaselis in Lycia, who was kept on a low diet of fish

¹ Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, 21; *Etymologicum Magnum*, s.v. Ἐπώνυμοι; Scholiast on Aristides, *Panathen.*, vol. iii. p. 331, ed. G. Dindorf (where for Καλλισθένης we must read Κλεισθένης). As to the fictitious heroes, see P. Foucart, *Le culte des Héros chez les Grecs*, pp. 47 sqq.

² Pausanias, x. 4. 10. As to Phocus in his character of eponymous hero of Phocis, see Pausanias, x. 1. 1.

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and had his rations served out to him only once a year.¹ It is difficult to conceive how on such a scale of remuneration the poor hero contrived to subsist from one year's end to the other.

The system of Euhemerus, which resolves the gods into dead men, unquestionably suffers from the vice inherent in all systems which would explain the infinite multiplicity and diversity of phenomena by a single simple principle, as if a single clue, like Ariadne's thread, could guide us to the heart of this labyrinthine universe; nevertheless the theory of the old Greek thinker contains a substantial element of truth, for deep down in human nature is the tendency, powerful for good as well as for evil, to glorify and worship our fellow-men, crowning their mortal brows with the aureole as well as the bay. While many of the Greek gods, as Ouranos and Ge, Helios and Selene, the Naiads, the Dryads, and so on, are direct and transparent personifications of natural powers; and while others, such as Nike, Hygieia, and Tyche, are equally direct and transparent personifications of abstract ideas,² it is possible

¹ Athenaeus, vii. 51, pp. 297E-298A.

² The personification and deification of abstract ideas in Greek and Roman religion are illustrated, with a great wealth of learning, by L. Deubner in W. H. Roscher's *Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, iii. 2068 sqq. What Juvenal says (x. 365 sq.) of the goddess of Fortune, one of the most popular of these deified abstractions, might be said with equal truth of many other gods and goddesses:

*Nos te,
Nos facimus, Fortuna, deam caeloque locamus.*

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and even probable that some members of the pantheon set out on their career of glory as plain men and women, though we can no longer trace their pedigree back through the mists of fable to their humble origin. In the heroes and heroines of Greek legend and history we see these gorgeous beings in the chrysalis or incubatory stage, before they have learned to burst the integuments of earth and to flaunt their gaudy wings in the sunshine of heaven. The cerements still cling to their wasted frames, but will soon be exchanged for a gayer garb in their passage from the tomb to the temple.

But besides the mythical and legendary narratives which compose the bulk of the *Library*, we may detect another element in the work of our author which ought not to be overlooked, and that is the element of folk-tale. As the distinction between myth, legend, and folk-tale is not always clearly apprehended or uniformly observed, it may be well to define the sense in which I employ these terms.

By myths I understand mistaken explanations of phenomena, whether of human life or of external nature. Such explanations originate in that instinctive curiosity concerning the causes of things which at a more advanced stage of knowledge seeks satisfaction in philosophy and science, but being founded on ignorance and misapprehension they are always false, for were they true they would cease to be myths. The subjects of myths are as numerous as the objects which present themselves to the mind

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of man; for everything excites his curiosity, and of everything he desires to learn the cause. Among the larger questions which many peoples have attempted to answer by myths are those which concern the origin of the world and of man, the apparent motions of the heavenly bodies, the regular recurrence of the seasons, the growth and decay of vegetation, the fall of rain, the phenomena of thunder and lightning, of eclipses and earthquakes, the discovery of fire, the invention of the useful arts, the beginnings of society, and the mystery of death. In short, the range of myths is as wide as the world, being coextensive with the curiosity and the ignorance of man.¹

By legends I understand traditions, whether oral or written, which relate the fortunes of real people in the past, or which describe events, not necessarily

¹ By a curious limitation of view some modern writers would restrict the scope of myths to ritual, as if nothing but ritual were fitted to set men wondering and meditating on the causes of things. As a recent writer has put it concisely, "*Les mythes sont les explications des rites*" (F. Sartiaux, "*La philosophie de l'histoire des religions et les origines du Christianisme dans le dernier ouvrage de M. Loisy*," *Revue du Mois*, Septembre-Octobre, 1920, p. 15 of the separate reprint). It might have been thought that merely to open such familiar collections of myths as the *Theogony* of Hesiod, the *Library* of Apollodorus, or the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid, would have sufficed to dissipate so erroneous a conception; for how small is the attention paid to ritual in these works! No doubt some myths have been devised to explain rites of which the true origin was forgotten; but the number of such myths is small, probably almost infinitesimally small, by comparison with myths which deal with other subjects and have had another origin.

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human, that are said to have occurred at real places. Such legends contain a mixture of truth and falsehood, for were they wholly true, they would not be legends but histories. The proportion of truth and falsehood naturally varies in different legends; generally, perhaps, falsehood predominates, at least in the details, and the element of the marvellous or the miraculous often, though not always, enters largely into them.

By folk-tales I understand narratives invented by persons unknown and handed down at first by word of mouth from generation to generation, narratives which, though they profess to describe actual occurrences, are in fact purely imaginary, having no other aim than the entertainment of the hearer and making no real claim on his credulity. In short, they are fictions pure and simple, devised not to instruct or edify the listener, but only to amuse him; they belong to the region of pure romance. The zealous student of myth and ritual, more intent on explaining than on enjoying the lore of the people, is too apt to invade the garden of romance and with a sweep of his scythe to lay the flowers of fancy in the dust. He needs to be reminded occasionally that we must not look for a myth or a rite behind every tale, like a bull behind every hedge or a canker in every rose. The mind delights in a train of imagery for its own sake apart from any utility to be derived from the visionary scenes that pass before her, just as she is charmed by the contemplation of

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a fair landscape, adorned with green woods, shining rivers, and far blue hills, without thinking of the timber which the woodman's axe will fell in these green glades, of the fish which the angler's line will draw from these shining pools, or of the ore which the miner's pick may one day hew from the bowels of these far blue hills. And just as it is a mistake to search for a mythical or magical significance in every story which our rude forefathers have bequeathed to us by word of mouth, so it is an error to interpret in the same sad and serious sense every carving and picture with which they decorated the walls of their caverns. From early times, while some men have told stories for the sheer joy of telling them, others have drawn and carved and painted for the pure pleasure which the mind takes in mimicry, the hand in deft manipulation, and the eye in beautiful forms and colours.¹ The utilitarian creed is good and true only on condition that we interpret utility in a large and liberal sense, and do

¹ M. Marcellin Boule has lately made some judicious observations on the tendency to push too far the magical interpretation of prehistoric cave paintings. Without denying that magic had its place in these early works of art, he concludes, with great verisimilitude, that in the beginning "*l'art n'est probablement qu'une manifestation particulière d'un esprit général d'imitation déjà si développé chez les singes.*" See his book, *Les Hommes Fossiles* (Paris, 1921), p. 260 note. A similar view of the origin of art in emotional impulses rather than in the deliberate and purposeful action of magic and religion, is expressed by Mr. Sarat Chandra Roy in his able work, *Principles and Methods of Physical Anthropology* (Patna, 1920), pp. 87 sq.

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not restrict it to the bare satisfaction of those bodily instincts on which ultimately depends the continuance both of the individual and of the species.

If these definitions be accepted, we may say that myth has its source in reason, legend in memory, and folk-tale in imagination; and that the three riper products of the human mind which correspond to these its crude creations are science, history, and romance.

But while educated and reflective men can clearly distinguish between myths, legends, and folk-tales, it would be a mistake to suppose that the people, among whom these various narratives commonly circulate, and whose intellectual cravings they satisfy, can always or habitually discriminate between them. For the most part, perhaps, the three sorts of narratives are accepted by the folk as all equally true or at least equally probable. To take Apollodorus, for example, as a type of the common man, there is not the least indication that he drew any distinction in respect of truth or probability between the very different kinds of narrative which he included in the *Library*. To him they seem to have been all equally credible; or if he entertained any doubts as to their credibility, he carefully suppressed them.

Among the specimens, or rather morsels, of popular fiction which meet us in his pages we may instance the tales of Meleager, Melampus, Medea, Glaucus, Perseus, Peleus, and Thetis, which all bear traces of the story-teller's art, as appears plainly enough

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when we compare them with similar incidents in undoubted folk-tales. To some of these stories, with the comparisons which they invite, I have called attention in the notes and Appendix, but their number might no doubt easily be enlarged. It seems not improbable that the element of folk-tale bulks larger in Greek tradition than has commonly been suspected. When the study of folk-lore is more complete and exact than at present, it may be possible to trace to their sources many rivulets of popular fiction which contributed to swell the broad and stately tide of ancient literature.¹

In some respects the *Library* of Apollodorus resembles the book of Genesis. Both works profess to record the history of the world from the creation, or at all events from the ordering of the material universe, down to the time when the ancestors of the author's people emerged in the land which was to be the home of their race and the scene of their

¹ Among recent works which mark a distinct advance in the study of folk-tales I would particularly mention the modestly named *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm* by Johannes Bolte and Georg Polivka, published in three octavo volumes, Leipsic, 1913-1918. A fourth volume, containing an index and a survey of the folk-tales of other peoples, is promised and will add greatly to the utility of this very learned work, which does honour to German scholarship. Even as it is, though it deals only with the German stories collected by the two Grimms, the book contains the fullest bibliography of folk-tales with which I am acquainted. I regret that it did not reach me until all my notes were passed for the press, but I have been able to make some use of it in the Appendix.

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glory. In both works the mutations of nature and the vicissitudes of man are seen through the glamour, and distorted or magnified by the haze, of myth and legend. Both works are composite, being pieced together by a comparatively late redactor, who combined materials drawn from a variety of documents, without always taking pains to explain their differences or to harmonize their discrepancies. But there the resemblance between them ends. For whereas the book of Genesis is a masterpiece of literary genius, the *Library* of Apollodorus is the dull compilation of a commonplace man, who relates without one touch of imagination or one spark of enthusiasm the long series of fables and legends which inspired the immortal productions of Greek poetry and the splendid creations of Greek art. Yet we may be grateful to him for saving for us from the wreck of ancient literature some waifs and strays which, but for his humble labours, might have sunk irretrievably with so many golden argosies in the fathomless ocean of the past.

II.—MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS.

1. *Manuscripts.*¹ A fair number of manuscripts of the *Library* are known to exist, but they are all late and of little value. All are incomplete, ending

¹ This account of the manuscripts is derived from Mr. R. Wagner's preface to his critical edition of the text (Teubner, Leipsic, 1894).

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abruptly in the middle of Theseus's adventures on his first journey to Athens. This of itself raises a presumption that all are copies of one defective original. The latest editor, Mr. Richard Wagner, enumerates fourteen manuscripts, of which he has employed ten for his recension of the text. Among them he singles out one as the archetype from which all the other extant manuscripts are derived. It is a fourteenth century manuscript in the National Library at Paris and bears the number 2722. Mr. Wagner designates it by the symbol R. The other nine manuscripts employed by him he arranges in three classes, as follows :—

The first class comprises two manuscripts, namely one of the fifteenth century in the Bodleian Library at Oxford (Laudianus 55), and one of the fifteenth or sixteenth century at Paris (numbered 2967). Mr. Wagner designates the Oxford manuscript by the symbol O and the Paris manuscript by the symbol R^a.

The second class, designated by the symbol B, comprises three manuscripts, namely a Palatine-Vatican manuscript of the sixteenth century, numbered 52 (symbol P); a Paris manuscript of the sixteenth century, numbered 1653 (symbol R^b), and another Paris manuscript of the fifteenth century, numbered 1658 (symbol R^c).

The third class, designated by the symbol C, comprises four manuscripts, namely a Vatican manuscript of the fifteenth century, numbered 1017 (symbol V);

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a manuscript of the fifteenth century in the Laurentian Library at Florence, numbered LX. 29 (symbol L); a manuscript of the fifteenth century at Naples, numbered III. A 1 (symbol N); and a manuscript of the fifteenth century at Turin numbered C II. 11 (symbol T).

Besides these, Mr. Wagner mentions four manuscripts which appear not to have been accurately collated. They are: a manuscript of the sixteenth century in the Bodleian Library at Oxford (d'Orvilianus X. I. 1, 1); a manuscript of the sixteenth century in the British Museum (Harleianus 5732); a manuscript of the sixteenth century at Turin (B IV. 5); and a manuscript of the sixteenth century in the Barberini palace at Rome (T 122). Of these the British Museum manuscript is reported to be well written, and the two Italian manuscripts to be very bad.

Such were the materials which existed for establishing the text of the *Library* down to 1885, when Mr. R. Wagner, examining some mythological works in the Vatican Library at Rome, was so fortunate as to discover a Greek manuscript (No. 950), of the end of the fourteenth century, which contains an epitome of the *Library*, including the greater part of the portion at the end which had long been lost. Two years later Mr. A. Papadopulos-Kerameus discovered fragments of a similar epitome in a Greek manuscript at Jerusalem. The manuscript formerly belonged to the monastery (laura) of St. Sabbas and hence is

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known as the *Codex Sabbaiticus*. It is now preserved in the library of the patriarch at Jerusalem and bears the number 366. By a curious coincidence the discoverers published the two epitomes almost simultaneously, but without any knowledge of each other.¹ The text of the two epitomes, though in general agreement, does not always coincide exactly. Where the text of the Vatican epitome differs from the Sabbaitic, it sometimes agrees with the text of Apollodorus as quoted by Tzetzes, and this agreement has led Mr. Wagner to conclude that Tzetzes is the author of the Vatican epitome. Certainly Tzetzes was well acquainted with the *Library* of Apollodorus and drew upon it largely in his learned commentary on Lycophron. It would not, therefore, be surprising if he had made an abridgment of it for his own use or that of his pupils. The hypothesis of his authorship is confirmed by the observation that the same manuscript, which contains the Vatican epitome, contains also part of Tzetzes's commentary on Lycophron.

¹ The Vatican epitome was published by Mr. R. Wagner in a separate volume, with Latin notes and dissertations, at Leipsic in 1891, under the title *Epitoma Vaticana ex Apollodori Bibliotheca, edidit Richardus Wagner, Accedunt Curae Mythographae de Apollodori fontibus*. The Sabbaitic fragments of the epitome were published by Mr. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus in *Rheinisches Museum*, N.F. xlv. (1891), pp. 161-192 under the title *Apollodori Bibliothecae fragmenta Sabbaitica*. The Sabbaitic manuscript was examined again by Mr. H. Achelis, and some corrected readings which he reported were published by Professor Hermann Diels in the same volume of the *Rheinisches Museum*, pp. 617 sq.

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2. *Editions.* The first edition of the *Library* was published by Benedictus Aegius at Rome in 1555. In it the Greek text is accompanied by a Latin translation and followed by some notes. The second edition was prepared by the scholar and printer Hieronymus Commelinus and published posthumously at his press in Heidelberg in 1599. It contains the Latin version of Aegius as well as the Greek text, and prefixed to it are a few critical notes by Commelinus, chiefly recording the readings of the Palatine manuscript. The next edition was brought out by Tanaquil Faber (Salmurii, 1661). I have not seen it, but according to Heyne it contains some slight and hasty notes not unworthy of a scholar. The next editor was the learned English scholar Thomas Gale, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Regius Professor of Greek in the University. He edited Apollodorus along with the mythological treatises of Conon, Ptolemaeus Hephaestionis, Parthenius, and Antoninus Liberalis, in a volume entitled *Historiae Poeticae Scriptores Antiqui*, which was published, or at all events printed, at Paris in 1675. For his recension of Apollodorus he used the readings of at least one Oxford manuscript, but according to Heyne he was not very diligent in consulting it. His text of Apollodorus and the other mythographers is accompanied by a Latin translation and followed by critical and exegetical notes.

All previous editions of Apollodorus were superseded by the one which the illustrious German

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scholar C. G. Heyne published with a copious critical and exegetical commentary. It appeared in two volumes, first in 1782 and 1783, and afterwards, revised and improved, at Göttingen in 1803.¹ Though he did not himself consult any manuscripts, he used the collations of several manuscripts, including the Palatine, Vatican, Medicean, and two in the Royal Library at Paris, which had been made many years before by a young scholar, Gerard Jacob van Swinden, for an edition of Apollodorus which he had planned. Heyne also made use of some extracts from a third manuscript in the Royal Library at Paris, which were procured for him by J. Schweighäuser. With the help of these collations and his own admirable critical sagacity, Heyne was able to restore the text of Apollodorus in many places, and to purge it of many alien words or sentences which had been interpolated from scholia or other sources by the first editor, Aegfius, and retained by later editors. His commentary bears ample witness to his learning, acumen, and good sense, and fully sustains his high reputation as a scholar.

A new edition of Apollodorus was published in two volumes, with a French translation and notes by E. Clavier, at Paris in 1805, and another with notes,

¹ This second edition was issued in two forms, one in octavo, the other in smaller volumes. I have used the octavo edition. The first volume contains the Greek text with introduction and critical notes, but no translation. The second volume contains the exegetical commentary.

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apparently in Latin, by Chr. L. Sommer at Rudolstadt in 1822. These two editions, like the early one of Faber, I have not seen and know them only by report. In the first volume of his great edition of the fragments of the Greek historians,¹ C. Müller included the text of Apollodorus with a Latin translation. He had the advantage of using for the first time a collation of the Paris manuscript 2722, which, as we have seen, is now believed to be the archetype of all the extant manuscripts of Apollodorus. The text of Apollodorus was edited, with critical notes, by A. Westermann in his collection of ancient Greek mythologists (*Scriptores Poeticae Historiae Graeci*, Brunswick, 1843), but he collated no manuscripts for the purpose. And contrary to his usual practice the great scholar Immanuel Bekker also collated no manuscripts for the edition of Apollodorus which he published (Teubner, Leipsic, 1854). Nevertheless, relying on his own excellent judgment, profound knowledge of Greek, and long experience of the ways of copyists, he produced a sound text, corrected in places by his conjectures. The edition of R. Hercher which followed (Weidmann, Berlin, 1874) is characterized by the introduction of many conjectural readings, a few of them plausible or probable, and by such copious excisions that this

¹ *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, five volumes, Paris. The preface to the first volume is dated February, 1841; the preface to the fifth volume is dated November, 1869.

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slashing critic may almost be said to have mangled rather than emended his author.

Lastly, the text of Apollodorus, supplemented for the first time by the Vatican and Sabbaitic epitomes, was edited with a concise critical apparatus and indices by Mr. Richard Wagner (Teubner, Leipsic, 1894). By means of his extensive collation of manuscripts, and particularly by a comparison of the Vatican and Sabbaitic epitomes, which are clearly independent of our other manuscripts and often contain better readings, Mr. Wagner succeeded in restoring the true text in many places. He has earned the gratitude of all students, not only of Apollodorus but of Greek mythology, by his fortunate discovery of the Vatican epitome and by his careful and judicious recension of the text.

In the present edition the text is based on that of Mr. Wagner, but in doubtful passages I have compared the editions of Heyne, Müller, Westermann, Bekker, and Hercher, and occasionally the older editions of Aegius, Commelinus, and Gale; and I have exercised my own judgment in the selection of the readings. All variations from Mr. Wagner's text are recorded in the footnotes. I have collated no manuscripts, and my references to their readings are, without exception, derived from my predecessors, almost all from the critical apparatus of Mr. Wagner, whose symbols I have used to designate the manuscripts. Conjectural emendations of my own have been very rarely admitted, but in this respect I have

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allowed myself a somewhat greater latitude in dealing with the text of the *Epitome*, which rests on the authority of only two manuscripts and has not, like the rest of the *Library*, been subjected to the scrutiny of many generations of scholars.

In printing the *Epitome*, or rather that portion of it only which begins where the manuscripts of the unabridged work break off, I have departed from Mr. Wagner's arrangement. He has printed the Vatican and the Sabbaitic versions in full, arranging the two in parallel columns. This arrangement has the advantage of presenting the whole of the manuscript evidence at a glance to the eye of the reader, but it has the disadvantage of frequently compelling him, for the sake of the comparison, to read the same story twice over in words which differ little or not at all from each other. To avoid this repetition, wherever the two versions present us with duplicate accounts of the same story, I have printed only one of them in the text, correcting it, where necessary, by the other and indicating in the footnotes the variations between the two versions. In this way the text of the *Epitome*, like that of the rest of the *Library*, flows in a single stream instead of being diverted in many places into two parallel channels. I venture to believe that this arrangement will prove more convenient to the ordinary reader, while at the same time it will sufficiently meet the requirements of the critical scholar. The differences between the Vatican and the Sabbaitic

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versions are often so slight that it was not always easy to decide which to print in the text and which to relegate to the footnotes. I have endeavoured to give the preference in every case to the fuller and better version, and where the considerations on each side were very evenly balanced, I have generally, I believe, selected the Vatican version, because on the whole its Greek style seems somewhat purer and therefore more likely to correspond with the original.

As the *Library* is no doubt chiefly used as a work of reference by scholars who desire to refresh their memory with the details of a myth or legend or to trace some tale to its source, I have sought to consult their convenience by referring in the notes to the principal passages of other ancient writers where each particular story is told, and have often, though not always, briefly indicated how far Apollodorus agrees with or differs from them. Further, in commenting on my author I have illustrated some points of folk-lore by parallels drawn from other peoples, but I have abstained from discussing at length their origin and significance, because such discussions would be foreign to the scope of the series to which this edition of Apollodorus belongs. For the same reason I have barely alluded to the monumental evidence, which would form an indispensable part of a regular commentary on Apollodorus. Many of the monuments have already been described and discussed by me in my commentary xlii

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on Pausanias, and in order to avoid repetition, and to save space, I have allowed myself not infrequently to refer my readers to that work. Even so, I fear I have considerably transgressed the limits usually set to annotation in this series; and I desire to thank the General Editors for the kind indulgence which has permitted and pardoned the transgression.

J. G. FRAZER.

1, BRICK COURT, TEMPLE,
LONDON.

5th April, 1921.

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¹ Translated, with some modifications, from the *Argymentum* prefixed to R. Wagner's edition of Apollodorus.

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conquers the earth-born men, and carries off the Golden Fleece. The Argonauts set out with Medea (the murder of Apsyrtus), ix. 23-24. As they sail past the Eridanus, Zeus causes them to wander; they are purified for the murder of Apsyrtus by Circe, ix. 24, sailing past the Sirens, Scylla, and Charybdis, they come to the Phaeacians, ix. 25, they dedicate an altar to Radiant Apollo, they destroy Talus, the bronze guardian of the island of Crete, ix. 26. Return of the Argonauts. Death of Pelias, ix. 26-27. Jason and Medea fly to Corinth. Medea murders Glauce, the bride of Jason, and her own children, takes refuge with Aegeus at Athens, has by him a son, Medus, and finally returns to her own country, ix. 28.

III.—THE FAMILY OF INACHUS (BELUS).

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Perseus, against the Teleboans. Amphitryon, grandson of Perseus, accidentally kills Electryon, iv. 6. Amphitryon goes with Alcmena to Thebes, kills the Cadmean vixen, and wages war on the Taphians : Pterelaus of the golden hair killed by his daughter, iv. 6-7.

Hercules, son of Zeus and Alcmena, kills the serpents sent by Hera, iv. 8. The education of Hercules (Linus), iv. 9. Hercules kills the lion of Cithaeron (the daughters of Thespius), iv. 9-10, conquers the Minyans, marries Megara, receives arms from the gods, iv. 11, goes mad, murders his children, and is sent by Apollo to Eurystheus, iv. 12.

The twelve (ten, see iv. 12 and v. 11) labours of Hercules, v.

1. He strangles the Nemean lion and is entertained by Molorchus, v. 1.

2. With Iolaus he destroys the Lernaean hydra and kills the crab, v. 2.

3. He wounds and captures the Cerynithian hind, v. 3.

4. He captures the Erymanthian boar, he kills the Centaurs (Pholus, Chiron), v. 4.

5. He cleanses the stable of Augeas (the testimony of Phyleus), v. 5.

6. He shoots the Stympthalian birds, v. 6.

7. He brings the Cretan bull to Eurystheus, v. 7.

8. He carries off the mares of Diomedes the Thracian (death of Abderus and foundation of Abdera), v. 8.

9. He wins the belt of Hippolyta (the sons of Androgeus in Paros ; Mygdon ; rescue of Hesione ; Sarpedon ; Thasos ; the sons of Proteus), v. 9.

10. He drives away the kine of Geryon from Erythia (the pillars of Hercules ; the golden goblet of the Sun ; Ialebion and Dercynus, Eryx, Strymon), v. 10.

11. He brings the apples of the Hesperides from the Hyperboreans to Mycenae (Cycnus, Nereus, Antaeus, Busiris, Emathion, Prometheus, Atlas), v. 11.

12. He carries off Cerberus from the nether world (the Eleusinian mysteries, the Gorgon's ghost, Theseus and Pirithous, Ascalaphus, Menoetes), v. 12.

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Hercules woos in vain Iole, daughter of Eurytus, and in a fit of madness kills Iphitus, vi. 1-2, fights with Apollo for the Delphic tripod, and serves Omphale for three years (Cecropes, Syleus; the burial of Icarus), vi. 2-3. Along with Telamon he captures Troy (Hesione, Priam), vi. 4. He ravages the island of Cos, vii. 1. He conquers Augeas (Eurytus and Cteatus; foundations at Olympia), vii. 2, captures Pylus, makes war on the Lacedaemonians (Cepheus, Sterope, and the Gorgon's tress), vii. 3, and forces Auge (exposure of Telephus), vii. 4. He marries Deianira (the wrestling with Achelous, the horn of Amalthea), vii. 5, fights for the Calydonians against the Thesprotians (Astyoche, Tlepolemus), sends his sons to Sardinia, kills Eunomus at a feast, sets out with Deianira for Trachis, kills Nessus at the ford, vii. 6, slaughters an ox of Thiodamas, fights for Aegimius against the Lapiths (Coronus, Laogoras), slays Cycnus and Amyntor. He captures Oechalia and carries off Iole; infected by the poisoned robe which he received from Deianira, he burns himself on a pyre on Mount Oeta (Poeas)* and ascending to heaven he marries Hebe, vii. 7.

List of the children of Hercules, vii. 8.

The Heraclids fly to Ceyx, and then to the Athenians, with whose help they vanquish Eurystheus, viii. 1. They occupy and then abandon Peloponnese. Tlepolemus goes to Rhodes. Through misunderstanding an oracle the Heraclids make a second fruitless attempt to conquer Peloponnese, viii. 2. In the third generation afterwards Temenus, Cresphontes, and Aristodemus build ships and again prepare to attack Peloponnese, but having slain a soothsayer they fail in the enterprise, viii. 2-3. Ten years afterwards the Heraclids under the leadership of Oxylus conquer Peloponnese and divide it among themselves by lot, viii. 3-5. The deaths of Temenus and Cresphontes, viii. 5.

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IV.—THE FAMILY OF AGENOR (EUROPA).

Book III., Chaps. I. 1—III. 2.

Agenor's children. Europa is carried off by Zeus; and Phoenix, Cilix, Cadmus, and Thasus, being sent to fetch her back, settle in Phoenicia, Cilicia, Thrace, and Thasos, i. 1. Europa's children: Minos, Sarpedon, Rhadamanthys (Miletus), i. 2. On the death of Asterius, husband of Europa, Minos succeeds to the kingdom of Crete. Inflamed with love for a bull, which Poseidon had sent from the sea, Pasiphae gives birth to the Minotaur, i. 3. Althaemenes, grandson of Minos, settles with his sister Apemosyne in Rhodes, and involuntarily kills his father Catreus, ii. Glaucus, son of Minos, his death and resurrection (the seer Polyidus), iii. 1–2.

V.—THE FAMILY OF AGENOR (CADMUS).

Book III., Chaps. IV. 1—VII. 7.

Cadmus, following a cow, founds Thebes, slays the dragon of Ares, and overcomes the earthborn brothers, iv. 1–2. Children of Cadmus and Harmonia: Autonoe, Ino, Semele, Agave, Polydorus. Semele and Zeus. Birth and upbringing of Dionysus (Athamas, Ino, and Melicertes), iv. 2–3. Actaeon, son of Autonoe, and his dogs, iv. 4. The travels of Dionysus (deaths of Lycurgus and Pentheus, adventure with the pirates), v. 1–3. The end of Cadmus and Harmonia in Illyria, v. 4. The offspring of Polydorus: Labdacus, Laius. Lycus and Dirce are slain by Zethus and Amphion, the sons of Antiope by Zeus, v. 5. Niobe and her children, the weeping stone, v. 6. Oedipus, his birth and exposure, his parricide, the riddle of the Sphinx, his incest, his exile and death in Attica, v. 7–9.

Expedition of the Seven against Thebes, vi. 1–vii. 1. Polynices, expelled by Eteocles, marries the daughter of Adrastus (Tydeus), vi. 1. Eriphyle, bribed by Polynices

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with the golden necklace, induces Amphiaraus to join in the war, vi. 2. List of the leaders, vi. 3. On the death of Opheltes they institute the Nemean games, vi. 4, they send Tydeus on an embassy to Thebes, vi. 5, attack the city (account of the seer Tiresias, vi. 7), and are defeated by the Thebans (Capaneus, Eteocles and Polynices, Tydeus, Amphiaraus), vi. 6-8. Heroism and death of Antigone. The bodies of the leaders are buried by Theseus, death of Evadne on the pyre, vii. 1.

The Epigoni (list, vii. 2) capture Thebes; death of Tiresias, vii. 2-4. Alcmaeon, his matricide, madness, wanderings and death; his wife Callirrhoe, and his children Amphilochus and Tisiphone, vii. 5-7.

VI.—THE FAMILY OF PELASGUS.

Book III., Chaps. VIII.-IX.

Lycaon, son of Pelasgus, and his sons (list viii. 1), except the youngest, Nyctimus, are killed for their impiety by Zeus with thunderbolts, viii. 1-2. Callisto, daughter of Lycaon, mother of Arcas, transformed into a bear, viii. 2. The offspring of Arcas. Auge, mother of Telephus, ix. 1. Atalanta and her suitors, Milanion and the golden apples, ix. 2.

VII.—THE FAMILY OF ATLAS.

Book III., Chaps. X. 1-XII. 6.

The Pleiades, x. 1. Hermes, son of Maia, his youthful exploits, x. 2. The offspring of Taygete: Lacedaemon, Hyacinth, Lynceus, and Idas. Leucippus's daughters, of whom Arsinoë becomes the mother of Aesculapius (Coronis). Aesculapius is educated by Chiron and thunderstruck by Zeus for his leechcraft. Apollo kills the Cyclopes and serves Admetus for a year, x. 3-4. Children of Hippocoon, of Icarus, and of Tyndareus. Birth of Helen, x. 4-7. Helen is carried off by Theseus, but rescued by Castor and Pollux, x. 7.

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Helen's suitors and marriage with Menelaus, x. 8-9. Menelaus's children, xi. 1. Castor and Pollux, their combat with Idas and Lynceus, their elevation to the gods, and their alternations between the upper and lower worlds, xi. 2.

Electra, daughter of Atlas, her offspring, xii. 1-6. Iasion and Dardanus and his sons Ilus and Erichthonius. Tros, son of Erichthonius, and father of Ilus, Assaracus, and Ganymede, xii. 1-2. Ilus, following a cow, founds Troy and receives the Palladium. Origin of the Palladium. Laomedon, son of Ilus, father of Tithonus and of Priam, xii. 3. Tithonus and the Dawn. Priam's children: Aesacus, Hector, Paris, Cassandra, and the rest, xii. 4-5. Hector and Andromache. Paris and Oenone, xii. 6.

VIII.—THE FAMILY OF ASOPUS.

Book III., Chaps. XII. 6-XIII. 8.

Asopus's children, Ismenus, Pelagon, and twenty daughters, of whom Aegina is carried off by Zeus, xii. 6. Aeacus, son of Aegina, his righteousness, his prayer for rain; father of Peleus and Telamon, who are banished for the murder of their brother Phocus. Telamon becomes king of Salamis; father of Ajax and Teucer, xii. 6-7. Peleus comes to Phthia; joining in the hunt of the Calydonian boar he accidentally kills Eurytion; is purified by Acastus and maligned by Astydamia, wife of Acastus; hunts on Mount Pelion and is saved from the centaurs by Chiron, xiii. 1-3. Marriage of Peleus and Thetis, xiii. 4-5. The nurture of Achilles (Thetis, Chiron, Lycomedes), xiii. 6-8. Phoenix, Patroclus, xiii. 8.

IX.—THE KINGS OF ATHENS.

Book III., Chaps. XIV. 1-XV. 9.

1. *Cecrops*, earth-born. Contest between Athena and Poseidon for the guardianship of Athens, xiv. 1. Cecrops's

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children Erysichthon, Agraulus, Herse, Pandrosus (Halirrhothius; trial and acquittal of Ares at the Areopagus), xiv. 2. Cephalus, son of Herse, and ancestor of Cinyras, xiv. 3. Adonis, son of Cinyras, loved by Aphrodite, killed by a boar, xiv. 3-4.

2. *Cranaus*, earth-born, father of Cranae, Cranaechme, and Atthis, xiv. 5.

3. *Amphictyon*, earth-born or son of Deucalion, xiv. 6.

4. *Erichthonius*, son of Hephaestus by Atthis or Athena, dedicates an image of Athena on the Acropolis and institutes the Panathenaic festival, xiv. 6.

5. *Pandion*, son of Erichthonius: in his reign Demeter comes to Celeus at Eleusis, and Dionysus comes to Icarius (death of Erigone), xiv. 7. Pandion's daughters Procne and Philomela (Tereus), xiv. 8.

6. *Erechtheus*, son of Pandion: his priestly brother Butes, his children, xv. 1. Chthonia. Procris and Cephalus (Minos), xv. 1. Orithyia and Boreas, xv. 2. Cleopatra and Phineus, xv. 3. Eumolpus, son of Chione, xv. 4. Erechtheus, in the war with Eleusis, sacrifices one of his daughters, and slays Eumolpus, xv. 4-5.

7. *Cecrops*, son of Erechtheus, xv. 5.

8. *Pandion*, son of Cecrops, is expelled by the sons of Metion and flies to Megara, xv. 5.

9. *Aegeus*, son of Pandion, returns to Athens with his brothers, xv. 5-6, and begets Theseus by Aethra at Troezen, xv. 6-7. He sends Androgeus, son of Minos, against the Marathonian bull, xv. 7. Minos makes war on Megara (Nisus and Scylla) and on Athens, xv. 7-8. Hyacinth's daughters are sacrificed at Athens, xv. 8. Minos imposes on the Athenians a tribute of boys and girls to be sent annually to the Minotaur (the labyrinth built by Daedalus), xv. 8-9.

10. *Theseus*.

X.—THESEUS.

Book III., Chap. xvi., Epitome, i. 1-24.

On growing up Theseus quits Troezen for Athens, kills Periphetes, Sinis, III. xvi., the Crommyonian sow,

SUMMARY

Sciron, Cercyon, and Damastes, *Epitome*, i. 1-4. Aegeus, instigated by Medea, sends Theseus against the Marathonian bull and offers him a cup of poison, 5-6. Theseus, with the help of Ariadne, conquers the Minotaur, and flying with Ariadne resigns her to Dionysus in Naxos, 7-9, and on the death of Aegeus succeeds to the kingdom of Athens, 10-11. Daedalus and his son Icarus escape from the labyrinth : Icarus falls into the sea, but Daedalus reaches the court of Cocalus, whose daughters kill Minos, 12-15. Theseus marries an Amazon, and afterwards Phaedra. Death of Hippolytus. 16-19. Ixion and his wheel, 20. Battle of the Centaurs and Lapiths, 21 (Zenobius). Caeneus, 22. Theseus goes down to hell with Pirithous, but is freed by Hercules, and being expelled from Athens is murdered by Lycomedes, 23-24.

XI.—THE FAMILY OF PELOPS.

Epitome, II. 1-16.

Tantalus in hell, 1. Broteas, 2. Pelops, with the help of Myrtilus, vanquishes Oenomaus, marries Hippodamia, kills Myrtilus, and takes possession of Peloponnese, 3-9. Sons of Pelops : Atreus and Thyestes (the golden lamb, Aerope, backward journey of the sun, the cannibal feast, Aegisthus), 10-14. Agamemnon and Menelaus are brought up by Polyphides and Oeneus, 15 (Tzetzes). Agamemnon marries Clytaemnestra, and Menelaus marries Helen, 16.

XII.—ANTEHOMERICA.

Epitome, III. 1-35.

Zeus resolves to stir up war, 1. The Apple of Discord awarded by Paris to Aphrodite. Paris carries off Helen, and, after tarrying in Phoenicia and Cyprus, returns to Troy, 2-4. Helen left with Proteus in Egypt, 5. Menelaus and Agamemnon summon the kings of Greece to war. Ulysses feigns madness (death of Palamedes). Cinyras sends toy ships. The Wine-growers, 6-10.

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SUMMARY

Catalogue of the ships, 11-14. The portent at Aulis, 15. Agamemnon and Achilles chosen leaders, 16. The Mysian war. Telephus wounded by Achilles. Return of the Greeks, 17-18.

In the tenth year after the rape of Helen the Greeks again assemble. Telephus, being healed by Achilles, shows them the way, 19-20. Iphigenia sacrificed to Artemis at Aulis and transported by the goddess to Tauris, 21-22. The Greeks arrive at Tenedos 23. Tenes and his stepmother, 24-25. Tenes killed by Achilles, 26. Philoctetes, stung by a serpent, is marooned in Lemnos, 27. Ulysses and Menelaus demand the restoration of Helen, 28. The Greeks land at Troy and put the Trojans to flight. Death of Protesilaus (Laodamia). Cycnus. The Trojans besieged, 29-31. Achilles slays Troilus, captures Lycaon, and having slain Mestor drives off the herds of Aeneas, 32. List of the towns taken by Achilles, 33. In the tenth year the Trojans receive the help of allies (list), 34-35.

XIII.—THE "ILIAD."

Epitome, iv. 1-8.

The wrath of Achilles. The combat of Menelaus and Paris, 1. Diomedes wounds Aphrodite and meets Glaucus in battle. The combat of Ajax and Hector, 2. The Greeks, put to flight, send ambassadors to Achilles, 3. Ulysses and Diomedes slay Dolon, 4. Hector attacks the ships, 5. The death of Patroclus, 6. Achilles receives arms from Thetis, puts the Trojans to flight, and slays Hector. The burial of Patroclus. Priam ransoms the body of Hector, 7-8.

XIV.—POSTHOMERICA.

Epitome, v. 1-25.

Penthesilea slain by Achilles. Thersites (death of Hippolyte). 1-2. Achilles slays Memnon, but is shot by

SUMMARY

Apollo and Paris, 3. His body and his arms are rescued by Ajax and Ulysses, 4. The burial of Achilles, 5. Competition of Ajax and Ulysses for the arms of Achilles. Death and burial of Ajax, 6-7. *coffin*

In accordance with a prophecy of Calchas, Ulysses and Diomedes fetch Philoctetes, who shoots Paris, 8. Quarrel between Deiphobus and Helenus for the hand of Helen. By the advice of Calchas, Ulysses captures Helenus on Mount Ida, and Helenus prophesies to the Greeks concerning the fall of Troy, 9-10. By the advice of Helenus, the Greeks fetch the bones of Pelops, and Ulysses and Phoenix bring Neoptolemus from Scyros. Neoptolemus kills Eurypylos, son of Telephus. Ulysses and Diomedes steal the Trojan Palladium, 11-13. *helped by Helen.*

By the advice of Ulysses, Epeus fashions the Wooden Horse, in which the leaders ensconce themselves. The Greeks leave Sinon behind and depart to Tenedos, 14-15. The Trojans drag the Horse into the city, and despite the counsels of Laocoon and Cassandra resolve to dedicate it to Athena, 16-17. *The sons of Laocoon killed by serpents, 18.* On a signal given by Sinon the Greeks return. Helen comes to the Horse and calls to the Greek leaders (Anticlus), 19. The leaders descend from the Horse and open the gates to the Greeks, 20. The sack of Troy: Priam, Glaucus, Aeneas, Helena, Aethra, Cassandra, 21-22. Division of the spoil: the slaughter of Astyanax and Polyxena, the fortunes of Cassandra, Andromache, and Hecuba (changed into a dog), Laodice swallowed in an earthquake. Trial of Ajax for impiety, 23-25. *for v. Cassandra on Image of Athena*

XV.—THE RETURNS.

Epitome, VI. 1-30.

Quarrel between Agamemnon and Menelaus concerning the return. Diomedes, Nestor, and Menelaus set out, 1. Amphiloehus, Calchas, Leonteus, Polypoetes, and Podalirius go by land to Colophon, where Calchas is vanquished by Mopsus in a contest of skill and is buried by his companions, 2-4. *(f. 95-96)*

SUMMARY

The fleet of Agamemnon is dispersed by a storm off Tenos. Shipwreck, death, and burial of Ajax, 5-6. Many are shipwrecked and perish through the false lights displayed by Nauplius at Cape Caphereus, 7. Nauplius, the revenge he takes for the death of his son, 8-11. Neoptolemus goes by land to Molossia, and by the way he buries Phoenix. Helenus remains with Deïadamia in Molossia. Neoptolemus, on the death of Peleus, succeeds to the kingdom of Phthia, wrests Hermione from Orestes, and is killed at Delphi, 12-14. Wanderings of the leaders who escaped shipwreck at Cape Caphereus, 15, 15 *abc* (Tzetzes).

The loves of Demophon and Phyllis, 16-17. Podalirius and the oracle, 18. Amphilochous, 19. Virgins sent by the Locrians for a thousand years to Athena at Troy, 20-22.

Agamemnon on his return home is murdered by Aegisthus and Clytaemnestra, 23. Orestes is brought up by Strophius, and with the help of Pylades murders Clytaemnestra and Aegisthus. He is tormented by the Furies, but acquitted at the Areopagus, 24-25. Orestes with the help of Pylades brings back Iphigenia and the image of Artemis from Tauris to Greece, 26-27. The children of Orestes and his death, 28.

After many wanderings Menelaus arrives in Egypt, where he recovers Helen from Proteus, and after eight years returns to Sparta. Dying he is received with Helen into the Elysian fields, 29-30.

XVI.—THE WANDERINGS OF ULYSSES.

Epitome, VII. 1-40.

Ulysses variously said to have roamed over Libya, or Sicily, or the Ocean, or the Tyrrhenian Sea, 1.

Ulysses, after setting sail from Troy, fights with the Cicones, 2. The Lotus-eaters, 3. Adventures with the Cyclops Polyphemus, 4-9. The isle of Aeolus, King of the Winds, 10-11. The cannibal Laestrygones, 12-13.

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SUMMARY

The enchantress Circe, 14-16. The descent to the nether world, 17. The Sirens, 18-19. Scylla and Charybdis, 20-21. The oxen of the Sun. The shipwreck. Charybdis, 22-23. The island of Calypso. The raft. Alcinous and the Phaeacians. The return home, 24-25. The suitors of Penelope (list 27-30), 26-31. Eumaeus. Melanthius. Irus, 32. The slaughter of the suitors, 33.

Ulysses in Thesprotia performs the rites enjoined by Tiresias and marries the queen Callidice (Poliporthes), 34-35. Ulysses is killed unwittingly by his son Telegonus. Telegonus takes his father's body and Penelope with him to Circe, who transports them to the Islands of the Blest, 36-37.

Other stories told of Penelope and Ulysses : Penelope said to have been debauched by Antinous and therefore sent back to her father Icarius ; at Mantinea she gives birth to Pan, whom she had by Hermes, 38. Amphionus slain by Ulysses, because he was said to have seduced Penelope, 39. Ulysses, sentenced by Neoptolemus to banishment for the murder of the suitors, emigrates to Aetolia, and having there begotten a son Leontophonus by the daughter of Thoas he dies in old age, 40.

SYMBOLS EMPLOYED IN THE CRITICAL NOTES

(Adopted from R. Wagner's edition, Leipsic, 1894)

- A = Readings of all or most of the MSS. of *The Library*.
E = Epitoma Vaticana : Vaticanus 950.
S = Sabbaitic fragments : Sabbaiticus-Hierosolymitanus 366.
 R = Parisinus 2722 (the archetype).
 R^a = Parisinus 2967.
 O = Oxford MS. : Laudianus 55.
 B = Readings of the MSS. PR^bR^c.
 P = Palatinus-Vaticanus 52.
 R^b = Parisinus 1653.
 R^c = Parisinus 1658.
 C = Readings of the MSS. VLTN.
 V = Vaticanus 1017.
 L = Laurentianus plut. LX. 29.
 N = Neapolitanus 204 (III. A 1).
 T = Taurinensis C II. 11.
- [] Passages enclosed in these brackets are probably spurious.
- < > Passages enclosed in these brackets are not in the existing manuscripts of Apollodorus, but were probably written by him.

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VOL. I.

B

ΑΠΘΑΛΛΟΔΩΡΟΥ
ΒΙΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΗ

A

Ι. Οὐρανὸς πρῶτος τοῦ παντὸς ἐδυνάστευσε
κόσμον. γήμας δὲ Γῆν ἐτέκνωσε πρώτους τοὺς
ἐκατόγχειρας προσαγορευθέντας, Βριάρεων Γύην¹
Κόττον, οἱ μεγέθει τε ἀνυπέρβλητοι καὶ δυνάμει
καθειστήκεσαν, χεῖρας μὲν ἀνὰ ἑκατὸν κεφαλὰς
2 δὲ ἀνὰ πεντήκοντα ἔχοντες. μετὰ τούτους δὲ

¹ γύην C, schol. Plato, *Laws*, vii. p. 795 c.

¹ According to Hesiod (*Theog.* 126 *sqq.*), Sky (Uranus) was a son of Earth (Gaia), but afterwards lay with his own mother and had by her Cronus, the giants, the Cyclopes, and so forth. As to the marriage of Sky and Earth, see the fragment of the *Chrysippus* of Euripides, quoted by Sextus Empiricus, p. 751, ed. Bekker (*Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck,² Leipsic, 1889, p. 633); Lucretius i. 250 *sq.*, ii. 991 *sqq.*; Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 325 *sqq.* The myth of such a marriage is widespread among the lower races. See E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*² (London, 1873), i. 321 *sqq.*, ii. 270 *sqq.* For example, the Ewe people of Togo-land, in West Africa, think that the Earth is the wife of the Sky, and that their marriage takes place in the rainy season, when the rain causes the seeds to sprout and bear fruit. These fruits they regard as the children of Mother Earth, who in their opinion is the mother also of men and of gods, see J. Spieth, *Die Ewe-Stämme* (Berlin, 1906), pp. 464, 548. In the regions of the Senegal and the Niger it is believed

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BOOK I

I. SKY was the first who ruled over the whole world.¹ And having wedded Earth, he begat first the Hundred-handed, as they are named: Briareus, Gyes, Cottus, who were unsurpassed in size and might, each of them having a hundred hands and fifty heads.² After these, Earth bore him the Cyclopes,

that the Sky-god and the Earth-goddess are the parents of the principal spirits who dispense life and death, weal and woe, among mankind. See Maurice Delafosse, *Haut-Sénégal-Niger* (Paris, 1912), iii. 173 *sqq.* Similarly the Manggerai, a people of West Flores, in the Indian Archipelago, personify Sky and Earth as husband and wife; the consummation of their marriage is manifested in the rain, which fertilizes Mother Earth, so that she gives birth to her children, the produce of the fields and the fruits of the trees. The sky is called *langit*; it is the male power: the earth is called *alang*; it is the female power. Together they form a divine couple, called *Moeri Kraéng*. See H. B. Stapel, "Het Manggër-aische Volk (West Flores)," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-Land- en Volkenkunde*, lvi. (Batavia and the Hague, 1914), p. 163.

² Compare Hesiod, *Theog.* 147 *sqq.* Instead of Gyes, some MSS. of Hesiod read Gyges, and this form of the name is supported by the Scholiast on Plato, *Laws*, vii. p. 795 c. Compare Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 593; Horace, *Odes*, ii. 17. 14, iii. 4. 69, with the commentators.

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- αὐτῷ τεκνοῖ Γῆ Κύκλωπας, Ἄργην¹ Στερόπην Βρόντην, ὧν ἕκαστος εἶχεν ἓνα ὀφθαλμὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου. ἀλλὰ τούτους μὲν Οὐρανὸς δῆσας εἰς Τάρταρον ἔρριψε (τόπος δὲ οὗτος ἐρεβώδης ἐστὶν ἐν Ἄϊδου, τοσοῦτον ἀπὸ γῆς ἔχων διάστημα ὅσον
- 3 ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ γῆ), τεκνοῖ δὲ αὐθις ἐκ Γῆς παῖδας μὲν τοὺς Τιτᾶνας προσαγορευθέντας, Ὀκεανὸν Κοῖον Ἑπερίονα Κρεῖον Ἰαπετὸν καὶ νεώτατον² ἀπάντων Κρόνον, θυγατέρας δὲ τὰς κληθείσας Τιτανίδας, Τηθύν Ῥεάν Θέμιν Μνημοσύνην Φοίβην Διώνην Θεῖαν.
- 4 Ἀγανακτοῦσα δὲ Γῆ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπωλείᾳ τῶν εἰς Τάρταρον ριφέντων³ παίδων πείθει τοὺς Τιτᾶνας ἐπιθέσθαι τῷ πατρὶ, καὶ δίδωσιν ἀδαμαντίνην ἄρπην Κρόνῳ. οἱ δὲ Ὀκεανοῦ χωρὶς ἐπιτίθενται, καὶ Κρόνος ἀποτεμὼν τὰ αἰδοῖα τοῦ πατρὸς εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀφίησεν. ἐκ δὲ τῶν σταλαγμῶν τοῦ ρέοντος αἵματος ἐρινύες ἐγένοντο, Ἀλκτώ Τισιφύνη Μέγαιρα. τῆς δὲ ἀρχῆς ἐκβαλόντες

¹ Ἄργην Heyne: ἄρπην EA.

² νεώτατον EOR^a: γεννεώτατον BT: γενναιότατον VLN.

³ ριφέντων E: ριφθέντων A.

¹ Compare Hesiod, *Theog.* 139 *sqq.*

² Compare Hesiod, *Theog.* 617 *sqq.* and for the description of Tartarus, 717 *sqq.* According to Hesiod, a brazen anvil would take nine days and nights to fall from heaven to earth, and nine days and nights to fall from earth to Tartarus.

³ Compare Hesiod, *Theog.* 132 *sqq.* who agrees in describing Cronus as the youngest of the brood. As Zeus, who succeeded his father Cronus on the heavenly throne, was likewise the youngest of his family (Hesiod, *Theog.* 453 *sqq.*), we may conjecture that among the ancient Greeks or their ancestors inheritance was at one time regulated by the custom of ultimogeniture or the succession of the youngest, as to which see *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, i. 429 *sqq.*

to wit, Arges, Steropes, Brontes,¹ of whom each had one eye on his forehead. But them Sky bound and cast into Tartarus, a gloomy place in Hades as far distant from earth as earth is distant from the sky.² And again he begat children by Earth, to wit, the Titans as they are named: Ocean, Coeus, Hyperion, Crius, Iapetus, and, youngest of all, Cronus; also daughters, the Titanides as they are called: Tethys, Rhea, Themis, Mnemosyne, Phoebe, Dione, Thia.³

But Earth, grieved at the destruction of her children, who had been cast into Tartarus, persuaded the Titans to attack their father and gave Cronus an adamantine sickle. And they, all but Ocean, attacked him, and Cronus cut off his father's genitals and threw them into the sea; and from the drops of the flowing blood were born Furies, to wit, Alecto, Tisiphone, and Megaera.⁴ And, having dethroned their father, they brought up their

In the secluded highlands of Arcadia, where ancient customs and traditions lingered long, King Lycaon is said to have been succeeded by his youngest son. See Apollodorus, iii. 8. 1.

⁴ Compare Hesiod, *Theog.* 156-190. Here Apollodorus follows Hesiod, according to whom the Furies sprang, not from the genitals of Sky which were thrown into the sea, but from the drops of his blood which fell on Earth and impregnated her. The sickle with which Cronus did the deed is said to have been flung by him into the sea at Cape Drepanum in Achaia (Pausanias, vii. 23. 4). The barbarous story of the mutilation of the divine father by his divine son shocked the moral sense of later ages. See Plato, *Republic*, ii. pp. 377 E-378 A, *Euthyphro*, pp. 5 E-6 A; Cicero, *De natura deorum*, ii. 24. 63 sqq. Andrew Lang interpreted the story with some probability as one of a world-wide class of myths intended to explain the separation of Earth and Sky. See his *Custom and Myth* (London, 1884), pp. 45 sqq.; and as to myths of the forcible separation of Sky and Earth, see E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*², i. 322 sqq.

APOLLODORUS

τούς τε καταταρταρωθέντας ἀνήγαγον ἀδελφούς
καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν Κρόνῳ παρέδωσαν.

- 5 Ὁ δὲ τούτους μὲν <έν> τῷ Ταρτάρῳ πάλιν
δήσας καθείρξε, τὴν δὲ ἀδελφὴν Ῥεάν γήμας,
ἐπειδὴ Γῆ τε καὶ Οὐρανὸς ἐθεσπιώδουν αὐτῷ
λέγοντες ὑπὸ παιδὸς ἰδίου τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφαιρεθή-
σεσθαι, κατέπιπε τὰ γεννώμενα. καὶ πρώτην μὲν
γεννηθεῖσαν Ἔστίαν κατέπιεν, εἶτα Δήμητραν
καὶ Ἥραν, μεθ' ἧς Πλούτωνα καὶ Ποσειδῶνα.
- 6 ὀργισθεῖσα δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις Ῥέα παραγίνεται μὲν
εἰς Κρήτην, ὀπηνίκα τὸν Δία ἐγκυμονοῦσα ἐτύγ-
χανε, γεννᾷ δὲ ἐν ἄντρῳ τῆς Δίκτης Δία. καὶ
τούτον μὲν δίδωσι τρέφεσθαι Κούρησί τε καὶ ταῖς
Μελισσέως¹ παισὶ νύμφαις, Ἀδραστεία τε καὶ
- 7 Ἴδη. αὐταὶ μὲν οὖν τὸν παῖδα ἔτρεφον τῷ τῆς
Ἀμαλθείας γάλακτι, οἱ δὲ Κούρητες ἐνοπλοὶ ἐν

¹ Μελισσέως Zenobius, *Cent.* ii. 48 : μελισσέων ΕΑ.

¹ Compare Hesiod, *Theog.* 453-467.

² According to Hesiod, Rhea gave birth to Zeus in Crete, and the infant god was hidden in a cave of Mount Aegaeum (*Theog.* 468-480). Diodorus Siculus (v. 70) mentions the legend that Zeus was born at Dicte in Crete, and that the god afterwards founded a city on the site. But according to Diodorus, or his authorities, the child was brought up in a cave on Mount Ida. The ancients were not agreed as to whether the infant god had been reared on Mount Ida or Mount Dicte. Apollodorus declares for Dicte, and he is supported by Virgil (*Georg.* iv. 153), Servius (on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 104), and the Vatican Mythographers (*Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, Cellis, 1834, vol. i. pp. 34, 79, First Vatican Mythographer, 104, Second Vatican Mythographer, 16). On the other hand the claim of Mount Ida is favoured by Callimachus (*Hymn.* i. 51), Ovid (*Fasti.* iv. 207), and Lactantius Placidus (on Statius, *Theb.* iv. 784). The wavering of tradition on this point is indicated by Apollo-

brethren who had been hurled down to Tartarus, and committed the sovereignty to Cronus.

But he again bound and shut them up in Tartarus, and wedded his sister Rhea; and since both Earth and Sky foretold him that he would be dethroned by his own son, he used to swallow his offspring at birth. His first-born Hestia he swallowed, then Demeter and Hera, and after them Pluto and Poseidon.¹ Enraged at this, Rhea repaired to Crete, when she was big with Zeus, and brought him forth in a cave of Dicte.² She gave him to the Curetes and to the nymphs Adrastia and Ida, daughters of Melisseus, to nurse. So these nymphs fed the child on the milk of Amalthea;³ and the Curetes in arms guarded the

dorus, who while he calls the mountain Dicte, names one of the god's nurses Ida.

¹ As to the nurture of Zeus by the nymphs, see Callimachus, *Hymn* i. 46 *sqq.*; Diodorus Siculus, v. 70. 2 *sq.*; Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 111 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 139; *id. Astronom.* ii. 13; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 104; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* iv. 784; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 34, 79 (First Vatican Mythographer, 104; Second Vatican Mythographer, 16). According to Callimachus, Amalthea was a goat. Aratus also reported, if he did not believe, the story that the supreme god had been suckled by a goat (Strabo, viii. 7. 5, p. 387), and this would seem to have been the common opinion (Diodorus Siculus, v. 70. 3; Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 13; Second Vatican Mythographer, 16). According to one account, his nurse Amalthea hung him in his cradle on a tree "in order that he might be found neither in heaven nor on earth nor in the sea" (Hyginus, *Fab.* 139). Melisseus, the father of his nurses Adrastia and Ida, is said to have been a Cretan king (Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 13); but his name is probably due to an attempt to rationalize the story that the infant Zeus was fed by bees. See Virgil, *Georg.* i. 149 *sqq.* with the note of Servius on v. 153; First Vatican Mythographer, 104; Second Vatican Mythographer, 16.

APOLLODORUS

τῷ ἄντρῳ τὸ βρέφος φυλάσσοντες τοῖς δόρασι
 τὰς ἀσπίδας συνέκρουον, ἵνα μὴ τῆς τοῦ παιδὸς
 φωνῆς ὁ Κρόνος ἀκούσῃ. Ῥέα δὲ λίθον σπαρ-
 γανώσασα δέδωκε Κρόνῳ καταπιεῖν ὡς τὸν
 γεγεννημένον παῖδα.

II. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ Ζεὺς ἐγενήθη¹ τέλειος, λαμβάνει
 Μῆτιν τὴν Ὠκεανοῦ συνεργόν, ἣ δίδωσι Κρόνῳ
 καταπιεῖν φάρμακον, ὑφ' οὗ ἐκεῖνος ἀναγκασθεὶς
 πρῶτον μὲν ἐξεμεί τὸν λίθον, ἔπειτα τοὺς παῖδας
 οὓς κατέπιε· μεθ' ὧν Ζεὺς τὸν πρὸς Κρόνον καὶ
 Τιτᾶνας ἐξήνεγκε πόλεμον. μαχομένων δὲ αὐτῶν

¹ ἐγενήθη EB: ἐγενήθη R²C.

¹ As to the Curetes in their capacity of guardians of the infant Zeus, see Callimachus, *Hymn*, i. 52 *sqq.*; Strabo, x. 3. 11, p. 468; Diodorus Siculus, v. 70, 2-4; Lucretius, ii. 633-639; Virgil, *Georg.* iii. 150 *sq.*; Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 207 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 139; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 104; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* iv. 784; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 34, 79 (First Vatican Mythographer, 104; Second Vatican Mythographer, 16). The story of the way in which they protected the divine infant from his inhuman parent by clashing their weapons may reflect a real custom, by the observance of which human parents endeavoured to guard their infants against the assaults of demons. See *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*, iii. 472 *sqq.*

² As to the trick by which Rhea saved Zeus from the maw of his father Cronus, see Hesiod, *Theog.* 485 *sqq.*; Pausanias, viii. 36. 3, ix. 2. 7, ix. 41. 6, x. 24. 6; Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 199-206; Hyginus, *Fab.* 139; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 104; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* iv. 784; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 34, 79 (First Vatican Mythographer, 104; Second Vatican Mythographer, 16). The very stone which Cronus swallowed and afterwards spewed out was shown at Delphi down to the second century of our era; oil was daily poured on it, and on

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babe in the cave, clashing their spears on their shields in order that Cronus might not hear the child's voice.¹ But Rhea wrapped a stone in swaddling clothes and gave it to Cronus to swallow, as if it were the new-born child.²

II. But when Zeus was full-grown, he took Metis, daughter of Ocean, to help him, and she gave Cronus a drug to swallow, which forced him to disgorge first the stone and then the children whom he had swallowed,³ and with their aid Zeus waged the war against Cronus and the Titans.⁴ They fought for

festival days unspun wool was laid on it (Pausanias, x. 24. 6). We read that, on the birth of Zeus's elder brother Poseidon, his mother Rhea saved the baby in like manner by giving his father Cronus a foal to swallow, which the deity seems to have found more digestible than the stone, for he is not said to have spat it out again (Pausanias, viii. 8. 2). Phalaris, the notorious tyrant of Agrigentum, dedicated in the sanctuary of Lindian Athena in Rhodes a bowl which was enriched with a relief representing Cronus in the act of receiving his children at the hand of Rhea and swallowing them. An inscription on the bowl set forth that it was a present from the famous artist Daedalus to the Sicilian king Cocalus. These things we learn from a long inscription which was found in recent years at Lindus: it contains an inventory of the treasures preserved in the temple of Athena, together with historical notes upon them. See Chr. Blinkenberg, *La Chronique du temple Lindien* (Copenhagen, 1912), p. 332 (*Académie Royale des Sciences et des Lettres de Danemark, Extrait du Bulletin de l'année 1912, No. 5-6*).

³ As to the disgorging of his offspring by Cronus, see Hesiod, *Theog.* 493 *sqq.*, who, however, says nothing about the agency of Metis in administering an emetic, but attributes the stratagem to Earth (Gaia).

⁴ As to the war of Zeus on the Titans, see Hesiod, *Theog.* 617 *sqq.*; Horace, *Odes*, iii. 4. 42 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 118.

APOLLODORUS

ἐνιαυτοὺς δέκα ἢ Γῆ τῷ Διὶ ἔχρησε τὴν νίκην, τοὺς καταταρταρωθέντας ἂν ἔχη συμμάχους· ὁ δὲ τὴν φρουρούσαν αὐτῶν τὰ δεσμὰ Κάμπην ἀποκτείνας ἔλυσε. καὶ Κύκλωπες τότε Διὶ μὲν διδόασι βροντὴν καὶ ἀστραπὴν καὶ κεραυνόν, Πλούτωνι δὲ κυνέην,¹ Ποσειδῶνι δὲ τρίαιναν· οἱ δὲ τούτοις ὄπλισθέντες κρατοῦσι Τιτάνων, καὶ καθείρξαντες αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ Ταρτάρῳ τοὺς ἑκατόγχειρας κατέστησαν² φύλακας. αὐτοὶ δὲ διακληροῦνται περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ λαγχάνει Ζεὺς μὲν τὴν ἐν οὐρανῷ δυναστείαν, Ποσειδῶν δὲ τὴν ἐν θαλάσῃ, Πλούτων δὲ τὴν ἐν Ἄιδου.

2 Ἐγένοντο δὲ Τιτάνων ἔκγονοι Ὠκεανοῦ μὲν καὶ Τηθύος Ὠκεανίδες,³ Ἀσία Στύξ Ἥλέκτρα Δωρίς

¹ κυνέην E: κυανέην A.

² κατέστησαν E: καθίστασαν A, καθιστᾶσι Bekker. See R. Wagner, *Epitoma Vaticana*, p. 84.

³ The MSS. add τρισχίλια (A) or τρισχίλιοι (E). The word seems to have been interpolated from Hesiod, *Theog.* 364.

¹ The most ancient oracle at Delphi was said to be that of Earth; in her office of prophetess the goddess was there succeeded by Themis, who was afterwards displaced by Apollo. See Aeschylus, *Eumenides*, 1 sqq.; Pausanias, x. 5. 5 sq. It is said that of old there was an oracle of Earth at Olympia, but it no longer existed in the second century of our era. See Pausanias, v. 14. 10. At Aegira in Achaia the oracles of Earth were delivered in a subterranean cave by a priestess, who had previously drunk bull's blood as a means of inspiration. See Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxviii. 147; compare Pausanias, vii. 25. 13. In the later days of antiquity the oracle of Earth at Delphi was explained by some philosophers on rationalistic principles: they supposed that the priestess was thrown into the prophetic trance by natural exhalations from the ground, and they explained the decadence of the

ten years, and Earth prophesied victory¹ to Zeus if he should have as allies those who had been hurled down to Tartarus. So he slew their gaoleress Campe, and loosed their bonds. And the Cyclopes then gave Zeus thunder and lightning and a thunderbolt,² and on Pluto they bestowed a helmet and on Poseidon a trident. Armed with these weapons the gods overcame the Titans, shut them up in Tartarus, and appointed the Hundred-handers their guards;³ but they themselves cast lots for the sovereignty, and to Zeus was allotted the dominion of the sky, to Poseidon the dominion of the sea, and to Pluto the dominion in Hades.⁴

Now to the Titans were born offspring: to Ocean and Tethys were born Oceanids, to wit, Asia, Styx,

oracle in their own time by the gradual cessation of the exhalations. The theory is scouted by Cicero. See Plutarch, *De defectu oraculorum*, 40 sqq.; Cicero, *De divinatione*, i. 19. 38, i. 36. 79, ii. 57. 117. A similar theory is still held by wizards in Loango, on the west coast of Africa; hence in order to receive the inspiration they descend into an artificial pit or natural hollow and remain there for some time, absorbing the blessed influence, just as the Greek priestesses for a similar purpose descended into the oracular caverns at Aegira and Delphi. See *Die Loango Expedition*, iii. 2, von Dr. E. Pechuël-Loesche (Stuttgart, 1907), p. 441. As to the oracular cavern at Delphi and the inspiring exhalations which were supposed to emanate from it, see Diodorus Siculus, xvi. 26; Strabo, ix. 3. 5, p. 419; Pausanias, x. 5. 7; Justin, xxiv. 6. 6-9. That the Pythian priestess descended into the cavern to give the oracles appears from an expression of Plutarch (*De defectu oraculorum*, 51, κατέβη μὲν εἰς τὸ μαντεῖον). As to the oracles of Earth in antiquity, see A. Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire de la Divination dans l'Antiquité*, ii. 251 sqq.; L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, iii. 8 sqq.

² Compare Hesiod, *Theog.* 501-506.

³ Compare Hesiod, *Theog.* 717 sqq.

⁴ Compare Homer, *Il.* xv. 187 sqq.; Plato, *Gorgias*, p. 523A.

APOLLODORUS

- Εὐρονόμη [Ἀμφιτρίτη] Μῆτις, Κοίου δὲ καὶ Φοίβης Ἀστερία καὶ Λητώ, Ὑπερίωνος δὲ καὶ Θείας Ἡὼς Ἥλιος Σελήνη, Κρείου δὲ καὶ Εὐρυβίας τῆς Πόντου Ἀστραῖος Πάλλας Πέρσης,
- 3 Ἰαπετοῦ δὲ καὶ Ἀσίας¹ Ἄτλας, ὃς ἔχει τοῖς ὤμοις τὸν οὐρανόν, καὶ Προμηθεὺς καὶ Ἐπιμηθεὺς καὶ Μενοίτιος, ὃν κεραυνώσας ἐν τῇ
- 4 τιτανομαχίᾳ Ζεὺς κατεταρτάρωσεν. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ Κρόνου καὶ Φιλύρας Χείρων διφυῆς Κένταυρος, Ἡοῦς δὲ καὶ Ἀστραίου ἄνεμοι καὶ ἄστρα, Πέρσου δὲ καὶ Ἀστερίας Ἐκάτη, Πάλλαντος δὲ καὶ
- 5 Στυγὸς¹ Νίκη Κράτος Ζῆλος Βία. τὸ δὲ τῆς Στυγὸς ὕδωρ ἐκ πέτρας ἐν Ἄιδου ῥέον Ζεὺς ἐποίησεν ὄρκον, ταύτην αὐτῇ τιμὴν διδοῦς ἀνθ' ὧν αὐτῷ κατὰ Τιτάνων μετὰ τῶν τέκνων συνεμάχησε.
- 6 Πόντου δὲ καὶ Γῆς Φόρκος² Θαύμας Νηρεὺς

¹ The MSS. add τῶν Ὠκεανοῦ, which Heyne, Westermann Müller, and Bekker alter into τῆς Ὠκεανοῦ.

² Φόρκος Heyne, Müller, Bekker, Hercher, (compare ii. 4. 2): Φόρκυς A.

¹ Compare Hesiod, *Theog.* 346-366, who mentions all the Oceanids named by Apollodorus except Amphitrite, who was a Nereid. See Apollodorus, i. 2. 7; Hesiod, *Theog.* 243.

² As to the offspring of Coeus and Phoebe, see Hesiod, *Theog.* 404 *sqq.*

³ As to the offspring of Hyperion and Thia, see Hesiod, *Theog.* 371 *sqq.*

⁴ As to the offspring of Crius and Eurybia, see Hesiod, *Theog.* 375 *sqq.*

⁵ As to the offspring of Iapetus and Asia, see Hesiod, *Theog.* 507-520.

⁶ It is said that Cronus assumed the shape of a horse when he consorted with Philyra, and that, we are told, was why

Electra, Doris, Eurynome, Amphitrite, and Metis;¹ to Coeus and Phoebe were born Asteria and Latona; ² to Hyperion and Thia were born Dawn, Sun, and Moon; ³ to Crius and Eurybia, daughter of Sea (Pontus), were born Astraeus, Pallas, and Perses; ⁴ to Iapetus and Asia was born Atlas, who has the sky on his shoulders, and Prometheus, and Epimetheus, and Menoetius, he whom Zeus in the battle with the Titans smote with a thunderbolt and hurled down to Tartarus.⁵ And to Cronus and Philyra was born Chiron, a centaur of double form; ⁶ and to Dawn and Astraeus were born winds and stars; ⁷ to Perses and Asteria was born Hecate; ⁸ and to Pallas and Styx were born Victory, Dominion, Emulation, and Violence.⁹ But Zeus caused oaths to be sworn by the water of Styx, which flows from a rock in Hades, bestowing this honour on her because she and her children had fought on his side against the Titans.¹⁰

And to Sea (Pontus) and Earth were born Phorcus, Chiron was born a centaur, half-man, half-horse. See Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 554.

⁷ As to the offspring of Dawn and Astraeus, see Hesiod, *Theog.* 378 *sqq.*

⁸ As to this parentage of Hecate, see Hesiod, *Theog.* 409 *sqq.* But the ancients were not agreed on the subject. See the Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iii. 467. He tells us that according to the Orphic hymns, Hecate was a daughter of Deo; according to Bacchylides, a daughter of Night; according to Musaeus, a daughter of Zeus and Asteria; and according to Pherecydes, a daughter of Aristaeus.

⁹ For this brood of abstractions, the offspring of Styx and Pallas, see Hesiod, *Theog.* 383 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* p. 30, ed. Bunte.

¹⁰ Compare Hesiod, *Theog.* 389-403. As to the oath by the water of Styx, see further Hesiod, *Theog.* 775 *sqq.*; compare Homer, *Il.* xv. 37 *sq.*, *Od.* v. 186 *sq.*; *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, 86 *sq.*

APOLLODORUS

Εὐρυβία Κητώ. Θαύμαντος μὲν οὖν καὶ Ἡλέκτρας¹
 Ἴρις καὶ ἄρπυιαι, Ἀελλῶ <καὶ> Ὠκυπέτη, Φόρκου
 δὲ καὶ Κητοῦς Φορκίδες <καὶ> Γοργόνες, περὶ ὧν
 7 ἐροῦμεν ὅταν τὰ κατὰ Περσέα λέγωμεν, Νηρέως δὲ
 καὶ Δωρίδος¹ Νηρηίδες, ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα Κυμοθόη
 Σπειῶ Γλαυκονόμη Ναυσιθόη Ἀλίη, Ἐρατὴ Σαῶ
 Ἀμφιτρίτη Εὐνίκη Θέτις, Εὐλιμένη Ἀγαθή Εὐ-
 δώρη Δωτὴ Φέρουσα, Γαλάτεια Ἀκταίη Ποντομέ-
 δουσα Ἴπποθόη Λυσιάνασσα, Κυμὴ Ἡιόνη Ἀλι-
 μήδη Πληξαύρη Εὐκράντη, Πρωτὴ Καλυψὼ
 Πανόπη Κραντὴ Νεόμηρις, Ἴππονόη Ἴανειρα
 Πολυνόμη Αὐτονόη Μελίτη,² Διώνη Νησαίη Δηρῶ
 Εὐαγόρη Ψαμάθη, Εὐμόλπη Ἴόνη Δυναμένη Κητὴ
 Λιμνώρεια.

III. Ζεὺς δὲ γαμεί μὲν Ἥραν, καὶ τεκνοῖ
 Ἡβην Εἰλείθυιαν Ἄρην,³ μίγνυται δὲ πολλαῖς
 θνηταῖς τε καὶ ἀθανάτοις γυναιξίν. ἐκ μὲν οὖν
 Θέμιδος τῆς⁴ Οὐρανοῦ γεννᾷ θυγατέρας ὥρας,
 Εἰρήνην Εὐνομίαν Δίκην, μοίρας, Κλωθὴν Λάχεσιν
 Ἀτροπον, ἐκ Διώνης δὲ Ἀφροδίτην, ἐξ Εὐρυνόμης

¹ The MSS. add τῶν Ὠκεανοῦ, which Heyne, Westermann, Müller, and Bekker alter into τῆς Ὠκεανοῦ.

² Μελίτη Heyne, comparing Hesiod, *Theog.* 246, Homer, *Il.* xviii. 42, etc.: Μελίη A.

³ Ἄρην Gale: ἄργην R: ἀργην E: ἄργην B.

⁴ τῆς E: τοῦ A.

¹ As to the offspring of Sea (Pontus, conceived as masculine) and Earth (conceived as feminine), see Hesiod, *Theog.* 233 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* p. 28, ed. Bunte.

² As to the offspring of Thaumás and Electra, see Hesiod, *Theog.* 265 *sqq.*

³ As to the parentage of the Phorcids and Gorgons, see

Thaumas, Nereus, Eurybia, and Ceto.¹ Now to Thaumas and Electra were born Iris and the Harpies, Aello and Ocypete; ² and to Phorcus and Ceto were born the Phorcids and Gorgons,³ of whom we shall speak when we treat of Perseus. To Nereus and Doris were born the Nereids,⁴ whose names are Cymothoe, Spio, Glauconome, Nausithoe, Halie, Erato, Sao, Amphitrite, Eunice, Thetis, Eulimene, Agave, Eudore, Doto, Pherusa, Galatea, Actaea, Pontomedusa, Hippothoe, Lysianassa, Cymo, Eione, Halimede, Plexaure, Eucrante, Proto, Calypso, Panope, Cranto, Neomeris, Hipponoe, Ianira, Polynome, Autonoe, Melite, Dione, Nesaea, Dero, Evagore, Psamathe, Eumolpe, Ione, Dynamene, Ceto, and Limnoria.

III. Now Zeus wedded Hera and begat Hebe, Ilithyia, and Ares,⁵ but he had intercourse with many women, both mortals and immortals. By Themis, daughter of Sky, he had daughters, the Seasons, to wit, Peace, Order, and Justice; also the Fates, to wit, Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropus; ⁶ by Dione he had

Hesiod, *Theog.* 270 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* p. 29, ed. Bunte. As to the monsters themselves, see Apollodorus, ii. 4. 2 *sq.*

⁴ For lists of Nereids, see Homer, *Il.* xviii. 38-49; Hesiod, *Theog.* 240-264; *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, 417-423; Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 334-344; Hyginus, *Fab.* pp. 28 *sq.*, ed. Bunte.

⁵ As to the offspring of Zeus and Hera, see Homer *Il.* v. 889 *sqq.* (Ares), xi. 270 *sq.* (Ilithyia), *Od.* xi. 603 *sq.* (Hebe); Hesiod, *Theog.* 921 *sqq.* According to Hesiod, Hera was the last consort whom Zeus took to himself; his first wife was Metis, and his second Themis (*Theog.* 886, 901, 921).

⁶ For the daughters of Zeus and Themis, see Hesiod, *Theog.* 901 *sqq.*

APOLLODORUS

δὲ τῆς Ὀκεανοῦ χάριτας, Ἀγλαΐην Εὐφροσύνην
Θάλειαν, ἐκ δὲ Στυγὸς Περσεφόνην, ἐκ δὲ Μιμη-
μοσύνης μούσας, πρῶτην μὲν Καλλιόπην, εἶτα
Κλειῶ Μελοπομένην Εὐτέρπην Ἐρατὴν Τερψι-
χόρην Οὐρανίαν Θάλειαν Πολυμνίαν.

- 2 Καλλιόπης μὲν οὖν καὶ Οἰάγρου, κατ' ἐπί-
κλησιν δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος, Λίνος, ὃν Ἡρακλῆς
ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ Ὀρφεὺς ὁ ἀσκήσας κιθαρωδίαν, ὃς
ἄδων ἐκίνει λίθους τε καὶ δένδρα. ἀποθανούσης δὲ
Εὐρυδίκης τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ, δηχθείσης ὑπὸ
ὄφews, κατήλθεν εἰς Ἄιδου θέλων ἀνάγειν¹ αὐτήν,

¹ ἀνάγειν Heyne: ἀγαγεῖν A.

¹ As to Dione, mother of Aphrodite, see Homer, *Il.* v. 370 *sqq.*; Euripides, *Helena*, 1098; Hyginus, *Fab.* p. 30, ed. Bunte. Hesiod represents Aphrodite as born of the sea-foam which gathered round the severed genitals of Sky (Uranus). See Hesiod, *Theog.* 188 *sqq.*

² As to the parentage of the Graces, see Hesiod, *Theog.* 907 *sqq.*; Pausanias, ix. 35. 5; Hyginus, *Fab.* p. 30, ed. Bunte.

³ According to the usual account, the mother of Persephone was not Styx but Demeter. See Hesiod, *Theog.* 912 *sq.*; *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, 1 *sqq.*; Pausanias, viii. 37. 9; Hyginus, *Fab.* p. 30, ed. Bunte.

⁴ As to the names and parentage of the Muses, see Hesiod, *Theog.* 75 *sqq.*, 915 *sqq.*

⁵ Accounts differ as to the parentage of Linus. According to one, he was a son of Apollo by the Muse Urania (Hyginus, *Fab.* 161); according to another, he was a son of Apollo by Psamathe, daughter of Crotopus (Pausanias, ii. 19. 8); according to another, he was a son of Apollo by Aethusa, daughter of Poseidon (*Contest of Homer and Hesiod*, p. 570, ed. Evelyn-White, *Loeb Classical Library*); according to another, he was a son of Magnes by the Muse Clio (Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 831).

⁶ That Orpheus was a son of Oeagrus by the Muse Calliope is affirmed also by Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 23 *sqq.*; Conon, *Narrat.* 45; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 831

Aphrodite;¹ by Eurynome, daughter of Ocean, he had the Graces, to wit, Aglaia, Euphrosyne, and Thalia;² by Styx he had Persephone;³ and by Memory (Mnemosyne) he had the Muses, first Calliope, then Clio, Melpomene, Euterpe, Erato, Terpsichore, Urania, Thalia, and Polymnia.⁴

Now Calliope bore to Oeagrus or, nominally, to Apollo, a son Linus,⁵ whom Hercules slew; and another son, Orpheus,⁶ who practised minstrelsy and by his songs moved stones and trees. And when his wife Eurydice died, bitten by a snake, he went down to Hades, being fain to bring her up,⁷ and he

the author of *The Contest of Homer and Hesiod*, p. 570, ed. Evelyn-White; Hyginus, *Fab.* 14; and the First and Second Vatican Mythographers (*Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 26, 90). The same view was held by Asclepiades, but some said that his mother was the Muse Polymnia (Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 23). Pausanias roundly denied that the musician's mother was the Muse Calliope (ix. 30. 4). That his father was Oeagrus is mentioned also by Plato (*Sympos.* p. 179 D), Diodorus Siculus (iv. 25. 2), and Clement of Alexandria (*Protrept.* 7, p. 63, ed. Potter). As to the power of Orpheus to move stones and trees by his singing, see Euripides, *Bacchae*, 561 sqq.; Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 26 sqq.; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 25. 2; Eratosthenes, *Cataster.* 24; Conon, *Narrat.* 45; Horace, *Odes*, i. 12. 7 sqq.; Seneca, *Hercules Oetaeus*, 1036 sqq.; *id.*, *Hercules Furens*, 572 sq.

⁷ As to the descent of Orpheus to hell to fetch up Eurydice, compare Pausanias, ix. 30. 6; Conon, *Narrat.* 45; Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 454 sqq.; Ovid, *Metamorph.* x. 8 sqq.; Hyginus, *Fab.* 164; Seneca, *Hercules Furens*, 569 sqq.; *id.* *Hercules Oetaeus*, 1061 sqq.; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* viii. 59 and 60; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 26 sq., 90 (First Vatican Mythographer, 76; Second Vatican Mythographer, 44). That Eurydice was killed by the bite of a snake on which she had accidentally trodden is mentioned by Virgil, Ovid, Hyginus, and the Vatican Mythographers.

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καὶ Πλούτωνα ἔπεισεν ἀναπέμψαι. ὁ δὲ ὑπέσχετο τοῦτο ποιήσῃν, ἂν μὴ πορευόμενος Ὀρφεὺς ἐπιστραφῆ πρὶν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ παραγενέσθαι· ὁ δὲ ἀπιστῶν ἐπιστραφεὶς ἐθέασατο τὴν γυναῖκα, ἣ δὲ πάλιν ὑπέστρεψεν. εὔρε δὲ Ὀρφεὺς καὶ τὰ Διονύσου μυστήρια, καὶ τέθαιπται περὶ τὴν Πιερίαν διασπασθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν μαινάδων.

3 Κλειὸν δὲ Πιέρου τοῦ Μάγνητος ἠράσθη κατὰ μῆνιν Ἀφροδίτης (ὠνείδισε γὰρ αὐτῇ τὸν τοῦ Ἀδωνίδος ἔρωτα), συνελθοῦσα δὲ ἐγέννησεν ἕξ αὐτοῦ παῖδα Ἐτάκινθον, οὗ Θάμυρις ὁ Φιλάμμωνος καὶ Ἀργιόπης νύμφης ἔσχεν¹ ἔρωτα, πρῶτος ἀρξάμενος ἐρᾶν ἀρρένων. ἀλλ' Ἐτάκινθον μὲν ὕστερον Ἀπόλλων ἐρώμενον ὄντα δίσκω

¹ ἔσχεν EA: ἴσχει Hercher, Wagner. But ἔχειν ἔρωτα is good Greek. See Herodotus, v. 32; Apollodorus, *Epit.* ii. 6. On the other hand Apollodorus has ἴσχειν ἔρωτα elsewhere (i. 9. 8, i. 9. 23, ii. 3. 1, iii. 14. 4).

¹ On Orpheus as a founder of mysteries, compare Euripides, *Rhesus*, 943 sq.; Aristophanes, *Frogs*, 1032; Plato, *Protagoras*, p. 369 D; *id. Republic*, ii. 7, pp. 365 E–366 A; Demosthenes, *Or.* xxv. 11, p. 772; Diodorus Siculus, i. 23, i. 96. 2–6, iii. 65. 6, iv. 25. 3, v. 77. 3; Pausanias, ii. 30. 2, ix. 30. 4, x. 7. 2; Plutarch, *Frag.* 84 (Plutarch, Didot ed. vol. v. p. 55). According to Diodorus Siculus (i. 23), the mysteries of Dionysus which Orpheus instituted in Greece were copied by him from the Egyptian mysteries of Osiris. The view that the mysteries of Dionysus were based on those of Osiris has been maintained in recent years by the very able and learned French scholar, Monsieur Paul Foucart. See his treatise, *Le culte de Dionysos en Attique* (Paris, 1904), pp. 8 sqq.; *id. Les mystères d'Éleusis* (Paris, 1914), pp. 1 sqq., 445 sqq.

² As to the death of Orpheus at the hands of the Maenads or the Thracian women, see Pausanias, ix. 30. 5; Conon, *Narrat.* 45; Eratosthenes, *Cataster.* 24; Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 520 sqq.; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xi. 1 sqq. Usually the women are

persuaded Pluto to send her up. The god promised to do so, if on the way Orpheus would not turn round until he should be come to his own house. But he disobeyed and turning round beheld his wife; so she turned back. Orpheus also invented the mysteries of Dionysus,¹ and having been torn in pieces by the Maenads² he is buried in Pieria. Clio fell in love with Pierus, son of Magnes, in consequence of the wrath of Aphrodite, whom she had twitted with her love of Adonis; and having met him she bore him a son Hyacinth, for whom Thamyris, the son of Philammon and a nymph Argiope, conceived a passion, he being the first to become enamoured of males. But afterwards Apollo loved Hyacinth and killed him involuntarily by the cast of a quoit.³ And

said to have been offended by the widower's constancy to the memory of his late wife, and by his indifference to their charms and endearments. But Eratosthenes, or rather the writer who took that name, puts a different complexion on the story. He says that Orpheus did not honour Dionysus, but esteemed the sun the greatest of the gods, and used to rise very early every day in order to see the sunrise from the top of Mount Pangaeum. This angered Dionysus, and he stirred up the Bassarids or Bacchanals to rend the bard limb from limb. Aeschylus wrote a tragedy on the subject called the *Bassarids* or *Bassaræ*. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck² (Leipsic, 1889), pp. 9 sq.

³ As to the death of Hyacinth, killed by the cast of Apollo's quoit, see Nicander, *Ther.* 901 sqq.; Pausanias, iii. 19. 4 sq.; Lucian, *Dial. deorum*, xiv.; Philostratus, *Imag.* i. 23 (24); Palaephatus, *De incredib.* 47; Ovid, *Metamorph.* x. 162 sqq.; Servius, on Virgil, *Ecl.* iii. 63; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* iv. 223; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 37, 135 sq. (First Vatican Mythographer, 117; Second Vatican Mythographer, 181). The usual story ran that Apollo and the West Wind, or, according to others, the North Wind, were rivals for the affection of Hyacinth; that Hyacinth preferred Apollo, and that the

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- βαλὼν ἄκων ἀπέκτεινε, Θάμυρις δὲ κάλλει
 διενεγκὼν καὶ κιθαρῳδία περὶ μουσικῆς ἤρισε
 μούσαις, συνθέμενος, ἂν μὲν κρείττων εὐρεθῆ,
 πλησιάσειν πάσαις, ἂν δὲ ἠττηθῆ, στερηθήσεται
 οὐδ' ἂν ἐκείναι θέλωσι. καθυπέρτεροι δὲ αἱ μούσαι
 4 ρῳδίας ἐστέρησαν. Εὐτέρπης δὲ καὶ ποταμοῦ
 Στρυμόνος Ῥῆσος, ὃν ἐν Τροίᾳ Διομήδης ἀπέ-
 κτεινεν ὡς δὲ ἔνιοι λέγουσι, Καλλιόπης ὑπήρχεν.
 Θαλείας δὲ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐγένοντο Κορύβαντες,
 Μελπομένης δὲ καὶ Ἀχελώου Σειρήνες, περὶ ὧν
 ἐν τοῖς περὶ Ὀδυσσέως ἐροῦμεν.
- 5 "Ἥρα δὲ χωρὶς εὐνῆς ἐγέννησεν Ἡφαιστον ὡς
 δὲ Ὀμηρος λέγει, καὶ τοῦτον ἐκ Διὸς ἐγέννησε.

jealous West Wind took his revenge by blowing a blast which diverted the quoit thrown by Apollo, so that it struck Hyacinth on the head and killed him. From the blood of the slain youth sprang the hyacinth, inscribed with letters which commemorated his tragic death; though the ancients were not at one in the reading of them. Some, like Ovid, read in them the exclamation ΑΙ ΑΙ, that is, "Alas, alas!" Others, like the Second Vatican Mythographer, fancied that they could detect in the dark lines of the flower the first Greek letter (Υ) of Hyacinth's name.

¹ This account of Thamyris and his contest with the Muses is repeated almost verbally by Zenobius, *Cent.* iv. 27, and by a Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* ii. 595. As to the bard's rivalry with the Muses, and the blindness they inflicted on him, see Homer, *Il.* ii. 594-600; compare Euripides, *Rhesus*, 915 *sqq.*; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 60 (First Vatican Mythographer, 197). The story of the punishment of Thamyris in hell was told in the epic poem *The Minyad*, attributed to Prodicus the Phocæan (Pausanias, iv. 33. 7). In the great picture of the underworld painted by Polygnotus at Delphi, the blind musician was portrayed sitting with long flowing locks and a broken lyre at his feet (Pausanias, x. 30. 8).

Thamyris, who excelled in beauty and in minstrelsy engaged in a musical contest with the Muses, the agreement being that, if he won, he should enjoy them all, but that if he should be vanquished he should be bereft of what they would. So the Muses got the better of him and bereft him both of his eyes and of his minstrelsy.¹ Euterpe had by the river Strymon a son Rhesus, whom Diomedes slew at Troy;² but some say his mother was Calliope. Thalia had by Apollo the Corybantes;³ and Melpomene had by Achelous the Sirens, of whom we shall speak in treating of Ulysses.⁴

Hera gave birth to Hephaestus without intercourse with the other sex,⁵ but according to Homer he was

² As to the death of Rhesus, see Homer, *Il.* x. 474 *sqq.*; compare Conon, *Narrat.* 4. It is the subject of Euripides's tragedy *Rhesus*; see particularly verses 756 *sqq.* Euripides represents Rhesus as a son of the river Strymon by one of the Muses (*vv.* 279, 915 *sqq.*), but he does not name the particular Muse who bore him.

³ Very discrepant accounts were given of the parentage of the Corybantes. Some said that they were sons of the Sun by Athena; others that their parents were Zeus and the Muse Calliope; others that their father was Cronus. See Strabo, x. 3. 19, p. 472. According to another account, their mother was the Mother of the Gods, who settled them in Samothrace, or the Holy Isle, as the name Samothrace was believed to signify. The name of the father of the Corybantes was kept a secret from the profane vulgar, but was revealed to the initiated at the Samothracian mysteries. See Diodorus Siculus, iii. 55. 8 *sq.*

⁴ As to the Sirens, see Apollodorus, *Epitome*, vii. 18 *sq.* Elsewhere (i. 7. 10) Apollodorus mentions the view that the mother of the Sirens was Sterope.

⁵ Compare Hesiod, *Theog.* 927 *sq.*; Lucian, *De sacrificiis*, 6. So Juno is said to have conceived Mars by the help of the goddess Flora and without intercourse with Jupiter (Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 229 *sq.*). The belief in the possible impregnation

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ρίπτει δὲ αὐτὸν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ Ζεὺς Ἥρα δεθείσῃ βοηθοῦντα· ταύτην γὰρ ἐκρέμασε¹ Ζεὺς ἐξ Ὀλύμπου χειμῶνα ἐπιπέμψασαν Ἡρακλεῖ, ὅτε Τροίαν ἐλὼν ἔπλει. πεσόντα δ' Ἡφαιστον ἐν Λήμνῳ καὶ πηρωθέντα τὰς βάσεις διέτρωσε Θέτις.

6 Μίγνυται δὲ Ζεὺς Μήτιδι,² μεταβαλλούσῃ εἰς πολλὰς ἰδέας ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ συνελθεῖν, καὶ αὐτὴν γενομένην ἔγκυον καταπίνει φθάσας, ἐπεὶ περ

¹ ἐκρέμασε E: ἐκκρεμάσασα RB, ἐξεκρέμασε C.

² Μήτιδι E, Scholiast on Plato, *Timaeus*, p. 23 D: Θέτιδι A.

of women without sexual intercourse appears to have been common, if not universal, among men at a certain stage of social evolution, and it is still held by many savages. See *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, 3rd ed. i. 92 sqq.; *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*, ii. 204, notes; A. et G. Grandidier, *Ethnographie de Madagascar*, ii. (Paris, 1914), pp. 245 sq. The subject is fully discussed by Mr. E. S. Hartland in his *Primitive Paternity* (London, 1909-1910).

¹ Compare Homer, *Il.* i. 571 sq., 577 sq. In these lines Hephaestus plainly recognizes Hera as his mother, but it is not equally clear that he recognizes Zeus as his father; the epithet "father" which he applies to him may refer to the god's general paternity in relation to gods and men.

² See Homer, *Il.* i. 590 sq.

³ See Homer, *Il.* xv. 18 sqq., where Zeus is said to have tied two anvils to the feet of Hera when he hung her out of heaven. Compare Apollodorus, ii. 7. 1; Nonnus, in Westermann's *Mythographi Graeci* (Brunswick, 1843), Appendix Narrationum, xxix. 1, pp. 371 sq.

⁴ The significance of lameness in myth and ritual is obscure. The Yorubas of West Africa say that Shankpanna, the god of small-pox, is lame and limps along with the aid of a stick, one of his legs being withered. See (Sir) A. B. Ellis, *The Yoruba-speaking peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa* (London, 1894), p. 73. The Ekoi of Southern Nigeria relate how the first fire on earth was stolen from heaven by a boy, whom the Creator (Obassi Osaw) punished with lameness for the theft.

one of her children by Zeus.¹ Him Zeus cast out of heaven, because he came to the rescue of Hera in her bonds.² For when Hercules had taken Troy and was at sea, Hera sent a storm after him; so Zeus hung her from Olympus.³ Hephaestus fell on Lemnos and was lamed of his legs,⁴ but Thetis saved him.⁵

Zeus had intercourse with Metis, who turned into many shapes in order to avoid his embraces. When she was with child, Zeus, taking time by the forelock

See P. Amaury Talbot, *In the Shadow of the Bush* (London, 1912), pp. 370 sq. This lame boy seems to play the part of a good fairy in Ekoi tales, and he is occasionally represented in a "stilt play" by an actor who has a short stilt bound round his right leg and limps like a cripple. See P. Amaury Talbot, *op. cit.* pp. 58, 285. Among the Edo of Benin "custom enjoined that once a year a lame man should be dragged around the city, and then as far as a place on the Enyai road, called Adaneha. This was probably a ceremony of purification." See W. N. Thomas, *Anthropological Report on the Edo-speaking peoples of Nigeria*, Part I. (London, 1910), p. 35. In a race called "the King's Race," which used to be run by lads on Good Friday or Easter Saturday in some parts of the Mark of Brandenburg, the winner was called "the King," and the last to come in was called "the Lame Carpenter." One of the Carpenter's legs was bandaged with splints as if it were broken, and he had to hobble along on a crutch. Thus he was led from house to house by his comrades, who collected eggs to bake a cake. See A. Kuhn, *Märkische Sagen und Märchen* (Berlin, 1843), pp. 323 sq.

⁵ As to the fall of Hephaestus on Lemnos, see Homer, *Il.* i. 590 sqq.; Lucian, *De sacrificiis*, 6. The association of the fire-god with Lemnos is supposed to have been suggested by a volcano called Moschylus, which has disappeared—perhaps submerged in the sea. See H. F. Tozer, *The Islands of the Aegean*, pp. 269 sqq.; R. C. Jebb on Sophocles, *Philoctetes*, 800, with the Appendix, pp. 243-245. According to another account, Hephaestus fell, not on Lemnos, but into the sea, where he was saved by Thetis. See Homer, *Il.* xviii. 394 sqq.

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ἔλεγε <Γῆ> γεννήσειν¹ παῖδα μετὰ τὴν μέλλουσαν ἐξ αὐτῆς γεννᾶσθαι² κόρην, ὃς οὐρανοῦ δυνάστης γενήσεται. τοῦτο φοβηθεὶς κατέπιεν αὐτήν· ὡς δ' ὁ τῆς γεννήσεως³ ἐνέστη χρόνος, πλήξαντος αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν πελέκει Προμηθέως ἢ καθάπερ ἄλλοι λέγουσιν Ἑφαιίστου, ἐκ κορυφῆς, ἐπὶ ποταμοῦ Τρίτωνος, Ἀθηνᾶ σὺν ὄπλοις ἀνέθορεν.

IV. Τῶν δὲ Κοίου θυγατέρων Ἀστερία μὲν ὁμοιωθεῖσα ὄρτυγι ἑαυτὴν εἰς θάλασσαν ἔρριψε, φεύγουσα τὴν πρὸς Δία συνουσίαν· καὶ πόλις ἀπ' ἐκείνης Ἀστερία πρότερον κληθεῖσα, ὕστερον δὲ Δῆλος. Λητὴ δὲ συνελθοῦσα Διὶ κατὰ τὴν γῆν ἄπασαν ὑφ' Ἡρας ἠλαύνετο, μέχρις εἰς Δῆλον ἐλθοῦσα γεννᾶ πρώτην Ἄρτεμιν, ὑφ' ἧς μαιωθεῖσα ὕστερον Ἀπόλλωνα ἐγέννησεν.

¹ ἔλεγε <Γῆ> γεννήσειν Heyne, comparing Hesiod, *Theog.* 890 sq.: ἔλεγε γεννήσειν A, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher, Wagner.

² γεννᾶσθαι E, Scholiast on Plato, *Timaeus*, p. 23 D: γένεσθαι A.

³ γεννήσεως A, Scholiast on Plato, *Timaeus*, p. 23 D: γενέσεως E, Wagner.

¹ See Hesiod, *Theog.* 886-900, 929g-929p, ed. Evelyn-White; Scholiast on Plato, *Timaeus*, p. 23 D. Hesiod says that Zeus acted on the advice or warning of Earth and Sky. The Scholiast on Hesiod, quoted by Goettling and Paley in their commentaries, says that Metis had the power of turning herself into any shape she pleased.

² Compare the Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* i. 195, who cites the first book of Apollodorus as his authority. According to the usual account, followed by the vase-painters, it was Hephaestus who cleft the head of Zeus with an axe and so delivered Athena. See Pindar, *Olymp.* vii. 35 (65) sqq.; Scholiast on Plato, *Timaeus*, p. 23 D. According to Euripides (*Ion*, 454 sqq.), the delivery was effected by Prometheus; but according to others it was Palamaon or Hermes who split the

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swallowed her, because Earth said that, after giving birth to the maiden who was then in her womb, Metis would bear a son who should be the lord of heaven. From fear of that Zeus swallowed her.¹ And when the time came for the birth to take place, Prometheus or, as others say, Hephaestus, smote the head of Zeus with an axe, and Athena, fully armed, leaped up from the top of his head at the river Triton.²

IV. Of the daughters of Coeus, Asteria in the likeness of a quail flung herself into the sea in order to escape the amorous advances of Zeus, and a city was formerly called after her Asteria, but afterwards it was named Delos.³ But Latona for her intrigue with Zeus was hunted by Hera over the whole earth, till she came to Delos and brought forth first Artemis, by the help of whose midwifery she afterwards gave birth to Apollo.⁴

head of the supreme god and so allowed Athena to leap forth. See the Scholiast on Pindar, *Olymp.* vii. 35 (65).

¹ Compare Callimachus, *Hymn to Delos*, 36 sqq.; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 401; Hyginus, *Fab.* 53; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 73; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* iv. 795; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 13, 79 sq. (First Vatican Mythographer, 37; Second Vatican Mythographer, 17).

⁴ As to the birth of Apollo and Artemis, see the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, 14 sqq.; Pindar, *On Delos*, p. 560, ed. Sandys; Hyginus, *Fab.* 140; and the writers cited in the preceding note. The usual tradition was that Latona gave birth both to Artemis and to Apollo in Delos, which formerly had been called Asteria or Ortygia. But the author of the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* distinguishes Ortygia from Delos, and says that, while Apollo was born in Delos, Artemis was born in Ortygia. Thus distinguished from Delos, the island of Ortygia is probably to be identified, as Strabo thought, with Rhenia, an uninhabited island a little way from Delos, where were the graves of the Delians; for no dead body might be buried or burnt in Delos (Strabo,

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Ἄρτεμις μὲν οὖν τὰ περὶ θήραν ἀσκήσασα
 παρθένος ἔμεινε, Ἀπόλλων δὲ τὴν μαντικὴν
 μαθὼν παρὰ Πανὸς τοῦ Διὸς καὶ Ἔβρεως¹
 ἦκεν εἰς Δελφοὺς, χρησμοφδοῦσης τότε Θέμιδος·
 ὡς δὲ ὁ φρουρῶν τὸ μαντεῖον Πύθων ὄφις ἐκώλυεν
 αὐτὸν παρελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ χάσμα, τοῦτον ἀνελὼν τὸ
 μαντεῖον παραλαμβάνει. κτείνει δὲ μετ' οὐ πολὺ
 καὶ Τιτυόν, ὃς ἦν Διὸς υἱὸς καὶ τῆς Ὀρχομενοῦ
 θυγατρὸς Ἑλάρης,² ἦν Ζεὺς, ἐπειδὴ συνῆλθε,

¹ Ἔβρεως EA, Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 772 (all MSS.), Westermann: Ἐμβρεως Scholiast on Pindar, *Pyth.*, *Argum.* (p. 297, ed. Boeckh), Aegius, Heyne, Müller, Bekker, Hercher, Wagner.

² Ἑλάρης Aegius: ἐλάνης A: ἐλένης E.

x. 5. 5, p. 486). Not only so, but it was not even lawful either to be born or to die in Delos; expectant mothers and dying folk were ferried across to Rhenia, there to give birth or to die. However, Rhenia is so near the sacred isle that when Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, dedicated it to the Delian Apollo, he connected the two islands by a chain. See Thucydides, iii. 104; Diodorus Siculus, xii. 58. 1; Pausanias, ii. 27. 1. The notion that either a birth or a death would defile the holy island is illustrated by an inscription found on the acropolis of Athens, which declares it to be the custom that no one should be born or die within any sacred precinct. See *Ἐφημερίς ἀρχαιολογική*, Athens, 1884, pp. 167 sq. The desolate and ruinous remains of the ancient necropolis, overgrown by asphodel, may still be seen on the bare treeless slopes of Rhenia, which looks across the strait to Delos. See H. F. Tozer, *The Islands of the Aegean* (Oxford, 1890), pp. 14 sq. The quaint legend, recorded by Apollodorus, that immediately after her birth Artemis helped her younger twin brother Apollo to be born into the world, is mentioned also by Servius (on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 73) and the Vatican Mythographers (see the reference in the last note). The legend, these writers inform us, was told to explain why the maiden goddess Artemis was invoked by women in childbed.

Now Artemis devoted herself to the chase and remained a maid; but Apollo learned the art of prophecy from Pan, the son of Zeus and Hybris,¹ and came to Delphi, where Themis at that time used to deliver oracles;² and when the snake Python, which guarded the oracle, would have hindered him from approaching the chasm,³ he killed it and took over the oracle.⁴ Not long afterwards he slew also Tityus, who was a son of Zeus and Elare, daughter of Orchomenus; for her, after he had debauched her,

¹ Pan, son of Zeus and Thymbreus (Thymbris? Hybris?), is mentioned by a Scholiast on Pindar, who distinguishes him from Pan, the son of Hermes and Penelope. See the Argument to the *Pythians*, p. 297, ed. Boeckh.

² As to the oracle of Themis at Delphi, see Aeschylus, *Eumenides*, 1 *sqq.*; Euripides, *Iphigenia in Tauris*, 1259 *sqq.*; Pausanias, x. 5. 6; Scholiast on Pindar, Argument to the *Pythians*, p. 297, ed. Boeckh. According to Ovid (*Metamorph.* i. 367 *sqq.*), it was Themis, and not Apollo, whom Deucalion consulted at Delphi about the best means of repeopling the earth after the great flood.

³ The reference is to the oracular chasm at which the priestess, under the supposed influence of its divine exhalations, delivered her prophecies. See Diodorus Siculus, xvi. 26; Strabo, ix. 3. 5, p. 419; Justin, xxiv. 6. 9.

⁴ As to Apollo's slaughter of the Python, the dragon that guarded the oracle at Delphi, see Plutarch, *Quaest. Graec.* 12; *id. De defectu oraculorum*, 15; Aelian, *Var. Hist.* iii. 1; Pausanias, ii. 7. 7, ii. 30. 3, x. 6. 5 *sq.*; Ovid, *Metamorph.* i. 437 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 140. From Plutarch and Aelian we learn that Apollo had to go to Tempe to be purified for the slaughter of the dragon, and that both the slaughter of the dragon and the purification of the god were represented every eighth year in a solemn festival at Delphi. See my note on Pausanias, ii. 7. 7 (vol. iii. pp. 53 *sqq.*). The Pythian games at Delphi were instituted in honour of the dead dragon (Ovid and Hyginus, *ll. cc.*; compare Clement of Alexandria, *Protrep.* 2, p. 29, ed. Potter), probably to soothe his natural anger at being slain.

APOLLODORUS

δείσας Ἡραν ὑπὸ γῆν ἔκρυψε, καὶ τὸν κυφορηθέντα παῖδα Τιτυὸν ὑπερμεγέθη εἰς φῶς ἀνήγαγεν. οὗτος ἐρχομένην¹ εἰς Πυθῶ Λητῶ θεωρήσας, πόθῳ κατασχεθεὶς ἐπισπᾶται· ἡ δὲ τοὺς παῖδας ἐπικαλεῖται καὶ κατατοξεύουσιν αὐτόν. κολάζεται δὲ καὶ μετὰ θάνατον· γῦπες γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὴν καρδίαν ἐν Ἄιδου ἐσθίουσιν.

- 2 Ἀπέκτεινε δὲ Ἀπόλλων καὶ τὸν Ὀλύμπου παῖδα Μαρσύαν. οὗτος γὰρ εὐρῶν αὐλοῦς, οὗς ἔρριψεν Ἀθηνᾶ διὰ τὸ τὴν ὄψιν αὐτῆς ποιεῖν

¹ ἐρχομένην ER, compare Homer, *Od.* xi. 581 : ἐρχόμενος A.

¹ Compare Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* vii. 324 ; Eustathius on Homer, *Od.* vii. 324, p. 1581 ; Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 761 sq., with the Scholiast on v. 761. The curious story how Zeus hid his light o' love under the earth to save her from the jealous rage of Hera was told by the early mythologist and antiquarian Pherecydes of Athens, as we learn from the Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius (*l.c.*). Pherecydes was a contemporary of Herodotus and Hellanicus, and wrote in the first half of the fifth century B.C. Apollodorus often refers to him, and appears to have made much use of his writings, as I shall have occasion to observe in the course of these notes. With regard to Elare or Elara, the mother of Tityus, some people thought that she was a daughter of Minyas, not of Orchomenus (Scholiast on Homer, and Eustathius, *l.c.*). Because Tityus was brought up under the earth, he was said to be earth-born (*γηγενής*, Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 761). Homer calls him simply a son of Earth (*Od.* xi. 576), and in this he is followed by Virgil (*Aen.* vi. 595).

² As to the crime and punishment of Tityus, see Homer, *Od.* xi. 576-581 ; Pindar, *Pyth.* iv. 90 (160) sqq., with the Scholiast on v. 90 (160) ; Lucretius, iii. 984 sqq. ; Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 595 sqq. ; Horace, *Odes*, ii. 14. 8 sq., iii. 4. 77 sqq., iii. 11. 21 sq., iv. 6. 2 sq. ; Hyginus, *Fab.* 55 ; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 4, 110

Zeus hid under the earth for fear of Hera, and brought forth to the light the son Tityus, of monstrous size, whom she had borne in her womb.¹ When Latona came to Delphi, Tityus beheld her, and overpowered by lust drew her to him. But she called her children to her aid, and they shot him down with their arrows. And he is punished even after death; for vultures eat his heart in Hades.²

Apollo also slew Marsyas, the son of Olympus. For Marsyas, having found the pipes which Athena had thrown away because they disfigured her face,³

(First Vatican Mythographer, 13; Second Vatican Mythographer, 104). The tomb of Tityus was shown at Panopeus in Phocis; it was a mound or barrow about a third of a furlong in circumference. See Pausanias, x. 4. 5. In Euboea there was shown a cave called Elarium after the mother of Tityus, and Tityus himself had a shrine where he was worshipped as a hero (Strabo, ix. 3. 14, p. 423). The death of Tityus at the hands of Apollo and Artemis was represented on the throne of Apollo at Amyclae (Pausanias, iii. 18. 15), and it was the subject of a group of statuary dedicated by the Cnidians at Delphi (Pausanias, x. 11. 1). His sufferings in hell were painted by Polygnotus in his famous picture of the underworld at Delphi. The great artist represented the sinner worn to a shadow, but no longer racked by the vultures gnawing at his liver (Pausanias, x. 29. 3).

³ As she played on the pipes, she is said to have seen her puffed and swollen cheeks reflected in water. See Plutarch, *De cohibenda ira*, 6; Athenaeus, xiv. 7, p. 616 ff; Propertius, iii. 22 (29). 16 sqq.; Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 697 sqq.; *id. Ars Amat.* iii. 505 sq.; Hyginus, *Fab.* 165; Fulgentius, *Mythology.* iii. 9; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 40, 114 (First Vatican Mythographer, 125; Second Vatican Mythographer, 115). On the acropolis at Athens there was a group of statuary representing Athena smiting Marsyas because he had picked up the flutes which she had thrown away (Pausanias, i. 24. 1). The subject was a favourite theme in ancient art. See my note on Pausanias, *l.c.* (vol. ii. pp. 289 sqq.).

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ἄμορφον, ἦλθεν εἰς ἔριν περὶ μουσικῆς Ἀπόλλωνι. συνθεμένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἵνα ὁ νικήσας ὁ βούλεται διαθῆ τὸν ἠττημένον, τῆς κρίσεως γινομένης τὴν κιθάραν στρέψας ἠγωνίζετο ὁ Ἀπόλλων, καὶ ταῦτὸ ποιεῖν ἐκέλευσε¹ τὸν Μαρσύαν· τοῦ δὲ ἀδυνατοῦντος εὐρεθεὶς κρείσσων ὁ Ἀπόλλων, κρεμάσας τὸν Μαρσύαν ἔκ τινος ὑπερτενοῦς πίτυος, ἐκτεμὼν τὸ δέρμα οὕτως διέφθειρεν.

- 3 Ὀρίωνα δὲ Ἄρτεμις ἀπέκτεινεν ἐν Δήλῳ. τοῦτον γηγενῆ λέγουσιν ὑπερμεγέθη τὸ σῶμα· Φερεκύδης δὲ αὐτὸν Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Εὐρυνάλης λέγει. ἐδωρήσατο δὲ αὐτῷ Ποσειδῶν διαβαίνειν τὴν θάλασσαν. οὗτος <πρώτην>² μὲν ἔγχημε Σίδην, ἣν ἔρριψεν εἰς Ἄιδου περὶ μορφῆς ἐρίσασαν Ἥρα·³ αὐθις δὲ ἐλθὼν εἰς Χίον Μερόπην

¹ ἐκέλευσε A : ἐκέλευε E, Wagner.

² <πρώτην> conjecturally inserted by Hercher and Wagner.

³ Ἥρα Wagner (apparently a misprint.)

¹ As to the musical contest between Marsyas and Apollo, and the punishment of the vanquished Marsyas, see Diodorus Siculus, iii. 59; Pausanias, ii. 22. 9; Ovid, *Metamorph.* vi. 382 sqq.; *id. Fasti*, vi. 703 sqq.; Hyginus, *Fab.* 165; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 40, 114 (First Vatican Mythographer, 125; Second Vatican Mythographer, 115). There has been some doubt as to the interpretation of the words *τὴν κιθάραν στρέψας*; but that they mean simply "turned the lyre upside down," as Heyne correctly explained them, is shown by a comparison with the parallel passages in Hyginus ("*citharam versabat*") and the Second Vatican Mythographer ("*invertit citharam, et canere coepit. Inversis autem tibiis, quum se Marsya Apollini aequiparare nequiret*" etc.). That the tree on which Marsyas was hanged was a pine is affirmed by many ancient writers besides Apollodorus. See Nicander, *Alexipharmaca*, 301 sq., with the Scholiast's note; Lucian, *Trago-*

engaged in a musical contest with Apollo. They agreed that the victor should work his will on the vanquished, and when the trial took place Apollo turned his lyre upside down in the competition and bade Marsyas do the same. But Marsyas could not, So Apollo was judged the victor and despatched Marsyas by hanging him on a tall pine tree and stripping off his skin.¹

And Artemis slew Orion in Delos.² They say that he was of gigantic stature and born of the earth; but Pherecydes says that he was a son of Poseidon and Euryale.³ Poseidon bestowed on him the power of striding across the sea.⁴ He first married Side,⁵ whom Hera cast into Hades because she rivalled herself in beauty. Afterwards he went to Chios and

dopodagra, 314 sq.; Archias Mitylenaeus, in *Anthologia Palatina*, vii. 696; Philostratus Junior, *Imagines*, i. 3; Longus, *Pastor*. iv. 8; Zenobius, *Cent.* iv. 81; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, i. 353 sqq. Pliny alone describes the tree as a plane, which in his time was still shown at Aulocrene on the way from Apamea to Phrygia (*Nat. Hist.* xvi. 240). The skin of the flayed Marsyas was exhibited at Celaenae within historical times. See Herodotus, vii. 26; Xenophon, *Anabasis*, i. 2. 8; Livy, xxxviii. 13. 6; Quintus Curtius, iii. 1. 1-5; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* v. 106.

² See Homer, *Od.* v. 121-124; Horace, *Odes*, iii. 4. 70 sqq.

³ The same account of Orion's parentage was given by Hesiod, whom Pherecydes probably followed. See Eratosthenes, *Catasterism.* 32; Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 34.

⁴ Some thought that Orion waded through the sea (so Virgil, *Aen.* x. 763 sqq.), others that he walked on the top of it (so Eratosthenes, *Catasterism.* 32; Scholiast on Nicander, *Ther.* 15; Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 34).

⁵ As Side means "pomegranate" in Greek, it has been supposed that the marriage of Orion to Side is a mythical expression for the ripening of the pomegranate at the season when the constellation Orion is visible in the nightly sky. See W. Pape, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*³ (Brunswick, 1884), ii. 1383.

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τὴν Οἰνοπίωνος ἐμνηστεύσατο. μεθύσας δὲ Οἰνοπίων αὐτὸν κοιμώμενον ἐτύφλωσε καὶ παρὰ τοῖς αἰγιαλοῖς ἔρριψεν. ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ <Ἥφαιστου>¹ χαλκείον ἐλθὼν καὶ ἀρπάσας παῖδα ἕνα, ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων ἐπιθέμενος ἐκέλευσε ποδηγεῖν πρὸς τὰς ἀνατολάς. ἐκεῖ δὲ παραγενόμενος ἀνέβλεψεν ἐξακεσθεῖς² ὑπὸ τῆς ἠλιακῆς ἀκτίνος, καὶ διὰ
 4 ταχέων ἐπὶ τὸν Οἰνοπίωνα ἔσπευδεν. ἀλλὰ τῷ μὲν Ποσειδῶν ἠφαιστότευκτον ὑπὸ γῆν κατεσκεύασεν οἶκον, Ὀρίωνος δ' Ἡὼς ἐρασθεῖσα ἤρπασε καὶ ἐκόμισεν εἰς Δῆλον· ἐποίει γὰρ αὐτὴν Ἄφροδίτῃ συνεχῶς ἐρᾶν, ὅτι Ἄρει συνευνάσθη.
 5 ὁ δ' Ὀρίων, ὡς μὲν ἔνιοι λέγουσιν, ἀνηρέθη δισκεύειν Ἄρτεμιν προκαλούμενος, ὡς δέ τινες, βιαζόμενος Ὀπιν μίαν τῶν ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων παραγενομένων παρθένων ὑπ' Ἀρτέμιδος ἐτοξεύθη.

¹ <Ἥφαιστου> a conjecture of Heyne, who proposed to read <εἰς Δῆμον> ἐπὶ τὸ χαλκείον <Ἥφαιστου>, comparing Eratosthenes, *Cataster.* 32.

² ἐξακεσθεῖς Hercher: ἐκκαεῖς MSS. and editors, including Wagner.

¹ This quaint story of Orion and Oenopion is told also by Eratosthenes, *Catasterism.* 32; the old Scholiast on Aratus, *Phaenomena*, 322, quoted in *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 89; the Scholiast on Nicander, *Ther.* 15; Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 34; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* x. 763; and the First Vatican Mythographer, 33 (*Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 12), except that this last writer substitutes Minos, king of Crete, for Oenopion. The name of the guide whom Orion took on his back to guide him to the sunrise was Cedalion (Lucian, *De domo*, 28; Eratosthenes, Scholiast on Aratus, and Hyginus, *ll. cc.*). Sophocles made the story the theme of a satyric drama called *Cedalion*, of which a few fragments have come down to us. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Frag-*

wooded Merope, daughter of Oenopion. But Oenopion made him drunk, put out his eyes as he slept, and cast him on the beach. But he went to the smithy of Hephaestus, and snatching up a lad set him on his shoulders and bade him lead him to the sunrise. Being come thither he was healed by the sun's rays, and having recovered his sight he hastened with all speed against Oenopion. But for him Poseidon had made ready a house under the earth constructed by Hephaestus.¹ And Dawn fell in love with Orion and carried him off and brought him to Delos; for Aphrodite caused Dawn to be perpetually in love, because she had bedded with Ares. But Orion was killed, as some say, for challenging Artemis to a match at quoits, but some say he was shot by Artemis for offering violence to Opis, one of the maidens who had come from the Hyperboreans.²

menta, ed. A. Nauck², pp. 202 *sq.*; *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. ii. pp. 8 *sqq.* Euripides represents the blinded Polymestor praying to the Sun to restore his sight (*Hecuba*, 1067 *sqq.*).

² Compare Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* v. 121, who calls the maiden Opis. According to another, and more generally received, account, Orion died of the bite of a scorpion, which Artemis sent against him because he had attempted her chastity. For this service the scorpion was raised to the rank of a constellation in the sky, and Orion attained to a like dignity. That is why the constellation Orion lies for ever from the constellation Scorpion round the sky. See Aratus, *Phaenomena*, 634 *sqq.*; Nicander, *Ther.* 13 *sqq.*; Eratosthenes, *Catasterism.* 32; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xviii. 486; Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* v. 121; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* iii. 27; Scholiast on Caesar Germanicus, *Aratea*, p. 386, ed. Eyssenhardt, in his edition of Martianus Capella. The Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xviii. 486, cites as his authority Euphorion, a grammarian and poet of the fourth century B.C.

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Ποσειδῶν δὲ Ἀμφιτρίτην [τὴν Ὀκεανοῦ] γαμεῖ, καὶ αὐτῷ γίνεται Τρίτων καὶ Ῥόδη, ἣν Ἥλιος ἔγημε.

V. Πλούτων δὲ Περσεφόνης ἐρασθεὶς Διὸς συνεργούντος ἤρπασεν αὐτὴν κρύφα. Δημήτηρ δὲ μετὰ λαμπάδων νυκτός τε καὶ ἡμέρας κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ζητοῦσα περιήει· μαθοῦσα δὲ παρ' Ἑρμιονέων ὅτι Πλούτων αὐτὴν ἤρπασεν,

¹ Compare Hesiod, *Theog.* 930 *sqq.*

² Rhode, more commonly in the form Rhodos, is a personification of the island of Rhodes, which Pindar calls the Bride of the Sun (*Olymp.* vii. 14), because it was the great seat of the worship of the Sun in ancient Greece. A Rhodian inscription of about 220 B.C. records public prayers offered by the priests "to the Sun and Rhodos and all the other gods and goddesses and founders and heroes who have the city and the land of the Rhodians in their keeping." See P. Cauer, *Delectus Inscriptionum Graecarum*², p. 123, No. 181; Ch. Michel, *Recueil d'Inscriptions Grecques*, p. 24, No. 21; H. Collitz and F. Bechtel, *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften*, vol. iii. p. 412, No. 3749. Every year the Rhodians threw into the sea a chariot and four horses for the use of the Sun, apparently supposing that after riding a whole year across the sky his old chariot and horses must be quite worn out. See Festus, *s.v.* "October equus," p. 181, ed. C. O. Müller.

³ This account of the rape of Persephone and Demeter's quest of her is based on the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*. The opening passage, including the explanation of the Laughless Stone, is quoted verbally by Zenobius (*Cent.* i. 7) and the Scholiast on Aristophanes (*Knights*, 785), but without mention of their authority. For other accounts of the rape of Persephone and Demeter's quest of her, see Diodorus Siculus, v. 4. 1-3, v. 68. 2; Cicero, *In Verrem*, Act. II. lib. 4, cap. 48; Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 419 *sqq.*; *id.* *Metamorph.* v. 346 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 146; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, v. 347; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 106-108 (Second Vatican Mythographer, 93-100). All these writers

Poseidon wedded Amphitrite, daughter of Ocean, and there were born to him Triton¹ and Rhode, who was married to the Sun.²

V. Pluto fell in love with Persephone and with the help of Zeus carried her off secretly.³ But Demeter went about seeking her all over the earth with torches by night and day, and learning from the people of Hermion that Pluto had carried her off,⁴

agree in mentioning Sicily as the scene of the rape of Persephone; Cicero and Ovid identify the place with Enna (Henna), of which Cicero gives a vivid description. The author of the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* says (*vv.* 16 *sq.*) that the earth yawned "in the Nysian plain," but whether this was a real or a mythical place is doubtful. See T. W. Allen and E. E. Sikes, *The Homeric Hymns*, p. 4 (on *Hymn* i. 8). It was probably the luxuriant fertility of Sicily, and particularly the abundance of its corn, which led later writers to place the scene of the rape in that island. In Ovid's version of the visit of Demeter to Eleusis (*Fasti*, iv. 507 *sqq.*), Celeus is not the king of the place but a poor old peasant, who receives the disguised goddess in his humble cottage.

⁴ This visit paid by the mourning Demeter to Hermion, when she was searching for the lost Persephone, is not mentioned by the author of the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, nor, so far as I know, by any other ancient writer except Zenobius (*Cent.* i. 7) and the Scholiast on Aristophanes (*Knights*, 785), both of whom, however, merely copied Apollodorus without naming him. But compare Pausanias, ii. 35. 4-8, who mentions the sanctuary of Subterranean Demeter at Hermion, and describes the curious sacrificial ritual observed at it. At Hermion there was a chasm which was supposed to communicate with the infernal regions, and through which Hercules was said to have dragged up Cerberus (Pausanias, ii. 35. 10). The statement of Apollodorus in the present passage suggests that according to local tradition Pluto dragged down his bride to hell through the same chasm. So convinced were the good people of Hermion that they possessed a private entrance to the nether regions that they very thriftily abstained from the usual Greek practice of placing money in the mouths of their dead

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ὀργιζομένη θεοῖς κατέλιπεν¹ οὐρανόν, εἰκασθεῖσα δὲ γυναικὶ ἤκεν εἰς Ἐλευσίνα. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνης κληθεῖσαν Ἀγέλαστον ἐκάθισε πέτραν παρὰ τὸ Καλλίχορον φρέαρ καλούμενον, ἔπειτα πρὸς Κελεὸν ἔλθοῦσα τὸν βασιλεύοντα τότε Ἐλευσινίων, ἔνδον οὐσῶν γυναικῶν, καὶ λεγουσῶν τούτων παρ' αὐτὰς καθέζεσθαι, γραϊὰ τις Ἰάμβη σκώψασα τὴν θεὸν ἐποίησε μειδιᾶσαι. διὰ τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς θεσμοφορίοις τὰς γυναῖκας σκώπτειν λέγουσιν.

Ὅντος δὲ τῆ τοῦ Κελεοῦ γυναικὶ Μετανείρα παιδίου, τοῦτο ἔτρεφεν ἡ Δημήτηρ παραλαβοῦσα· βουλομένη δὲ αὐτὸ ἀθάνατον ποιῆσαι, τὰς νύκτας εἰς πῦρ κατετίθει τὸ βρέφος καὶ περιήρει τὰς θνητὰς σάρκας αὐτοῦ. καθ' ἡμέραν δὲ παραδόξως αὐξανόμενου τοῦ Δημοφῶντος (τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν

¹ κατέλιπεν Zenobius, *Cent.* i. 7, Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Knights*, 785 : ἀπέλιπεν A.

(Strabo, ix. 6. 12, p. 373). Apparently they thought that it would be a waste of money to pay Charon for ferrying them across to hell when they could get there for nothing from their own backdoor.

¹ Compare *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, 98 *sqq.*, who says that Demeter, sad at heart, sat down by the wayside at the Maiden's Well, under the shadow of an olive-tree. Later in the poem (*vv.* 270 *sqq.*) Demeter directs the people of Eleusis to build her a temple and altar "above Callichorum"—that is, the Well of the Fair Dances. Apollodorus identifies the well beside which Demeter sat down with the Well of the Fair Dances. But from Pausanias (i. 38. 6, i. 39. 1) we learn that the two wells were different and situated at some distance from each other, the Well of the Fair Dances being close to the Sanctuary of Demeter, and the Maiden's Well, or the Flowery Well, as Pausanias calls it, being outside Eleusis, on the road to Megara. In the course of the modern

she was wroth with the gods and quitted heaven, and came in the likeness of a woman to Eleusis. And first she sat down on the rock which has been named Laughless after her, beside what is called the Well of the Fair Dances¹; thereupon she made her way to Celeus, who at that time reigned over the Eleusinians. Some women were in the house, and when they bid her sit down beside them, a certain old crone, Iambe, joked the goddess and made her smile.² For that reason they say that the women break jests at the Thesmophoria.³

But Metanira, wife of Celeus, had a child and Demeter received it to nurse, and wishing to make it immortal she set the babe of nights on the fire and stripped off its mortal flesh. But as Demophon—for

excavation of the sanctuary at Eleusis, the Well of the Fair Dances was discovered just outside the portal of the sacred precinct. It is carefully built of polygonal stones, and the mouth is surrounded by concentric circles, round which the women of Eleusis probably tripped in the dance. See *Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἐταιρίας*, Athens, 1892, pp. 33 sq. In antiquity solemn oaths were sworn by the water of the well (Alciphron, iii. 69).

² As to the jesting of the old woman with Demeter, see *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, 194–206; Scholiast on Nicander, *Alexipharmaca*, 130, who calls Demeter's host Hippothoon, son of Poseidon.

³ The jests seem to have been obscene in form (Diodorus Siculus, v. 4. 6), but they were probably serious in intention; for at the Thesmophoria rites were performed to ensure the fertility of the fields, and the lewd words of the women may have been thought to quicken the seed by sympathetic magic. See *Scholia in Lucianum*, ed. H. Rabe (Leipsic, 1906), pp. 275 sq.; *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, i. 62 sq., 116, ii. 17 sqq.

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- ὄνομα τῷ παιδί) ἐπετήρησεν ἡ Πραξιθέα,¹ καὶ καταλαβοῦσα εἰς πῦρ ἐγκεκρυμμένον ἀνεβόησε· διόπερ τὸ μὲν βρέφος ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀηλώθη, 2 ἡ θεὰ δὲ αὐτὴν ἐξέφηνε. Τριπτολέμῳ δὲ τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ τῶν Μετανείρας² παίδων δίφρον κατασκευάσασα πτηνῶν δρακόντων τὸν πυρὸν ἔδωκεν, ᾧ τὴν ὄλην οἰκουμένην δι' οὐρανοῦ αἰρόμενος κατέσπειρε. Πανύασις δὲ Τριπτόλεμον Ἐλευσίνος λέγει· φησὶ γὰρ Δήμητρα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν. Φερεκύδης δὲ φησιν αὐτὸν Ὀκeanοῦ καὶ Γῆς.
- 3 Διὸς δὲ Πλούτῳ τὴν Κόρην ἀναπέμψαι κελεύσαντος, ὁ Πλούτων, ἵνα μὴ πολὺν χρόνον παρὰ τῇ μητρὶ καταμείνῃ, ροιᾶς ἔδωκεν αὐτῇ φαγεῖν

¹ ἡ Πραξιθέα A, Bekker: Μετάνειρα, τί πράξει θεά Heyne, Westermann: Μετάνειρα, τί πράσσει ἡ θεά Müller: ἡ Μετάνειρα Hercher, Wagner.

² Μετανείρας Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher, Wagner: Πραξιθέας A.

¹ See Appendix, "Putting Children on the Fire."

² Compare Cornutus, *Theologiae Graecae Compendium*, 28, pp. 53 sq. ed. C. Lang; Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 559 sqq.; *id. Tristia*, iii. 8. (9) 1 sq.; Hyginus, *Fab.* 147; *id. Astronom.* ii. 14; Servius, on Virgil, *Georg.* i. 19 and 163; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* ii. 382; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 3, 107 (First Vatican Mythographer, 8; Second Vatican Mythographer, 97). The dragon-car of Triptolemus was mentioned by Sophocles in his lost tragedy *Triptolemus*. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck², p. 262, frag. 539; *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. ii. p. 243, frag. 596. In Greek vase-paintings Triptolemus is often represented in his dragon-car. As to the representations of the car in ancient art, see Stephani, in *Compte Rendu* (St. Petersburg) for 1859, pp. 82 sqq.; my note on Pausanias, vii. 18. 3 (vol. iv. pp. 142 sq.); and especially

that was the child's name—grew marvellously by day, Praxithea watched, and discovering him buried in the fire she cried out; wherefore the babe was consumed by the fire and the goddess revealed herself.¹ But for Triptolemus, the elder of Metanira's children, she made a chariot of winged dragons, and gave him wheat, with which, wafted through the sky, he sowed the whole inhabited earth.² But Panyasis affirms that Triptolemus was a son of Eleusis, for he says that Demeter came to him. Pherecydes, however, says that he was a son of Ocean and Earth.³

But when Zeus ordered Pluto to send up the Maid, Pluto gave her a seed of a pomegranate to eat, in order that she might not tarry long with her mother.⁴

A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, i. (Cambridge, 1914), pp. 211 *sqq.*, who shows that on the earlier monuments Triptolemus is represented sitting on a simple wheel, which probably represents the sun. Apparently he was a mythical embodiment of the first sower. See *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, i. 72 *sq.*

² The accounts given of the parentage of Triptolemus were very various (Pausanias, i. 14. 2 *sq.*), which we need not wonder at when we remember that he was probably a purely mythical personage. As to Eleusis, the equally mythical hero who is said to have given his name to Eleusis, see Pausanias, viii. 38. 7. He is called Eleusinus by Hyginus (*Fab.* 147) and Servius (on Virgil, *Georg.* i. 19).

⁴ The Maid (*Kore*) is Persephone. As to her eating a seed or seeds of a pomegranate, see *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, 371 *sqq.*, 411 *sqq.*; Ovid, *Metamorph.* v. 333 *sqq.*; *id.* *Fasti*, iv. 601 *sqq.*; Servius, on Virgil, *Georg.* i. 39 and *Aen.* iv. 462; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* iii. 511; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 3, 108 (First Vatican Mythographer, 7; Second Vatican Mythographer, 100). There is a widespread belief that if a living person visits the world of the dead and there partakes of food, he cannot return to the land of the living. Thus, the ancient Egyptians believed that, on his way to the spirit land, the soul of a dead person was met by a goddess (Hathor,

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κόκκον. ἢ δὲ οὐ προϊδομένη τὸ συμβησόμενον
κατηνάλωσεν αὐτόν. καταμαρτυρήσαντος δὲ
αὐτῆς Ἀσκαλάφου τοῦ Ἀχέροντος καὶ Γοργύρας,
τούτῳ μὲν Δημήτηρ ἐν Ἄιδου βαρεΐαν ἐπέθηκε
πέτραν, Περσεφὼν δὲ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν τὸ
μὲν τρίτον μετὰ Πλούτωνος ἠναγκάσθη μένειν,
τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν παρὰ τοῖς θεοῖς.

Nouit, or Nit), who offered him fruits, bread, and water, and that, if he accepted them, he could return to earth no more. See G. Maspero, *Histoire Ancienne des Peuples de l'Orient Classiques, les Origines* (Paris, 1895), p. 184. Similarly, the natives of New Caledonia, in the South Pacific, say that when a man dies, messengers come from the other world to guide his soul through the air and over the sea to the spirit land. Arrived there, he is welcomed by the other souls and bidden to a banquet, where he is offered food, especially bananas. If he tastes them, his doom is fixed for ever: he cannot return to earth. See the missionary Gagnière, in *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, xxxii. (Lyons, 1860), pp. 439 sq. The Eastern Melanesians believe that living people can go down to the land of the dead and return alive to the upper world. Persons who have done so relate how in the nether world they were warned by friendly ghosts to eat nothing there. See R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians* (Oxford, 1891), pp. 277, 286. Similar beliefs prevail and similar tales are told among the Maoris of New Zealand. For example, a woman who believed that she had died and passed to the spirit land, related on her return how there she met with her dead father, who said to her, "You must go back to the earth, for there is no one now left to take care of my grandchild. But remember, if you once eat food in this place, you can never more return to life; so beware not to taste anything offered to you." See E. Shortland, *Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders* (London, 1856), pp. 150-152. Again, they tell of a great chief named Hutu, who performed the same perilous journey. On reaching the place of departed spirits he encountered a certain being called Hine nui te po, that is, Great Mother Night, of whom he inquired the way down to the nether world. She pointed it out to him and

Not foreseeing the consequence, she swallowed it; and because Ascalaphus, son of Acheron and Gorgyra, bore witness against her, Demeter laid a heavy rock on him in Hades.¹ But Persephone was compelled to remain a third of every year with Pluto and the rest of the time with the gods.²

gave him a basket of cooked food, saying, "When you reach the lower regions, eat sparingly of your provisions that they may last, and you may not be compelled to partake of their food, for if you do, you cannot return upwards again." See R. Taylor, *Te Ika A Maui, or New Zealand and its Inhabitants*, 2nd ed. (London, 1870), p. 271. And the same rule holds good of fairyland, into which living people sometimes stray or are enticed to their sorrow. "Wise people recommend that, in the circumstances, a man should not utter a word till he comes out again, nor, on any account, taste fairy food or drink. If he abstains he is very likely before long dismissed, but if he indulges he straightway loses the will and the power ever to return to the society of men." See J. G. Campbell, *Superstitions of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland* (Glasgow, 1900), p. 17. See further E. S. Hartland, *The Science of Fairy Tales* (London, 1891), pp. 40 *sqq.*

¹ As to the talebearer Ascalaphus, below, ii. 5. 12. According to another account, Persephone or Demeter punished him by turning him into a screech-owl. See Ovid, *Metamorph.* v. 538 *sqq.*; Servius, on Virgil, *Georg.* i. 39 and on *Aen.* iv. 462; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* iii. 511; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 108 (Second Vatican Mythographer, 100).

² Apollodorus agrees with the author of the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (vv. 398 *sqq.*, 445 *sqq.*) that Persephone was to spend one-third of each year with her husband Pluto in the nether world and two-thirds of the year with her mother and the other gods in the upper world. But, according to another account, Persephone was to divide her time equally between the two regions, passing six months below the earth and six months above it. See Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 613 *sq.*; *id.* *Metamorph.* v. 564 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 146; Servius, on Virgil, *Georg.* i. 39; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 108 (Second Vatican Mythographer, 100).

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VI. Περὶ μὲν οὖν Δήμητρος ταῦτα λέγεται. Γῆ δὲ περὶ Τιτάνων ἀγανακτοῦσα γεννᾷ Γίγαντας ἐξ Οὐρανοῦ, μεγέθει μὲν σωμαίων ἀνυπερβλήτους, δυνάμει δὲ ἀκαταγωνίστους, οἱ φοβεροὶ μὲν ταῖς ὄψεσι κατεφαίνοντο, καθειμένοι βαθεῖαν κόμην ἐκ κεφαλῆς καὶ γενείων, εἶχον δὲ τὰς βάσεις φολίδας δρακόντων. ἐγένοντο δέ, ὡς μὲν τινες λέγουσιν, ἐν Φλέγραις, ὡς δὲ ἄλλοι, ἐν Παλλήνῃ. ἠκόντιζον δὲ εἰς οὐρανὸν¹ πέτρας καὶ δρυὲς ἡμμένας. διέφερον δὲ πάντων Πορφυρίων τε καὶ Ἀλκνουεύς, ὃς δὴ καὶ ἀθάνατος ἦν ἐν ἧπερ ἐγεννήθη γῆ μαχόμενος. οὗτος δὲ καὶ τὰς Ἥλιου βόας ἐξ Ἐρυθείας ἤλασε. τοῖς δὲ θεοῖς λόγιον ἦν ὑπὸ θεῶν μὲν μηδένα τῶν Γιγάντων ἀπολέσθαι δύνασθαι, συμμαχοῦντος δὲ θνητοῦ τινος τελευτήσειν. αἰσθομένη δὲ Γῆ τοῦτο ἐζήτει φάρμακον, ἵνα μηδ' ὑπὸ θνητοῦ δυνηθῶσιν ἀπολέσθαι. Ζεὺς

¹ οὐρανὸν E: οὐρανοὺς A.

¹ According to Hesiod (*Theog.* 183 sqq.), Earth was impregnated by the blood which dropped from heaven when Cronus mutilated his father Sky (Uranus), and in due time she gave birth to the giants. As to the battle of the gods and giants, see J. Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 63; Horace, *Odes*, iii. 4. 49 sqq.; Ovid, *Metamorph.* i. 150 sqq.; Claudian, *Gigantomachia*; Sidonius Apollinaris, *Carm.* xii. 15 sqq., ed. Baret; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 4, 92 (First Vatican Mythographer, 11; Second Vatican Mythographer, 53). The account which Apollodorus here gives of it is supplemented by the evidence of the monuments, especially temple-sculptures and vase-paintings. See Preller-Robert, *Griechische Mythologie*, i. 67 sqq. Compare M. Mayer, *Die Giganten und Titanen*, (Berlin, 1887). The battle of the gods and the giants was sculptured on the outside of the temple of Apollo at Delphi, as we learn from the description of Euripides (*Ion*, 208

VI. Such is the legend of Demeter. But Earth, vexed on account of the Titans, brought forth the giants, whom she had by Sky.¹ These were matchless in the bulk of their bodies and invincible in their might; terrible of aspect did they appear, with long locks drooping from their head and chin, and with the scales of dragons for feet.² They were born, as some say, in Phlegrae, but according to others in Pallene.³ And they darted rocks and burning oaks at the sky. Surpassing all the rest were Porphyriion and Alcyoneus, who was even immortal so long as he fought in the land of his birth. He also drove away the cows of the Sun from Erythia. Now the gods had an oracle that none of the giants could perish at the hand of gods, but that with the help of a mortal they would be made an end of. Learning of this, Earth sought for a simple to prevent the giants from being destroyed even by

sqq.) On similar stories see Appendix, "War of Earth on Heaven."

² Compare Ovid, *Metamorph.* i. 184, *Tristia*, iv. 7. 17; Macrobius, *Sat.* i. 20. 9; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 578; Claudian, *Gigant.* 80 *sq.*; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 92 (Second Vatican Mythographer, 53). Pausanias denied that the giants were serpent-footed (Pausanias, viii. 29. 3), but they are often so represented on the later monuments of antiquity. See Kuhnert, in W. H. Roscher's *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, i. 1664 *sqq.*; M. Mayer, *Die Giganten und Titanen*, pp. 274 *sqq.*

³ Phlegra is said to have been the old name of Pallene (Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Φλέγρα). The scene of the battle of the gods and giants was laid in various places. See Diodorus Siculus, v. 71; Strabo, v. 4. 4 and 6, pp. 243, 245, vi. 3, 5, p. 281, vii. p. 330, frag. 25 and 27, x. 5. 16, p. 489, xi. 2. 10, p. 495; Pausanias, viii. 29. 1, with my note. Volcanic phenomena and the discovery of the fossil bones of large extinct animals seem to have been the principal sources of these tales.

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δ' ἀπειπὼν φαίνειν Ἡοῖ τε καὶ Σελήνῃ καὶ Ἡλίῳ
 τὸ μὲν φάρμακον αὐτὸς ἔτεμε¹ φθάσας, Ἡρακλέα
 δὲ σύμμαχον δι' Ἀθηνᾶς ἐπεκαλέσατο. κάκεινος
 πρῶτον μὲν ἐτόξευσεν Ἀλκυνονέα· πίπτων δὲ ἐπὶ
 τῆς γῆς μᾶλλον ἀνεθάλπετο· Ἀθηνᾶς δὲ ὑπο-
 θεμένης ἔξω τῆς Παλλήνης² εἵλκυσε αὐτόν.
 2 κάκεινος μὲν οὕτως ἐτελεύτα, Πορφυρίων δὲ
 Ἡρακλεῖ κατὰ τὴν μάχην ἐφόρμησε καὶ Ἡρα.
 Ζεὺς δὲ αὐτῷ πόθον Ἡρας ἐνέβαλεν, ἥτις καὶ
 καταρρηγνύντος αὐτοῦ τοὺς πέπλους καὶ βιά-
 ζεσθαι θέλοντος βοηθοὺς ἐπεκαλείτο· καὶ Διὸς
 κεραυνώσαντος αὐτὸν Ἡρακλῆς τοξεύσας ἀπέκ-
 τεινε. τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν Ἀπόλλων μὲν Ἐφιάλτου
 τὸν ἀριστερὸν ἐτόξευσεν ὀφθαλμόν, Ἡρακλῆς δὲ
 τὸν δεξιόν· Εὐρυτον δὲ θυρσῷ Διόνυσος ἔκτεινε,
 Κλυτίον δὲ δασίν³ Ἐκάτη, Μίμαντα⁴ δὲ Ἡφαι-
 στος βαλὼν μύδροις. Ἀθηνᾶ δὲ Ἐγκελάδῳ φεύ-
 γοντι Σικελίαν ἐπέρριψε τὴν νῆσον, Πάλλαντος
 δὲ τὴν δορὰν ἐκτεμοῦσα ταύτη κατὰ τὴν μάχην

¹ ἔτεμε E: ἔταμε A.

² Παλλήνης Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher, Wagner: σελήνης A.

³ δασίν M. Mayer, *Die Giganten und Titanen* (Berlin, 1887), pp. 204 sq. : φασίν A.

⁴ Μίμαντα M. Mayer, *op. cit.* pp. 204 sq. comparing Claudian, *Gig.* 85, and Sidonius Apollinaris, *Carm.* xv. (Migne, xii. Baret), 25: μᾶλλον MSS. and editors, including Wagner.

¹ Compare Pindar, *Nem.* iv. 27 (43) sqq., *Isthm.* vi. 31 (45) sqq. with the Scholia; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 63. The Scholiast on Pindar, *Isthm.* vi. 32 (47), mentions, like Apollodorus, that Alcyoneus had driven away the oxen of the Sun. The reason why Hercules dragged the wounded

a mortal. But Zeus forbade the Dawn and the Moon and the Sun to shine, and then, before anybody else could get it, he culled the simple himself, and by means of Athena summoned Hercules to his help. Hercules first shot Alcyoneus with an arrow, but when the giant fell on the ground he somewhat revived. However, at Athena's advice Hercules dragged him outside Pallene, and so the giant died.¹ But in the battle Porphyriion attacked Hercules and Hera. Nevertheless Zeus inspired him with lust for Hera, and when he tore her robes and would have forced her, she called for help, and Zeus smote him with a thunderbolt, and Hercules shot him dead with an arrow.² As for the other giants, Ephialtes was shot by Apollo with an arrow in his left eye and by Hercules in his right; Eurytus was killed by Dionysus with a thyrsus, and Clytius by Hecate with torches, and Mimas by Hephaestus with missiles of red-hot metal.³ Enceladus fled, but Athena threw on him in his flight the island of Sicily⁴; and she flayed Pallas and used his skin to shield her own body in

giant from Pallene before despatching him was that, as Apollodorus has explained above, the giant was immortal so long as he fought on the land where he had been born. That, too, is why the giant revived when in falling he touched his native earth.

² Compare Pindar, *Pyth.* viii. 12 (15) *sqq.*, who says that the king of the giants (Porphyriion) was shot by Apollo, not Hercules. Tzetzes agrees with Apollodorus (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 63).

³ According to Euripides (*Ion*, 215 *sq.*), Mimas was killed by Zeus with a thunderbolt; according to Apollonius (*Argon.* iii. 1226 *sq.*) and Claudian (*Gigant.* 87 *sq.*), he was slain by Ares.

⁴ Compare Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 578 *sqq.* The combat of Athena with Enceladus was sculptured on the temple of Apollo at Delphi. See Euripides, *Ion*, 209 *sq.*

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τὸ ἴδιον ἐπέσκεπε σῶμα. Πολυβώτης δὲ διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης διωχθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἦκεν εἰς Κῶ. Ποσειδῶν δὲ τῆς νήσου μέρος ἀπορρήξας ἐπέρριψεν αὐτῷ, τὸ λεγόμενον Νίσυρον. Ἑρμῆς δὲ τὴν Ἄιδος κυνὴν ἔχων κατὰ τὴν μάχην Ἰππόλυτον ἀπέκτεινεν, Ἄρτεμις δὲ †Γρατίωνα,¹ μοῖραι δ' Ἄγριον καὶ Θόωνα χαλκίοις ῥοπάλοις μαχόμεναι² τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους κεραυνοῖς Ζεὺς βαλὼν διέφθειρε· πάντας δὲ Ἑρακλῆς ἀπολλυμένους ἐτόξενεν.

- 3 Ὡς δ' ἐκράτησαν οἱ θεοὶ τῶν Γιγάντων, Γῆ μᾶλλον χολωθεῖσα μίγνυται Ταρτάρῳ, καὶ γεννᾷ Τυφῶνα ἐν Κιλικίᾳ,³ μεμιγμένην ἔχοντα φύσιν ἀνδρὸς καὶ θηρίου. οὗτος μὲν καὶ μεγέθει καὶ δυνάμει πάντων διήνεγκεν ὅσους ἐγέννησε Γῆ, ἣν δὲ αὐτῷ τὰ μὲν ἄχρι μηρῶν ἄπλετον μέγεθος ἀνδρόμορφον, ὥστε ὑπερέχειν μὲν πάντων τῶν ὀρῶν, ἣ δὲ κεφαλὴ πολλακίς καὶ τῶν ἄστρον ἔψαυε· χεῖρας δὲ εἶχε τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐσπέραν ἐκτεινομένην τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς ἀνατολάς· ἐκ τούτων⁴

¹ †Γρατίωνα probably corrupt. Various emendations have been suggested, as Αἰγαίωνα (Heyne, M. Mayer, *op. cit.* p. 201 sq.), Εὐρυτίωνα, Παίωνα (Hercher).

² μαχόμεναι Heyne, Westermann, M. Mayer, *op. cit.* p. 203: μαχομένας A: μαχομένους RR^a Heyne (in the text), Müller, Bekker, Hercher.

³ Κιλικία Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher: Σικελία A.

⁴ For ἐκ τούτων we should perhaps read ἐξ ὤμων or ἐκ τῶν ὤμων. See Hesiod, *Theog.* 824 sq. ἐκ δὲ οἱ ὤμων | ἦν ἐκατὸν κεφαλαὶ ὄφις, δεινοῖο δράκοντος. Compare M. Mayer, *op. cit.* p. 227.

¹ According to one account the Pallas whom Athena flayed, and whose skin she used as a covering, was her own father,

the fight.¹ Polybotes was chased through the sea by Poseidon and came to Cos; and Poseidon, breaking off that piece of the island which is called Nisyrum, threw it on him.² And Hermes, wearing the helmet of Hades,³ slew Hippolytus in the fight, and Artemis slew Gration. And the Fates, fighting with brazen clubs, killed Agrius and Thoas. The other giants Zeus smote and destroyed with thunderbolts and all of them Hercules shot with arrows as they were dying.

When the gods had overcome the giants, Earth, still more enraged, had intercourse with Tartarus and brought forth Typhon in Cilicia,⁴ a hybrid between man and beast. In size and strength he surpassed all the offspring of Earth. As far as the thighs he was of human shape and of such prodigious bulk that he out-topped all the mountains, and his head often brushed the stars. One of his hands reached out to the west and the other to the east, and from

who had attempted her chastity. See Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept*, ii. 28, p. 24, ed. Potter; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 355; Cicero, *De natura deorum*, iii. 23. 59.

² Compare Strabo, x. 5. 16, p. 489.

³ The helmet of Hades was thought to render the wearer invisible. Compare Homer, *Iliad*, v. 844 sq.; Hesiod, *Shield of Hercules*, 226 sq.

⁴ As to Typhon, or Typhoeus, as he is also called, who was especially associated with the famous Corycian cave in Cilicia, see Hesiod, *Theog.* 820 sqq.; Pindar, *Pyth.* i. 15 sqq.; Aeschylus, *Prometheus Vinc-tus*, 351 sqq.; Antoninus Liberalis, *Transform.* 28; Ovid, *Metamorph.* v. 321 sqq.; Hyginus, *Fab.* 152; Mela, i. 76, ed. G. Parthey; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 4, 29, 92 (First Vatican Mythographer, 11 and 86; Second Vatican Mythographer, 53). As to the Corycian cave, see *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, 3rd ed. i. 152 sqq. According to Hesiod (*Theog.* 821), Typhoeus was the youngest child of Earth.

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δὲ ἐξείχον ἑκατὸν κεφαλαὶ δρακόντων. τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ μηρῶν σπείρας εἶχεν ὑπερμεγέθεις ἐχιδνῶν, ὧν ὄλκοι πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐκτεινόμενοι κορυφὴν συριγμὸν πολλὴν ἐξίεσαν. πᾶν δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα κατεπτέρωτο, ἀύχμηραι δὲ ἐκ κεφαλῆς καὶ γενύων τρίχες ἐξηνέμωντο, πῦρ δὲ ἐδέρκετο τοῖς ὄμμασι. τοιοῦτος ὦν ὁ Τυφῶν καὶ τηλικούτος ἡμένας βάλλον πέτρας ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὸν οὐρανὸν μετὰ συριγμῶν ὁμοῦ καὶ βοῆς ἐφέρετο· πολλὴν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ στόματος πυρὸς ἐξέβρασσε ζάλην. θεοὶ δ' ὡς εἶδον αὐτὸν ἐπ' οὐρανὸν ὀρμώμενον, εἰς Αἴγυπτου φυγάδες ἐφέροντο, καὶ διωκόμενοι τὰς ἰδέας μετέβαλον¹ εἰς ζῶα. Ζεὺς δὲ πόρρω μὲν ὄντα Τυφῶνα ἔβαλλε κεραυνοῖς, πλησίον δὲ γινόμενον ἀδαμαντίνῃ κατέπληττεν² ἄρπη, καὶ φεύγοντα ἄχρι τοῦ Κασίου ὄρους συνεδίωξε· τοῦτο δὲ ὑπέρεκται Συρίας. κείθι δὲ αὐτὸν κατατετρωμένον ἰδὼν εἰς χεῖρας συνέβαλε. Τυφῶν δὲ ταῖς σπείραις περιπλεχθεὶς κατέσχευεν αὐτόν, καὶ τὴν ἄρπην περιελόμενος τὰ τε τῶν χειρῶν καὶ ποδῶν διέτεμε νεῦρα, ἀράμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων διεκόμισεν αὐτὸν διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης εἰς Κιλικίαν³ καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς τὸ Κωρύκιον ἄντρον κατέθετο. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰ νεῦρα κρύψας ἐν ἄρκτου δορᾷ κείθι ἀπέθετο, καὶ κατέστησε φύλακα⁴ Δελφύνην δρᾶκαιναν· ἡμίθρη δὲ ἦν αὕτη ἡ κόρη. Ἐρμῆς δὲ

¹ μετέβαλον E: μετέβαλλον A.

² κατέπληττεν E: κατέπληττεν A: κατέπληττεν Heyne, Westermann, Müller: κατέπληττεν Bekker: κατέπληττεν Hercher.

³ Κιλικίαν Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher, Wagner: Σικελίαν AE.

⁴ κατέστησε φύλακα E: κατέστησε A: <φύλακα> κατέστησε Bekker, Hercher.

them projected a hundred dragons' heads. From the thighs downward he had huge coils of vipers, which when drawn out, reached to his very head and emitted a loud hissing. His body was all winged¹: unkempt hair streamed on the wind from his head and cheeks; and fire flashed from his eyes. Such and so great was Typhon when, hurling kindled rocks, he made for the very heaven with hissings and shouts, spouting a great jet of fire from his mouth. But when the gods saw him rushing at heaven, they made for Egypt in flight, and being pursued they changed their forms into those of animals.² However Zeus pelted Typhon at a distance with thunderbolts, and at close quarters struck him down with an adamantine sickle, and as he fled pursued him closely as far as Mount Casius, which overhangs Syria. There, seeing the monster sore wounded, he grappled with him. But Typhon twined about him and gripped him in his coils, and wresting the sickle from him severed the sinews of his hands and feet, and lifting him on his shoulders carried him through the sea to Cilicia and deposited him on arrival in the Corycian cave. Likewise he put away the sinews there also, hidden in a bearskin, and he set to guard them the she-dragon Delphyne, who was a half-bestial maiden. But Hermes and Aegipan stole the sinews

¹ Or "feathered." But Antoninus Liberalis (*Transform.* 28) speaks of Typhon's numerous wings.

² Compare Antoninus Liberalis, *Transform.* 28; Ovid, *Metamorph.* v. 319 sqq.; Hyginus, *Fab.* 152; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 29 (First Vatican Mythographer, 86). The story of the transformation of the gods into beasts in Egypt was probably invented by the Greeks to explain the Egyptian worship of animals, as Lucian shrewdly perceived (*De sacrificiis*, 14).

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καὶ Αἰγίπαν ἐκκλέψαντες τὰ νεῦρα ἤρμισαν τῷ Διὶ λαθόντες. Ζεὺς δὲ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀνακομισάμενος ἰσχύν, ἐξαίφνης ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἐπὶ πτηνῶν ὀχούμενος ἵππων ἄρματι, βάλλων κεραυνοῖς ἐπ' ὄρος ἐδίωξε Τυφῶνα τὸ λεγόμενον Νῦσαν, ὅπου μοῖραι αὐτὸν διωχθέντα ἠπάτησαν· πεισθεὶς γὰρ ὅτι ῥωσθήσεται μᾶλλον, ἐγεύσατο τῶν ἐφημέρων καρπῶν. διόπερ ἐπιδιωκόμενος αὐθις ἤκεν εἰς Θράκην, καὶ μαχόμενος περὶ τὸν Αἴμον ὅλα ἔβαλλεν ὄρη. τούτων δὲ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ κεραυνοῦ πάλιν ὠθουμένων πολὺ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους ἐξέκλυσεν αἷμα· καὶ φασιν ἐκ τούτου τὸ ὄρος κληθῆναι Αἴμον. φεύγειν δὲ ὄρμηθέντι αὐτῷ¹ διὰ τῆς Σικελικῆς θαλάσσης Ζεὺς ἐπέρριψεν Αἴτνην ὄρος ἐν Σικελίᾳ· τούτο δὲ ὑπερμέγεθές ἐστιν, ἐξ οὗ μέχρι δευτέρου φασιν ἀπὸ τῶν βληθέντων κεραυνῶν γίνεσθαι πυρὸς ἀναφυσήματα. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων μέχρι τοῦ δεῦρο ἡμῖν λελέχθω.

VII. Προμηθεὺς δὲ ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ γῆς ἀνθρώπους πλάσας ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς καὶ πῦρ, λάθρα Διὸς ἐν νάρθηκι κρύψας. ὡς δὲ ἦσθετο Ζεὺς, ἐπέταξεν

¹ ὄρμηθέντι αὐτῷ E : ὄρμηθέντος αὐτοῦ A.

¹ According to Nonnus (*Dionys.* i. 481 *sqq.*), it was Cadmus who, disguised as a shepherd, wheedled the severed sinews of Zeus out of Typhon by pretending that he wanted them for the strings of a lyre, on which he would play ravishing music to the monster. The barbarous and evidently very ancient story seems to be alluded to by no other Greek writers.

² This story of the deception practised by the Fates on Typhon seems to be otherwise unknown.

³ Haemus, from *haima* (blood); hence "the Bloody Mountain." It is said that a city of Egypt received the same name for the same reason (Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* 'Ηρώ).

and fitted them unobserved to Zeus.¹ And having recovered his strength Zeus suddenly from heaven, riding in a chariot of winged horses, pelted Typhon with thunderbolts and pursued him to the mountain called Nysa, where the Fates beguiled the fugitive; for he tasted of the ephemeral fruits in the persuasion that he would be strengthened thereby.² So being again pursued he came to Thrace, and in fighting at Mount Haemus he heaved whole mountains. But when these recoiled on him through the force of the thunderbolt, a stream of blood gushed out on the mountain, and they say that from that circumstance the mountain was called Haemus.³ And when he started to flee through the Sicilian sea, Zeus cast Mount Etna in Sicily upon him. That is a huge mountain, from which down to this day they say that blasts of fire issue from the thunderbolts that were thrown.⁴ So much for that subject.

VII. Prometheus moulded men out of water and earth⁵ and gave them also fire, which, unknown to Zeus, he had hidden in a stalk of fennel.⁶ But when

⁴ As to Typhon under Mount Etna see Aeschylus, *Prometheus Vincetus*, 363 *sqq.*; Pindar, *Pyth.* i. 17 (32) *sqq.*; Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 491 *sq.*, *Metamorph.* v. 352 *sq.*

⁵ As to the creation of the human race by Prometheus, compare Philemon in Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, ii. 27; Pausanias, x. 4. 4; Lucian, *Dialogi deorum*, i. 1; Libanius, *Orat.* xxv. 31, vol. ii. p. 552, ed. R. Foerster; Ovid, *Metamorph.* i. 82 *sqq.*; Juvenal, *Sat.* xiv. 35. It is to be observed that in the earliest versions of the legend (Hesiod, *Theog.* 510 *sqq.*, *Works and Days*, 48 *sqq.*; Aeschylus, *Prometheus Vincetus*) Prometheus appears only as the benefactor, not the creator, of mankind.

⁶ Compare Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 50 *sqq.*, *Theog.* 565 *sqq.*; Aeschylus, *Prometheus Vincetus*, 107 *sqq.*; Plato, *Protagoras*, 11, p. 321; Hyginus, *Fab.* 144; *id.* *Astronom.* ii. 15. According to Servius (on Virgil, *Ecl.* vi. 42), Prometheus

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Ἡφαίστῳ τῷ Καυκάσῳ ὄρει τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ προσηλώσαι· τοῦτο δὲ Σκυθικὸν ὄρος ἐστίν. ἐν δὴ τούτῳ προσηλωθεὶς Προμηθεὺς πολλῶν ἐτῶν ἀριθμὸν ἐδέδετο· καθ' ἑκάστην δὲ ἡμέραν ἀετὸς ἐφιπτάμενος αὐτῷ τοὺς λοβοὺς ἐνέμετο τοῦ ἥπατος αὐξανομένου¹ διὰ νυκτός. καὶ Προμηθεὺς μὲν πυρὸς κλαπέντος δίκην ἔτινε ταύτην, μέχρις Ἡρακλῆς αὐτὸν ὕστερον ἔλυσεν, ὡς ἐν τοῖς καθ' Ἡρακλέα δηλώσομεν.

- 2 Προμηθέως δὲ παῖς Δευκαλίων ἐγένετο. οὗτος βασιλεύων τῶν περὶ τὴν Φθίαν τόπων γαμεῖ Πύρραν τὴν Ἐπιμηθέως καὶ Πανδώρας, ἣν ἔπλασαν θεοὶ πρῶτην γυναῖκα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφανίσαι Ζεὺς

¹ τοῦ ἥπατος αὐξανομένου Heyne, Hercher, Wagner: τῶν ἡπάτων αὐξανομένων AE, Westermann, Müller, Bekker.

stole the fire by applying a torch to the sun's wheel. Stories of the original theft of fire are widespread among mankind. See Appendix, "Myths of the Origin of Fire." The plant (νάρθηξ) in which Prometheus is said to have carried the stolen fire is commonly identified with the giant fennel (*Ferula communis*). See L. Whibley, *Companion to Greek Studies*³ (Cambridge, 1916), p. 67. Tournefort found the plant growing abundantly in Skinosa, the ancient Schinussa, a small deserted island south of Naxos (Plin. *Nat. Hist.* iv. 68). He describes the stalk as about five feet high and three inches thick, with knots and branches at intervals of about ten inches, the whole being covered with a tolerably hard rind. "This stalk is filled with a white pith, which, being very dry, catches fire just like a wick; the fire keeps alight perfectly in the stalk and consumes the pith only gradually, without damaging the rind; hence people use this plant to carry fire from one place to another; our sailors laid in a supply of it. This custom is of great antiquity, and may serve to explain a passage in Hesiod, who, speaking of the fire which Prometheus stole from heaven, says that he carried it away in a stalk of fennel." He tells us, further, that the Greeks still call the plant *nartheca*. See P. de Tournefort,

Zeus learned of it, he ordered Hephaestus to nail his body to Mount Caucasus, which is a Scythian mountain. On it Prometheus was nailed and kept bound for many years. Every day an eagle swooped on him and devoured the lobes of his liver, which grew by night. That was the penalty that Prometheus paid for the theft of fire until Hercules afterwards released him, as we shall show in dealing with Hercules.¹

And Prometheus had a son Deucalion.² He reigning in the regions about Phthia, married Pyrrha, the daughter of Epimetheus and Pandora, the first woman fashioned by the gods.³ And when Zeus would

Relation d'un Voyage du Levant (Amsterdam, 1718), i. 93. The plant is common all over Greece, and may be seen in particular abundance at Phalerum, near Athens. See W. G. Clark, *Peloponnesus* (London, 1858), p. 111; J. Murr, *Die Pflanzenwelt in der griechischen Mythologie* (Innsbruck, 1890), p. 231. In Naxos Mr. J. T. Bent saw orange gardens divided by hedges of tall reeds, and he adds: "In Lesbos this reed is still called *νάρθηκα* (*νάρθηξ*), a survival of the old word for the reed by which Prometheus brought down fire from heaven. One can understand the idea well: a peasant to-day who wishes to carry a light from one house to another will put it into one of these reeds to prevent its being blown out." See J. Theodore Bent, *The Cyclades* (London, 1885), p. 365. Perhaps Bent mistook fennel for a reed. The rationalistic Diodorus Siculus explained the myth of the theft of fire by saying that Prometheus was the inventor of the fire-sticks, by the friction of which against each other fire is kindled. See Diodorus Siculus, v. 67. 2. But Greek tradition attributed the invention of fire-sticks to Hermes. See the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, 108 sqq.

¹ As to the release of Prometheus, see ii. 5. 11.

² The whole of the following account of Deucalion and Pyrrha is quoted, with a few trifling verbal changes, by the Scholiast on Homer, *Iliad*, i. 126, who cites Apollodorus as his authority.

³ As to the making of Pandora, see Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 60 sqq., *Theog.* 571 sqq.; Hyginus, *Fab.* 142.

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τὸ χαλκοῦν ἠθέλησε¹ γένος, ὑποθεμένου Προμηθέως Δευκαλίων τεκτηνόμενος λάρνακα, καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐνθέμενος, εἰς ταύτην μετὰ Πύρρας εἰσέβη.² Ζεὺς δὲ πολλὴν ὑετὸν ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ χέας τὰ πλείστα μέρη τῆς Ἑλλάδος κατέκλυσεν, ὥστε διαφθαρῆναι πάντας ἀνθρώπους, ὀλίγων χωρὶς οἱ συνέφυγον³ εἰς τὰ πλησίον ὑψηλὰ ὄρη. τότε δὲ καὶ τὰ κατὰ Θεσσαλίαν ὄρη διέστη, καὶ τὰ ἐκτὸς Ἰσθμοῦ καὶ Πελοποννήσου συνεχέθη⁴ πάντα. Δευκαλίων δὲ ἐν τῇ λάρνακι διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης φερόμενος <ἐφ'> ἡμέρας ἐννέα καὶ νύκτας <τὰς> ἴσας τῷ Παρνασσῷ προσίσχει, κακεῖ τῶν ὄμβρων παῦλαν λαβόντων ἐκβὰς θύει Διὶ φυξίῳ. Ζεὺς δὲ πέμψας Ἑρμῆν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπέτρεψεν αἰρεῖσθαι⁵ ὅ τι βούλεται· ὁ δὲ αἰρεῖται ἀνθρώπους αὐτῷ γενέσθαι. καὶ Διὸς εἰπόντος ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ἔβαλλεν αἶρων λίθους, καὶ οὓς μὲν ἔβαλε Δευκαλίων, ἄνδρες ἐγένοντο, οὓς δὲ Πύρρα, γυναῖκες. ὅθεν καὶ λαοὶ μεταφορικῶς ὠνομάσθησαν ἀπὸ τοῦ λᾶας ὁ λίθος.

Γίνονται δὲ ἐκ Πύρρας Δευκαλίωνι παῖδες

¹ ἠθέλησε E, Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* i. 126 (citing Apollodorus): ἤθελε A.

² εἰσέβη A: εἰσέδου E: ἐνέβη Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* i. 126.

³ συνέφυγον E, Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* i. 126; συνεφύτων R^a: συνεφοίτων A.

⁴ συνεχέθη A, Westermann, Bekker: συνεχύθη Heyne, Müller, Hercher, Wagner. But the passive aorist *συνεχέθη* of χέω is recognized by the *Etymologicum Magnum*, s.v. χέω, p. 809, 46, and rightly defended by Lobeck, *Phrynichus*, pp. 731 sq.

⁵ αἰρεῖσθαι E: αἰτεῖσθαι A, Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* i. 126: ἐλέσθαι Hercher.

destroy the men of the Bronze Age, Deucalion by the advice of Prometheus constructed a chest,¹ and having stored it with provisions he embarked in it with Pyrrha. But Zeus by pouring heavy rain from heaven flooded the greater part of Greece, so that all men were destroyed, except a few who fled to the high mountains in the neighbourhood. It was then that the mountains in Thessaly parted, and that all the world outside the Isthmus and Peloponnesus was overwhelmed. But Deucalion, floating in the chest over the sea for nine days and as many nights, drifted to Parnassus, and there, when the rain ceased, he landed and sacrificed to Zeus, the god of Escape. And Zeus sent Hermes to him and allowed him to choose what he would, and he chose to get men. And at the bidding of Zeus he took up stones and threw them over his head, and the stones which Deucalion threw became men, and the stones which Pyrrha threw became women. Hence people were called metaphorically people (*laos*) from *laas*, "a stone."²

And Deucalion had children by Pyrrha, first

¹ As to Deucalion's flood, see Lucian, *De dea Syria*, 12 sq.; Ovid, *Metamorph.* i. 125-415; Hyginus, *Fab.* 153; Servius, on Virgil, *Eclog.* vi. 41; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 57 sq., 99 (First Vatican Mythographer, 189; Second Vatican Mythographer, 73); *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*, i. 146 sqq. Another person who is said to have escaped alive from the flood was a certain Cerambus: the story ran that the nymphs wafted him aloft on wings over the Thessalian mountains. See Ovid, *Metamorph.* vii. 353 sqq.

² Compare Pindar, *Olymp.* ix. 41 sqq.; Hyginus, *Fab.* 153.

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Ἕλληνα μὲν πρῶτος, ὃν ἐκ Διὸς γεγεννησθαι¹
 <ἔνιοι> λέγουσι, <δεύτερος δὲ>² Ἀμφικτύων ὁ
 μετὰ Κραναὸν βασιλεύσας τῆς Ἀττικῆς, θυγάτηρ
 3 δὲ Πρωτογένεια, ἐξ ἧς καὶ Διὸς Ἀέθλιος. Ἕλ-
 ληνος δὲ καὶ νύμφης Ὀρσηίδος³ Δῶρος Ξούθος
 Αἴολος. αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ἀφ' αὐτοῦ τοὺς καλου-
 μένους Γραικοὺς προσηγόρευσε Ἕλληνας, τοῖς δὲ
 παισὶν ἐμέρισε τὴν χώραν· καὶ Ξούθος μὲν λαβὼν
 τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐκ Κρεούσης τῆς Ἐρεχθέως
 Ἀχαιοὺν ἐγέννησε καὶ Ἴωνα, ἀφ' ὧν Ἀχαιοὶ καὶ
 Ἴωνες καλοῦνται, Δῶρος δὲ τὴν πέραν χώραν
 Πελοποννήσου λαβὼν τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ
 Δωριεῖς ἐκάλεσε, Αἴολος δὲ βασιλεύων τῶν περὶ
 τὴν Θεσσαλίαν τόπων τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας Αἰολεῖς
 προσηγόρευσε, καὶ γήμας Ἐναρέτην τὴν Δηιμάχου
 παῖδας μὲν ἐγέννησεν ἑπτὰ, Κρηθέα Σίσυφον
 Ἀθάμαντα Σαλμωνέα Δηϊόνα Μάγνητα Περιήρην,
 θυγατέρας δὲ πέντε, Κανάκην Ἀλκούνην Πεισι-
 δίκην Καλύκην Περιμήδην.

Περιμήδης μὲν οὖν καὶ Ἀχελώου Ἴπποδάμας
 καὶ Ὀρέστης, Πεισιδίκης δὲ καὶ Μυρμιδόνος
 4 Ἀντιφός καὶ Ἀκτωρ. Ἀλκούνην δὲ Κῆνυξ ἔγημεν

¹ γεγεννησθαι A, Scholiast on Homer, *Iliad*, xiii. 307 (citing Apollodorus): γεγενῆσθαι R^a.

² ἔνιοι . . . δεύτερος δὲ in Scholiast on Homer, *l.c.*

³ ὀρσηίδος PR^c: Ὀρειάδος Heyne: Ὀθρηίδος Scholiast on Plato, *Sympos.* p. 208 D, Hercher.

¹ This passage as to the children of Deucalion is quoted by the Scholiast on Homer, *Iliad*, xiii. 307, who names Apollodorus as his authority.

² As to Hellen and his sons, see Strabo, viii. 7. 1, p. 383; Pausanias, vii. 1. 2; Conon, *Narrat.* 27. According to the Scholiast on Homer, *Iliad*, i. 2, Xuthus was a son of Aeolus.

Hellen, whose father some say was Zeus, and second Amphictyon, who reigned over Attica after Cranaus ; and third a daughter Protogonia, who became the mother of Aethlius by Zeus.¹ Hellen had Dorus, Xuthus, and Aeolus² by a nymph Orseis. Those who were called Greeks he named Hellenes after himself,³ and divided the country among his sons. Xuthus received Peloponnese and begat Achaeus and Ion by Creusa, daughter of Erechtheus, and from Achaeus and Ion the Achaeans and Ionians derive their names. Dorus received the country over against Peloponnese and called the settlers Dorians after himself.⁴ Aeolus reigned over the regions about Thessaly and named the inhabitants Aeolians.⁵ He married Enarete, daughter of Deimachus, and begat seven sons, Cretheus, Sisyphus, Athamas, Salmoneus, Deion, Magnes, Perieres, and five daughters, Canace, Alcyone, Pisidice, Calyce, Perimede.⁶

Perimede had Hippodamas and Orestes by Acheolous ; and Pisidice had Antiphus and Actor by Myrmidon. Alcyone was married by Ceyx, son of Lucifer.⁷

¹ According to the Parian Chronicle, the change of the national name from Greeks (*Graikoi*) to Hellenes took place in 1521 B.C. See *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, ed. C. Müller, i. 542 sq. Compare Aristotle, *Meteorologica*, i. 14, p. 352 ; *Etymologicum Magnum*, p. 239, s.v. Γραικός ; Stephanus Byzantius, s.v. Γραικός ; Pausanias, iii. 20. 6, with my note ; *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. ii. p. 160.

² As to the early seats of the Dorians, see Herodotus, i. 56.

³ As to the Aeolians of Thessaly, compare Pausanias, x. 8. 4 ; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 67. 2.

⁴ As to Aeolus, his descendants, and their settlements, see Diodorus Siculus, iv. 67. 2-7 ; Scholiast on Pindar, *Pyth.* iv. 107 (190).

⁵ According to Ovid (*Metamorph.* xi. 271 sq.), Ceyx reflected his father's brightness in his face.

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Ἐωσφόρου παῖς. οὗτοι δὲ δι' ὑπερηφάνειαν ἀπώλοντο· ὁ μὲν γὰρ τὴν γυναῖκα ἔλεγεν ἼΗραν, ἡ δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα Δία, Ζεὺς δὲ αὐτούς ἀπωρνήσε, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἀλκυόνα ἐποίησε τὸν δὲ κήκυκα.

Κανάκη δὲ ἐγέννησεν¹ ἐκ Ποσειδῶνος Ὀπλέα καὶ Νιρέα καὶ Ἐπωπέα καὶ Ἀλωέα καὶ Τρίοπα. Ἀλωεύς μὲν οὖν ἔγημεν Ἴφιμέδειαν τὴν Τρίοπος, ἥτις Ποσειδῶνος ἠράσθη, καὶ συνεχῶς φοιτῶσα ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν, χερσὶν ἀρνομένη τὰ κύματα τοῖς κόλποις ἐνεφόρει. συνελθὼν δὲ αὐτῇ Ποσειδῶν δύο ἐγέννησε παῖδας, Ὠτον καὶ Ἐφιάλτην, τοὺς Ἀλωάδας λεγομένους. οὗτοι κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἠΰξανον πλάτος μὲν πηχυαίου μῆκος δὲ ὄργυιαιον· ἐννέα δὲ ἐτῶν γενόμενοι, καὶ τὸ μὲν πλάτος πηχῶν ἔχοντες ἐννέα τὸ δὲ μέγεθος ὄργυιῶν ἐννέα, πρὸς θεοὺς² μάχεσθαι διενοοῦντο, καὶ τὴν μὲν Ὅσσαν ἐπὶ τὸν Ὀλυμπον ἔθεσαν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν Ὅσσαν θέντες τὸ Πήλιον διὰ τῶν ὀρῶν τούτων ἠπέιλου εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀναβήσεται, καὶ τὴν μὲν θάλασσαν χῶσαντες τοῖς ὄρεσι ποιήσειν³ ἔλεγον ἠπειρον, τὴν δὲ γῆν θάλασσαν ἐμῶντο δὲ Ἐφιάλτης μὲν ἼΗραν Ὠτος δὲ Ἄρτεμιν. ἔδησαν δὲ καὶ Ἄρην.

¹ ἐγέννησεν Scaliger, Heyne (in text), Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher, Wagner: ἐποίησεν A. Heyne conjectured ἐκύησεν. ² θεοὺς E: θεῶν A.

³ ποιήσειν A: ἐκποιήσειν E, Wagner.

¹ Compare Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Birds*, 250; Schol. on Homer, *Il.* ix. 562; Eustathius on Homer, *l.c.* p. 776. The story may be a reminiscence of an ancient Greek custom, in accordance with which kings are said to have been regularly called Zeus. See J. Tzetzes, *Antehomerica*, 102 sq.; *id.*, *Chiliades*, i. 474; A. B. Cook, "The European Sky-god," *Folk-lore*, xv. (1904), pp. 299 sqq.

² Compare Lucian, *Halcyon*, 1; Schol. on Aristophanes, *Birds*, 250; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xi. 410 sqq., especially 710 sqq.;

These perished by reason of their pride; for he said that his wife was Hera, and she said that her husband was Zeus.¹ But Zeus turned them into birds; her he made a kingfisher (*alcyon*) and him a gannet (*ceyx*).²

Canace had by Poseidon Hoplaus and Nireus and Epopeus and Aloeus and Triops. Aloeus wedded Iphimedia, daughter of Triops; but she fell in love with Poseidon, and often going to the sea she would draw up the waves with her hands and pour them into her lap. Poseidon met her and begat two sons, Otus and Ephialtes, who are called the Aloads.³ These grew every year a cubit in breadth and a fathom in height; and when they were nine years old,⁴ being nine cubits broad and nine fathoms high, they resolved to fight against the gods, and they set Ossa on Olympus, and having set Pelion on Ossa they threatened by means of these mountains to ascend up to heaven, and they said that by filling up the sea with the mountains they would make it dry land, and the land they would make sea. And Ephialtes wooed Hera, and Otus wooed Artemis; moreover they put Ares in bonds.⁵ However, Hermes Hyginus, *Fab.* 65. The identification of the sea-bird *ceyx* is doubtful. See D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson, *Glossary of Greek Birds* (Oxford, 1895), p. 81.

³ As to the Aloads, see Homer, *Od.* xi. 305 *sqq.*; Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 582 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 28.

⁴ This answers to the *ἐννέωποι* of Homer (*Od.* xi. 31), the meaning of which has been disputed. See Merry, on Homer, *Od.* x. 19. Hyginus (*Fab.* 28) understood *ἐννέωποι* in the same way as Apollodorus ("cum essent annorum novem").

⁵ They are said to have imprisoned him for thirteen months in a brazen pot, from which he was rescued, in a state of great exhaustion, by the interposition of Hermes. See Homer, *Il.* v. 385 *sqq.* Compare my note, "Ares in the brazen pot," *The Classical Review*, ii. (1888) p. 222.

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τούτου μὲν οὖν Ἑρμῆς ἐξέκλεψεν, ἀνεΐλε δὲ τοὺς Αλωάδας ἐν Νάξῳ Ἄρτεμις δι' ἀπάτης· ἀλλά-
 ξασα γὰρ τὴν ἰδέαν εἰς ἔλαφον διὰ μέσων¹ αὐτῶν
 ἐπήδησεν, οἱ δὲ βουλόμενοι εὐστοχῆσαι τοῦ
 θηρίου² ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς ἠκόντισαν.

- 5 Καλύκης δὲ καὶ Ἀεθλίου παῖς Ἐνδυμίων γίνεται, ὅστις ἐκ Θεσσαλίας Αἰολέας ἀγαγὼν Ἥλιον
 ᾤκισε. λέγουσι δὲ αὐτὸν τινες ἐκ Διὸς γενέσθαι.
 τούτου κάλλει διενεγκόντος ἠράσθη Σελήνη, Ζεὺς
 δὲ αὐτῷ δίδωσιν ὃ βούλεται ἐλέσθαι· ὁ δὲ αἰρεῖται
 κοιμᾶσθαι διὰ παντὸς ἀθάνατος καὶ ἀγήρω μένων.
- 6 Ἐνδυμίωνος δὲ καὶ νηίδος νύμφης,³ ἣ ὡς τινες
 Ἰφιανάσσης, Αἰτωλός, ὃς ἀποκτείνας Ἄπιον τὸν
 Φορωνέως καὶ φυγὼν εἰς τὴν Κουρήτιδα χώραν,
 κτείνας τοὺς ὑποδεξαμένους Φθίας καὶ Ἀπόλ-
 λωνος υἱούς, Δῶρον καὶ Λαόδοκον καὶ Πολυποίτην,
 ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ τὴν χώραν Αἰτωλίαν ἐκάλεσεν.
- 7 Αἰτωλοῦ δὲ καὶ Προνόης τῆς Φόρβου Πλευρῶν
 καὶ Καλυδῶν ἐγένοντο, ἀφ' ὧν αἱ ἐν Αἰτωλίᾳ
 πόλεις ὠνομάσθησαν. Πλευρῶν μὲν οὖν γήμας
 Ξανθίππην τὴν Δώρου παῖδα ἐγέννησεν Ἀγήνορα,
 θυγατέρας δὲ Στερόπην καὶ Στρατονίκην καὶ Λαο-
 φόντην.⁴ Καλυδῶνος δὲ καὶ Αἰολίας τῆς Ἀμυ-
 θάουος Ἐπικάστη <καὶ> Πρωτογένεια, ἐξ ἧς καὶ
 Ἄρεος Ὀξύλος. Ἀγήνωρ δὲ ὁ Πλευρῶνος γήμας
 Ἐπικάστην τὴν Καλυδῶνος ἐγέννησε Πορθύονα

¹ μέσων ER^a, Hercher, Waguer: μέσον A: μέσου Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker.

² τοῦ θηρίου Heyne, Hercher, Wagner: τὸ θηρίον AE, Westermann, Müller, Bekker.

³ νηίδος νύμφης Hercher, Wagner: σηίδος R^a: σηίδος νύμφης ἢ νηίδος A.

⁴ Λαοφόντην Heyne: Λεοφόντην A: Λεωφόντην Hercher.

rescued Ares by stealth, and Artemis killed the Alloads in Naxos by a ruse. For she changed herself into a deer and leaped between them, and in their eagerness to hit the quarry they threw their darts at each other.¹

Calyce and Aethlius had a son Endymion who led Aeolians from Thessaly and founded Elis. But some say that he was a son of Zeus. As he was of surpassing beauty, the Moon fell in love with him, and Zeus allowed him to choose what he would, and he chose to sleep for ever, remaining deathless and ageless.²

Endymion had by a Naiad nymph or, as some say, by Iphianassa, a son Aetolus, who slew Apis, son of Phoroneus, and fled to the Curetian country. There he killed his hosts, Dorus and Laodocus and Polypoeetes, the sons of Phthia and Apollo, and called the country Aetolia after himself.³

Aetolus and Pronoe, daughter of Phorbus, had sons, Pleuron and Calydon, after whom the cities in Aetolia were named. Pleuron wedded Xanthippe, daughter of Dorus, and begat a son Agenor, and daughters, Sterope and Stratonice and Laophonte. Calydon and Aeolia, daughter of Amythaon, had daughters, Epicaste and Protogonia, who had Oxylus by Ares. And Agenor, son of Pleuron, married Epicaste, daughter of Calydon, and begat Porthaon and

¹ Compare Hyginus, *Fab.* 28.

² As to Endymion and the Moon, see Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 57 sq., with the Scholiast; Pausanias, v. 1. 4; *Mythographi Graeci*, ed Westermann, pp. 319 sq., 324; Hyginus, *Fab.* 271. The present passage of Apollodorus is quoted almost verbally by Zenobius, *Cent.* iii. 76, but as usual without mention of his authority. The eternal sleep of Endymion was proverbial. See Plato, *Phaedo*, 17, p. 72 c; Macarius, *Cent.* iii. 89; Diogenianus, *Cent.* iv. 40; Cicero, *De finibus*, v. 20. 55; compare *id.* *Tuscul. Disput.* i. 38. 92.

³ Compare Pausanias, v. 1. 8; Conon, *Narrat.* 14.

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καὶ Δημονίκην, ἧς καὶ Ἄρεος Εὐήνος Μῶλος Πύλος Θεστίος.

- 8 Εὐήνος μὲν οὖν ἐγέννησε Μάρπησαν, ἣν Ἄπολλωνος μνηστευομένου Ἴδας ὁ Ἀφαρέως ἤρπασε, λαβὼν παρὰ Ποσειδῶνος ἄρμα ὑπόπτερον. διώκων δὲ Εὐήνος ἐφ' ἄρματος ἐπὶ τὸν Λυκόρμαν ἦλθε ποταμόν, καταλαβεῖν δ' οὐ δυνάμενος τοὺς μὲν ἵππους ἀπέσφαξεν, ἑαυτὸν δ' εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἔβαλε· καὶ καλεῖται Εὐήνος ὁ ποταμὸς ἀπ' ἐκείνου. Ἴδας δὲ εἰς Μεσσήνην παραγίνεται, καὶ αὐτῷ ὁ Ἄπολλων περιτυχὼν ἀφαιρεῖται τὴν κόρην. μαχομένων δὲ αὐτῶν περὶ τῶν τῆς παιδὸς γάμων, Ζεὺς διαλύσας ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτῇ τῇ παρθένῳ ἐλέσθαι ὅποτέρῳ βούλεται συνοικεῖν· ἣ δὲ δέισασα, ὡς ἂν μὴ γηρῶσαν αὐτὴν Ἄπολλων καταλίπη, τὸν Ἴδαν εἴλετο ἄνδρα.
- 10 Θεστίῳ δὲ ἐξ Εὐρυθέμιδος τῆς Κλεοβοίας ἐγένοντο θυγατέρες μὲν Ἀλθαία Λήδα Ὑπερμνήστρα, ἄρρενες δὲ Ἴφικλος Εὐίππος Πλήξιππος Εὐρύπυλος.

Πορθάονος δὲ καὶ Εὐρύτης <τῆς> Ἴπποδάμαντος ἐγένοντο παῖδες Οἰνεὺς Ἄγριος Ἀλκάθοος Μέλας Λευκωπεύς, θυγάτηρ δὲ Στερόπη, ἐξ ἧς καὶ Ἀχελφῶν Σειρήνας γενέσθαι λέγουσιν.

VIII. Οἰνεὺς δὲ βασιλεύων Καλυδῶνος παρὰ

¹ As to Evenus and Marpessa, see Scholiast on Homer, *Iliad*, ix. 557; Eustathius, on Homer, *l.c.* p. 776; Plutarch, *Parallela*, 40; Hyginus, *Fab.* 242 (who calls Evenus a son of Hercules). According to the first two of these writers, Evenus, like Oenomaus, used to set his daughter's suitors to run a chariot race with him, promising to bestow her on the winner; but he cut off the heads of his vanquished competitors and nailed them to the walls of his house. This seems

Demonice, who had Evenus, Molus, Pylus, and Thestius by Ares.

Evenus begat Marpessa, who was wooed by Apollo, but Idas, son of Aphareus, carried her off in a winged chariot which he received from Poseidon.¹ Pursuing him in a chariot, Evenus came to the river Lycormas, but when he could not catch him he slaughtered his horses and threw himself into the river, and the river is called Evenus after him. But Idas came to Messene, and Apollo, falling in with him, would have robbed him of the damsel. As they fought for the girl's hand, Zeus parted them and allowed the maiden herself to choose which of the two she would marry; and she, because she feared that Apollo might desert her in her old age, chose Idas for her husband.²

Thestius had daughters and sons by Eurythemis, daughter of Cleoboea: the daughters were Althaea, Leda,³ Hypermnēstra, and the males were Iphiclus, Evippus, Plexippus, and Eurypylus.

Porthaon and Euryte, daughter of Hippodamas, had sons, Oeneus, Agrius, Alcathous, Melas, Leucopous, and a daughter Sterope, who is said to have been the mother of the Sirens by Achelous.

VIII. Reigning over Calydon, Oeneus was the

to be the version of the story which Apollodorus had before him, though he has abridged it.

² Compare Scholiast on Homer, *Iliad*, ix. 557 (who cites Simonides); Eustathius, on Homer, *l.c.* p. 776; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 561; Pausanias, v. 18. 2.

³ Pausanias (iii. 13. 8) agrees with Apollodorus in saying that Leda was the daughter of Thestius, who was a son of Agenor, who was a son of Pleuron; and he cites the epic poem of Areus as his authority for the genealogy.

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Διονύσου φυτὸν ἀμπέλου πρῶτος¹ ἔλαβε. γήμας δὲ Ἀλθαίαν τὴν Θεστίου γεννᾶ Τοξέα, ὃν αὐτὸς ἔκτεινεν ὑπερπηδήσαντα τὴν τάφρον, καὶ παρὰ τοῦτου Θυρέα καὶ Κλύμενον,² καὶ θυγατέρα Γόργην, ἣν Ἀνδραίμων ἔγημε, καὶ Δηιάνειραν, ἣν Ἀλθαίαν λέγουσιν ἐκ Διονύσου γεννήσαι. αὕτη δ' ἠνιόχει καὶ τὰ κατὰ πόλεμον ἤσκει, καὶ περὶ τῶν γάμων αὐτῆς Ἡρακλῆς πρὸς Ἀχελῶν ἐπά-
 2 λαισεν. ἐγέννησε δὲ Ἀλθαία παῖδα ἐξ Οἰνέως Μελέαγρον, ὃν ἐξ Ἄρεος γεγεννησθαί φασι. τούτου δ' ὄντος ἡμερῶν ἐπτὰ παραγενομένας τὰς μοίρας φασὶν εἰπεῖν, <ὅτι>³ τότε τελευτήσῃ Μελέαγρος,⁴ ὅταν ὁ καιόμενος ἐπὶ τῆς ἐσχάρας δαλὸς κατακαῆ. τοῦτο ἀκούσασα τὸν δαλὸν ἀνείλετο Ἀλθαία καὶ κατέθετο εἰς λάρνακα. Μελέαγρος δὲ ἀνὴρ ἄτρωτος καὶ γενναῖος γενόμενος τόνδε τὸν τρόπον ἐτελεύτησεν. ἐτησίῳ καρπῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ γενομένων τὰς ἀπαρχὰς

¹ πρῶτος ER^a: πρῶτα A.

² Κλύμενον Bekker, Wagner (misprint).

³ ὅτι omitted in AE, but inserted by Diodorus Siculus in the parallel passage, iv. 34. 6.

⁴ τελευτήσῃ Μελέαγρος AE, Zenobius, *Cent.* v. 33: τελευτήσῃν Μελέαγρον LN.

¹ Compare Hyginus, *Fab.* 129.

² So Romulus is said to have killed Remus for leaping over the rising wall of Rome (Livy, i. 7. 2).

³ See Apollodorus, ii. 7. 5, with the note.

⁴ The whole of the following account of the life and death of Meleager is quoted, with a few verbal changes and omissions, by Zenobius (*Cent.* v. 33). The story is told by Bacchylides (*Epinic.* v. 93 *sqq.*) and, though without any express mention of the burning brand or of Meleager's death, by Homer (*Iliad*, ix. 529–599). Compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 34; Ovid, *Metamorph.* viii. 270 *sqq.*;

first who received a vine-plant from Dionysus.¹ He married Althaea, daughter of Thestius, and begat Toxeus, whom he slew with his own hand because he leaped over the ditch.² And besides Toxeus he had Thyreus and Clymenus, and a daughter Gorge, whom Andraemon married, and another daughter Deianira, who is said to have been begotten on Althaea by Dionysus. This Deianira drove a chariot and practised the art of war, and Hercules wrestled for her hand with Achelous.³ Althaea had also a son Meleager,⁴ by Oeneus, though they say that he was begotten by Ares. It is said that, when he was seven days old, the Fates came and declared that Meleager should die when the brand burning on the hearth was burnt out. On hearing that, Althaea snatched up the brand and deposited it in a chest.⁵ Meleager grew up to be an invulnerable and gallant man, but came by his end in the following way. In sacrificing the firstfruits of

Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* ii. 481; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 46 sq. (First Vatican Mythographer, 146). It was made the theme of tragedies by Sophocles and Euripides. See Aug. Nauck, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*² (Leipsic, 1889), pp. 219 sq., 525 sqq.; *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. by A. C. Pearson, ii. 64 sqq.

⁵ For the story of the burning brand on which the life of Meleager depended, see also Aeschylus, *Choeph.* 604 sqq.; Bacchylides, *Epinic.* v. 136 sqq.; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 34. 6 sq.; Pausanias, x. 31. 4; Antoninus Liberalis, *Transform.* 2; Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* lxvii. vol. ii. p. 231, ed. L. Dindorf; Scholiast on Homer, *Iliad*, ix. 534; Ovid, *Metamorph.* viii. 445-525; Hyginus, *Fab.* 171, 174; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* ii. 481; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 47 (First Vatican Mythographer, 146). The story belongs to a widespread class of tales concerned with the "external soul," or the belief that a person's life is bound up with an animal or object outside of his own body. See *Balder the Beautiful*, ii. 94 sqq.

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Οἰνεὺς θεοῖς πᾶσι θύων μόνης Ἀρτέμιδος ἐξελά-
 θετο. ἡ δὲ μηνίσασα κάπρον ἐφῆκεν ἕξοχον
 μεγέθει τε καὶ ῥώμῃ, ὃς τὴν τε γῆν ἄσπορον
 ἐτίθει καὶ τὰ βοσκήματα καὶ τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας
 διέφθειρεν. ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὸν κάπρον τοὺς ἀρίστους
 ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος πάντα συνεκάλεσε, καὶ τῷ
 κτείναντι τὸν θῆρα τὴν δорὰν δώσειν ἀριστεῖον
 ἐπηγγείλατο. οἱ δὲ συνελθόντες ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ
 κάπρου θῆραν ἦσαν οἷδε· Μελέαγρος Οἰνέως,
 Δρύας¹ Ἄρεος, ἐκ Καλυδῶνος οὔτοι, Ἰδας καὶ
 Λυγκεὺς Ἀφαρέως ἐκ Μεσσήνης, Κάστωρ καὶ
 Πολυδεύκης Διὸς καὶ Λήδας ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος,
 Θησεὺς Αἰγέως ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν, Ἄδμητος Φέρητος
 ἐκ Φερῶν, Ἀγκαῖος <καὶ> Κηφέυς Λυκούργου ἐξ
 Ἀρκαδίας, Ἰάσων Αἴσονος ἐξ Ἰωλκοῦ, Ἴφικλῆς
 Ἀμφιτρύωνος ἐκ Θηβῶν, Πειρίθους Ἰξίονος ἐκ
 Λαρίσης, Πηλεὺς Αἰακοῦ ἐκ Φθίας, Τελαμῶν
 Αἰακοῦ ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος, Εὐρυτίων Ἄκτορος ἐκ
 Φθίας, Ἀταλάντη Σχοινέως ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας, Ἀμ-
 φιάραιος Οἰκλέους² ἐξ Ἄργους· μετὰ τούτων
 καὶ οἱ Θεστίου παῖδες. συνελθόντας δὲ αὐτοὺς
 Οἰνεὺς ἐπὶ ἐννέα ἡμέρας ἐξένισε· τῇ δεκάτῃ δὲ
 Κηφέως καὶ Ἀγκαίου καὶ τινῶν ἄλλων ἀπαξιούν-
 των μετὰ γυναικὸς ἐπὶ τὴν θῆραν³ ἐξιέναι,
 Μελέαγρος ἔχων γυναῖκα Κλεοπάτραν τὴν Ἰδα
 καὶ Μαρπήσσης θυγατέρα, βουλόμενος δὲ καὶ ἐξ
 Ἀταλάντης τεκνοποιήσασθαι, συνηνάγκασεν αὐ-
 τοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν θῆραν μετὰ ταύτης ἐξιέναι. περι-

¹ Δρύας Aegius: πύμας A.

² Οἰκλέους Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher, Wagner: ἰοκλέους A. Compare A. C. Pearson, *The Fragments of Sophocles*, vol. ii. p. 119.

³ τὴν θῆραν A: τὸν κάπρον E.

the annual crops of the country to all the gods Oeneus forgot Artemis alone. But she in her wrath sent a boar of extraordinary size and strength, which prevented the land from being sown and destroyed the cattle and the people that fell in with it. To attack this boar Oeneus called together all the noblest men of Greece, and promised that to him who should kill the beast he would give the skin as a prize. Now the men who assembled to hunt the boar were these¹:—Meleager, son of Oeneus; Dryas, son of Ares; these came from Calydon; Idas and Lynceus, sons of Aphareus, from Messene; Castor and Pollux, sons of Zeus and Leda, from Lacedaemon; Theseus, son of Aegeus, from Athens; Admetus, son of Pheres, from Pherae; Ancaeus and Cepheus, sons of Lycurgus, from Arcadia; Jason, son of Aeson, from Iolcus; Iphicles, son of Amphitryon, from Thebes; Pirithous, son of Ixion, from Larissa; Peleus, son of Aeacus, from Phthia; Telamon, son of Aeacus, from Salamis; Eurytion, son of Actor, from Phthia; Atalanta, daughter of Schoeneus, from Arcadia; Amphiaraus, son of Oicles, from Argos. With them came also the sons of Thestius. And when they were assembled, Oeneus entertained them for nine days; but on the tenth, when Cepheus and Ancaeus and some others disdained to go a-hunting with a woman, Meleager compelled them to follow the chase with her, for he desired to have a child also by Atalanta, though he had to wife Cleopatra, daughter of Idas and Marpessa. When they surrounded the

¹ For lists of the heroes who hunted the Calydonian boar, see Ovid, *Metamorph.* viii. 299 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 173.

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στάντων δὲ αὐτῶν τὸν κάπρον, Ἐλευς¹ μὲν καὶ Ἀγκαῖος ὑπὸ τοῦ θηρὸς διεφθάρησαν, Εὐρυτίωνα δὲ Πηλεὺς ἄκων κατηκόντισε. τὸν δὲ κάπρον πρώτη μὲν Ἀταλάντη εἰς τὰ νῶτα ἐτόξευσε, δεύτερος δὲ Ἀμφιάραος εἰς τὸν ὀφθαλμόν· Μελέαγρος δὲ αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν κενεῶνα πλήξας ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ λαβὼν τὸ δέρας ἔδωκεν Ἀταλάντη. οἱ δὲ Θεστίου παῖδες, ἀδοξοῦντες εἰ παρόντων ἀνδρῶν γυνὴ τὰ ἀριστεία λήψεται, τὸ δέρας αὐτῆς² ἀφείλοντο, κατὰ γένος αὐτοῖς προσήκειν λέγοντες, εἰ Μελέαγρος λαμβάνειν μὴ προαιροῖτο.

3 ὀργισθεῖς δὲ Μελέαγρος τοὺς μὲν Θεστίου παῖδας ἀπέκτεινε, τὸ δὲ δέρας ἔδωκε τῇ Ἀταλάντη. Ἀλθαία δὲ λυπηθεῖσα ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἀπωλείᾳ τὸν δαλὸν ἤψε, καὶ ὁ Μελέαγρος ἐξαίφνης ἀπέθανεν.

Οἱ δὲ φασιν οὐχ οὕτω Μελέαγρον τελευτῆσαι, ἀμφισβητοῦντων δὲ τῆς δορᾶς³ τῶν Θεστίου παίδων ὡς Ἰφίκλου πρώτου βαλόντος, Κούρησι καὶ Καλυδωνίοις πόλεμον ἐνστήναι, ἐξελθόντος δὲ Μελεάγρου καὶ τινὰς τῶν Θεστίου παίδων φονεύσαντος Ἀλθαίαν ἀράσασθαι κατ' αὐτοῦ· τὸν δὲ ὀργιζόμενον οἴκοι μένειν. ἤδη δὲ τῶν πολεμίων τοῖς τείχεσι προσπελαζόντων καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀξιούντων μεθ' ἱκετηρίας βοηθεῖν, μόλις πεισθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐξελθεῖν, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς

¹ Ἐλευς Aegius: πύλος A.

² αὐτῆς Wagner (comparing Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Frogs*, 1238, and Zenobius, *Cent.* v. 33): αὐτῇ A: αὐτοὶ E: αὐτὴν Hercher.

³ δορᾶς Frazer (for δορά compare i. 6. 2 and 3, ii. 1. 2, ii. 4. 10, ii. 5. 1): τῆς θήρας E, Wagner: τῆς θήρας φασὶ A, Bekker: τοῦ θηρὸς φασὶ Heyne, Müller: τοῦ θηρὸς Westermann. Hercher omits τῆς θήρας φασίν.

boar, Hyleus and Ancaeus were killed by the brute, and Peleus struck down Eurytion undesignedly with a javelin. But Atalanta was the first to shoot the boar in the back with an arrow, and Amphiarus was the next to shoot it in the eye; but Meleager killed it by a stab in the flank, and on receiving the skin gave it to Atalanta. Nevertheless the sons of Thestius, thinking scorn that a woman should get the prize in the face of men, took the skin from her, alleging that it belonged to them by right of birth if Meleager did not choose to take it. But Meleager in a rage slew the sons of Thestius and gave the skin to Atalanta. However, from grief at the slaughter of her brothers Althaea kindled the brand, and Meleager immediately expired.

But some say that Meleager did not die in that way,¹ but that when the sons of Thestius claimed the skin on the ground that Iphiclus had been the first to hit the boar, war broke out between the Curetes and the Calydonians; and when Meleager had sallied out² and slain some of the sons of Thestius, Althaea cursed him, and he in a rage remained at home; however, when the enemy approached the walls, and the citizens supplicated him to come to the rescue, he yielded reluctantly to his wife and sallied forth, and having killed the rest of

¹ The following account of the death of Meleager is substantially that of Homer, *Il.* ix. 529 *sqq.*

² From Calydon, then besieged by the Curetes.

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κτείναντα τῶν Θεστίου παίδων ἀποθανεῖν μαχόμενον. μετὰ δὲ τὸν Μελεάγρου θάνατον Ἀλθαία καὶ Κλεοπάτρα ἑαυτὰς ἀνήρτησαν, αἱ δὲ θρηνοῦσαι τὸν νεκρὸν γυναῖκες ἀπωρνεώθησαν.

- 4 Ἀλθαίας δὲ ἀποθανούσης ἔγημεν Οἰνεὺς Περίβοιαν τὴν Ἴππονούου. ταύτην δὲ ὁ μὲν γράψας τὴν Θηβαΐδα πολεμηθείσης Ὀλένου λέγει λαβεῖν Οἰνέα γέρας, Ἡσίοδος δὲ ἐξ Ὀλένου τῆς Ἀχαΐας, ἐφθαρμένην ὑπὸ Ἴπποστράτου τοῦ Ἀμαρυγκέως, Ἴππόνου τὸν πατέρα πέμψαι πρὸς Οἰνέα πόρρω τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὄντα, ἐντειλάμενον ἀποκτείνειαι.¹
- 5 εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ λέγοντες Ἴππόνου ἐπιγρόντα τὴν ἰδίαν θυγατέρα ἐφθαρμένην ὑπὸ Οἰνέως, ἔγκουον αὐτὴν πρὸς τοῦτον ἀποπέμψαι. ἐγεννήθη δὲ ἐκ ταύτης Οἰνεῖ Τυδεύς. Πείσανδρος δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκ Γόργης γενέσθαι λέγει· τῆς γὰρ θυγατρὸς Οἰνέα κατὰ τὴν βούλησιν Διὸς ἐρασθῆναι.

Τυδεὺς δὲ ἀνὴρ γενόμενος γενναῖος ἐφυγαδεύθη, κτείνας, ὡς μὲν τινες λέγουσιν, ἀδελφὸν Οἰνέως Ἀλκάθοον, ὡς δὲ ὁ τὴν Ἀλκμαιωνίδα γεγραφώς, τοὺς Μέλανος παῖδας ἐπιβουλεύοντας Οἰνεῖ, Φηνέα

¹ ἀποκτείνειαι Faber, Heyne, Westermann, Bekker, Hercher, Wagner : ἀποστείλαι A.

¹ The birds called in Greek *meleagrides*, guinea-fowl (*Numida sp.*). See Antoninus Liberalis, *Transform.* 2; Aelian, *De natura animalium*, iv. 42; Ovid, *Metamorph.* viii. 533-546; Hyginus, *Fab.* 174; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* x. 74, xxxvii. 40. Worshippers of Artemis strictly abstained from eating the bird; the reason of the abstention was known to the natives of Leros, one of the Sporades (Aelian, *l.c.*). The birds were kept in the sanctuary of the Maiden (Artemis?) in that island, and were tended by the priests (Athenaeus, xiv. 71, p. 655 c). It is said that it was Artemis who turned

the sons of Thestius, he himself fell fighting. After the death of Meleager, Althaea and Cleopatra hanged themselves, and the women who mourned the dead man were turned into birds.¹

After Althaea's death Oeneus married Periboea, daughter of Hipponous. The author of the *Thebaid* says that when Olenus was sacked, Oeneus received Periboea as a gift of honour; but Hesiod says that she was seduced by Hippostratus, son of Amarynceus, and that her father Hipponous sent her away from Olenus in Achaia to Oeneus, because he dwelt far from Greece, with an injunction to put her to death.² However, some say that Hipponous discovered that his daughter had been debauched by Oeneus, and therefore he sent her away to him when she was with child. By her Oeneus begat Tydeus. But Pisander says that the mother of Tydeus was Gorge, for Zeus willed it that Oeneus should fall in love with his own daughter.³

When Tydeus had grown to be a gallant man he was banished for killing, as some say, Alcahous, brother of Oeneus; but according to the author of the *Alcmaeonid* his victims were the sons of Melas who had plotted against Oeneus, their names being

the sisters of Meleager into birds by touching them with a rod, after which she transferred them to the island of Leros (Antoninus Liberalis, *l.c.*) On the birds see D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson, *Glossary of Greek Birds* (Oxford, 1895), pp. 114 *sq.*

¹ Compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 35. 1 *sq.*, according to whom Periboea alleged that she was with child by Ares. Sophocles wrote a tragedy on the subject; a few fragments of it remain (*The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, i. 216 *sqq.*).

² Gorge was a daughter of Oeneus. See above, i. 8. 1; Pausanias, x. 38. 5.

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Εὐρύαλον Ὑπέρλαον Ἀντίοχον Εὐμήδην Στέρνοπα
 Ξάνθιππον Σθενέλαον, ὡς δὲ Φερεκύδης φησίν,
 Ὀλυνίαν ἀδελφὸν ἴδιον. Ἀγρίου δὲ δίκας ἐπά-
 γοντος αὐτῷ φυγῶν εἰς Ἄργος ἦκε πρὸς Ἄδρασ-
 τον, καὶ τὴν τούτου γήμας θυγατέρα Δηιπύλην
 ἐγέννησε Διομήδην.

Τυδεὺς μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ Θήβας μετ' Ἀδράστον
 στρατευσάμενος ὑπὸ Μελανίππου τρωθεὶς ἀπέ-
 6 θανεν· οἱ δὲ Ἀγρίου παῖδες, Θερσίτης Ὀγχηστὸς
 Πρόθοος Κελεύτωρ Λυκωπεὺς Μελάνιππος, ἀφε-
 λόμενοι τὴν Οἰνέως βασιλείαν τῷ πατρὶ ἔδοσαν,
 καὶ προσέτι ζῶντα τὸν Οἰνέα καθείρξαντες ἠκί-
 ζοντο. ὕστερον δὲ Διομήδης ἐξ Ἄργους παρα-
 γενόμενος μετ' Ἀλκμαίωνος¹ κρύφα τοὺς μὲν
 Ἀγρίου παῖδας, χωρὶς Ὀγχηστοῦ καὶ Θερσίτου,
 πάντας ἀπέκτεινεν (οὗτοι γὰρ φθάσαντες εἰς
 Πελοπόννησον ἔφυγον), τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν, ἐπειδὴ
 γηραιὸς ἦν ὁ Οἰνεὺς, Ἀνδραῖμοι τῷ τὴν θυγατέρα
 τοῦ Οἰνέως γήμαντι δέδωκε, τὸν δὲ Οἰνέα εἰς
 Πελοπόννησον ἤγευ. οἱ δὲ διαφυγόντες Ἀγρίου
 παῖδες ἐνεδρεύσαντες περὶ τὴν Τηλέφου ἐστίαν
 τῆς Ἀρκαδίας τὸν πρεσβύτην ἀπέκτειναν. Διο-
 μήδης δὲ τὸν νεκρὸν εἰς Ἄργος κομίσας ἔθαψεν
 ἐνθα νῦν πόλις ἀπ' ἐκείνου Οἰνόη καλεῖται, καὶ

¹ Ἀλκμαίωνος Heyne (comparing Strabo, x. 2. 25, p. 462), Bekker, Wagner: Ἀλκμέωνος Hercher: ἄλλου A, Westermann, Müller.

¹ Compare Eustathius, on Homer, *Iliad*, xiv. 122, p. 971; Scholia on Homer, *Iliad*, xiv. 114, 120; *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. iii. p. 38, frag. 799; Statius, *Theb.* i. 401 sqq., with the commentary of Lactantius Placidus, pp. 47 sq. ed. R. Jahnke. The accounts differ as to whom Tydeus killed, but they agree that he fled from Calydon to

Pheneus, Euryalus, Hyperlaus, Antiochus, Eumedes Sternops, Xanthippus, Sthenelaus; but as Pherecydes will have it, he murdered his own brother Olenias.¹ Being arraigned by Agrius, he fled to Argos and came to Adrastus, whose daughter Deipyle he married and begat Diomedes.

Tydeus marched against Thebes with Adrastus,² and died of a wound which he received at the hand of Melanippus. But the sons of Agrius, to wit, Thersites, Onchestus, Prothous, Celeutor, Lycopæus, Melanippus, wrested the kingdom from Oeneus and gave it to their father, and more than that they mewed up Oeneus in his lifetime and tormented him.³ Nevertheless Diomedes afterwards came secretly with Alcmaeon from Argos and put to death all the sons of Agrius, except Onchestus and Thersites, who had fled betimes to Peloponnese; and as Oeneus was old, Diomedes gave the kingdom to Andraemon who had married the daughter of Oeneus, but Oeneus himself he took with him to Peloponnese. Howbeit, the sons of Thestius, who had made their escape, lay in wait for the old man at the hearth of Telephus in Arcadia, and killed him. But Diomedes conveyed the corpse to Argos and buried him in the place where now a city is called Oenoe after him.⁴

Adrastus at Argos, and that Adrastus purified him from the murder (Eustathius and Scholia on Homer, *U.cc.*) and gave him his daughter to wife. Compare Apollodorus, iii. 6. 1.

² See below, iii. 6. 3 *sqq.*

³ With this and what follows compare Pausanias, ii. 25. 2; Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Acharn.* 418; Antoninus Liberalis, *Transform.* 37; Hyginus, *Fab.* 175. The story furnished Euripides with the theme of a tragedy called *Oeneus*. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck², pp. 536 *sqq.*

⁴ Compare Pausanias, ii. 25. 2.

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γήμας Αἰγιάλειαν τὴν Ἀδράστου, <ἤ> ὡς ἔνοιό φασι τὴν Αἰγιαλέως, ἐπὶ τε Θήβας καὶ Τροίαν ἐστράτευσε.

ΙΧ. Τῶν δὲ Αἰόλου παίδων Ἀθάμας, Βοιωτίας δυναστεύων, ἐκ Νεφέλης τεκνοῖ παῖδα μὲν Φρίξον θυγατέρα δὲ Ἑλλην. αὐθις δὲ Ἰνῶ γαμεί, ἐξ ἧς αὐτῷ Λέαρχος καὶ Μελικέρτης ἐγένοντο. ἐπιβουλεύουσα δὲ Ἰνῶ τοῖς Νεφέλης τέκνοις ἔπεισε τὰς γυναῖκας τὸν πυρὸν φρύγειν. λαμβάνουσαι δὲ κρύφα τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοῦτο ἔπρασσον. γῆ δὲ πεφρυγμένους πυρούς δεχομένη καρπούς ἐτησίους οὐκ ἀνεδίδου. διὸ πέμπων ὁ Ἀθάμας εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀπαλλαγὴν ἐπυνθάνετο τῆς ἀφορίας. Ἰνῶ δὲ τοὺς πεμφθέντας ἀνέπεισε λέγειν ὡς εἶη κεχρησμένον παύσεσθαι¹ τὴν ἀκαρπίαν, ἐὰν σφαγῇ Διὶ ὁ Φρίξος. τοῦτο ἀκούσας Ἀθάμας, συναναγκαζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν τὴν γῆν κατοικούντων, τῷ βωμῷ παρέστησε Φρίξον. Νεφέλη δὲ μετὰ τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνήρπασε, καὶ παρ' Ἑρμοῦ λαβοῦσα χρυσόμαλλον κριὸν ἔδωκεν, ὑφ'² οὐ φερόμενοι δι' οὐρανοῦ γῆν ὑπερέβησαν καὶ θάλασσαν. ὡς δὲ

¹ παύσεσθαι E, Hercher, Wagner: παύσασθαι A.

² ὑφ' E: ἐφ' A.

¹ For the story of Athamas, Phrixus, and Helle, see Zenobius, *Cent.* iv. 38; Apostolius, *Cent.* xi. 58; Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 257; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 22; Eustathius, on Homer, *Iliad*, vii. 86, p. 667; Scholiast on Homer, *Iliad*, vii. 86; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 47; Hyginus, *Fab.* 1-3; *id.* *Astronomica*, ii. 20; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Achill.* i. 65; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 8, 120 sq. (First Vatican Mythographer, 23; Second Vatican Mythographer, 134). According to Herodotus (vii. 197), it was a rule among the descendants

And having married Aegialia, daughter of Adrastus or, as some say, of Aegialeus, he went to the wars against Thebes and Troy.

IX. Of the sons of Aeolus, Athamas ruled over Boeotia and begat a son Phrixus and a daughter Helle by Nephele.¹ And he married a second wife, Ino, by whom he had Learchus and Melicertes. But Ino plotted against the children of Nephele and persuaded the women to parch the wheat; and having got the wheat they did so without the knowledge of the men. But the earth, being sown with parched wheat, did not yield its annual crops; so Athamas sent to Delphi to inquire how he might be delivered from the dearth. Now Ino persuaded the messengers to say it was foretold that the infertility would cease if Phrixus were sacrificed to Zeus. When Athamas heard that, he was forced by the inhabitants of the land to bring Phrixus to the altar. But Nephele caught him and her daughter up and gave them a ram with a golden fleece, which she had received from Hermes, and borne through the sky by the ram they crossed land and

of Phrixus that the eldest son of the family should be sacrificed (apparently to Laphystian Zeus) if ever he entered the town-hall; hence, to escape the risk of such a fate, many of the family fled to foreign lands. Sophocles wrote a tragedy called *Athamas*, in which he represented the king himself crowned with garlands and led to the altar of Zeus to be sacrificed, but finally rescued by the interposition of Hercules (Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 237; Apostolius, *Cent.* xi. 58; *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, i. 1 sqq.). These traditions point to the conclusion that in the royal line of Athamas the eldest son was regularly liable to be sacrificed either to prevent or to remedy a failure of the crops, and that in later times a ram was commonly accepted as a substitute for the human victim. Compare *The Dying God*, pp. 161 sqq.

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ἐγένοντο κατὰ τὴν μεταξὺ κειμένην θάλασσαν Σιγείου καὶ Χερρονήσου, ὧλισθεν εἰς τὸν βυθὸν ἢ "Ἐλλη, κακεὶ θανούσης αὐτῆς ἀπ' ἐκείνης Ἑλλησποντος ἐκλήθη τὸ πέλαγος. Φρίξος δὲ ἦλθεν εἰς Κόλχους, ὧν Αἰήτης ἐβασίλευε παῖς Ἑλίου καὶ Περσηίδος, ἀδελφὸς δὲ Κίρκης καὶ Πασιφάης, ἦν Μίνως ἔγημεν. οὗτος αὐτὸν ὑποδέχεται, καὶ μίαν τῶν θυγατέρων Χαλκιόπην δίδωσιν. ὁ δὲ τὸν χρυσομαλλὸν κριὸν Διὶ θύει φυξίῳ, τὸ δὲ τούτου δέρας Αἰήτη δίδωσιν· ἐκείνος δὲ αὐτὸ περὶ δρῦν ἐν Ἄρεος ἄλσει καθήλωσεν. ἐγένοντο δὲ ἐκ Χαλκιόπης Φρίξῳ παῖδες Ἄργος Μέλας Φρόντις Κυτίσωρος.

- 2 Ἀθάμας δὲ ὕστερον διὰ μῆνιν Ἡρας καὶ τῶν ἐξ Ἰνουῦ ἐστερήθη παίδων· αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ μανεῖς ἐτόξευσε Λέαρχον, Ἰνὼ δὲ Μελικέρτην μεθ' ἑαυτῆς εἰς πέλαγος ἔρριψεν. ἐκπεσὼν δὲ τῆς Βοιωτίας ἐπυρθάνετο τοῦ θεοῦ ποῦ κατοικήσει· χρησθέντος δὲ αὐτῷ κατοικεῖν ἐν ὧπερ ἂν τόπῳ ὑπὸ ζῶων ἀγρίων ξενισθῆ, πολλὴν χώραν διελθὼν ἐνέτυχε λύκοις προβάτων μοίρας νεμομένοις· οἱ δὲ, θεωρήσαντες αὐτόν, ἅ διηροῦντο ἀπολιπόντες ἔφυγον. Ἀθάμας δὲ κτίσας τὴν χώραν Ἀθαμαντίαν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ προσηγόρευσε, καὶ γήμας Θεμιστῶ τὴν Ὑψέως ἐγέννησε Λεύκωνα Ἐρύθριον Σχοινέα Πτώων.

¹ Compare Zenobius, *Cent.* iv. 38; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 229; Scholiast on Homer, *Iliad*, vii. 86; Eustathius on Homer, *Iliad*, vii. 86, p. 667; *id.* on Homer, *Od.* v. 339, p. 1543; Pausanias, i. 44. 7 sq., ix. 34. 7; Ovid, *Metamorph.* iv. 481-542; Hyginus, *Fab.* 4 and 5. Euripides wrote a tragedy, *Ino*, of which a number of fragments remain. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck², pp. 482

sea. But when they were over the sea which lies betwixt Sigeum and the Chersonese, Helle slipped into the deep and was drowned, and the sea was called Hellespont after her. But Phrixus came to the Colchians, whose king was Aetes, son of the Sun and of Perseis, and brother of Circe and Pasiphae, whom Minos married. He received Phrixus and gave him one of his daughters, Chalciopé. And Phrixus sacrificed the ram with the golden fleece to Zeus the god of Escape, and the fleece he gave to Aetes, who nailed it to an oak in a grove of Ares. And Phrixus had children by Chalciopé, to wit, Argus, Melas, Phrontis, and Cytisorus.

But afterwards Athamas was bereft also of the children of Ino through the wrath of Hera; for he went mad and shot Learchus with an arrow, and Ino cast herself and Melicertes into the sea.¹ Being banished from Boeotia, Athamas inquired of the god where he should dwell, and on receiving an oracle that he should dwell in whatever place he should be entertained by wild beasts, he traversed a great extent of country till he fell in with wolves that were devouring pieces of sheep; but when they saw him they abandoned their prey and fled. So Athamas settled in that country and named it Athamantia after himself;² and he married Themisto, daughter of Hypseus, and begat Leucon, Erythrius, Schoeneus, and Ptous.

sqq. It is said that Hera drove Athamas mad because she was angry with him for receiving from Hermes the infant Dionysus and bringing him up as a girl. See Apollodorus, iii. 4. 3; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*. 22.

² Compare Scholiast on Plato, *Minos*, p. 315 c; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 22; *Etymologicum Magnum*, s.v. 'Αθαμάντιον, p. 24. 10. According to the last of these writers, Athamantia was a plain in Thessaly.

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- 3 Σίσυφος δὲ ὁ Αἰόλου κτίσας Ἐφύραν τὴν νῦν λεγομένην Κόρινθον γαμει Μερόπην τὴν Ἄτλαντος. ἐξ αὐτῶν παῖς γίνεται Γλαῦκος, ᾧ παῖς Βελλεροφόντης ἐξ Εὐρυμέδης ἐγεννήθη, ὃς ἔκτεινε τὴν πυρίπνου Χίμαιραν. κολάζεται δὲ Σίσυφος ἐν Ἄιδου πέτρον ταῖς χερσὶ καὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ κυλίων, καὶ τοῦτον ὑπερβάλλειν θέλων οὗτος δὲ ὠθούμενος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ὠθειῖται πάλιν εἰς τοῦπίσω. τίνει δὲ ταύτην τὴν δίκην διὰ τὴν Ἄσωπὸς θυγατέρα Αἴγιαν· ἀρπάσαντα γὰρ αὐτὴν κρύφα Δία Ἄσωπῷ μνηῦσαι ζητοῦντι λέγεται.
- 4 Δηῶν δὲ βασιλεύων τῆς Φωκίδος Διομήδην τὴν Ξούθου γαμει, καὶ αὐτῷ γίνεται θυγάτηρ μὲν Ἄστροδία,¹ παῖδες δὲ Αἰνετὸς Ἄκτωρ Φύλακος Κέφαλος, ὃς γαμει Πρόκριν² τὴν Ἐρεχθέως. αὐτὸς δὲ ἢ Ἡὸς αὐτὸν ἀρπάζει ἐρασθεῖσα.
- 5 Περιήρης δὲ Μεσσήνην κατασχὼν Γοργοφόνην τὴν Περσέως ἔγημεν, ἐξ ἧς Ἀφαρεὺς αὐτῷ καὶ Λεύκιππος καὶ Τυνδάρεως ἔτι τε Ἰκάριος παῖδες

¹ Ἄστροδία Preller (comparing Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* ii. 520, Scholiast on Euripides, *Troades*, 9), Hercher, Wagner: Ἄστροπία Α.

² Πρόκριν Aegius: πρόκνη Α.

¹ Compare Homer, *Iliad*, vi. 152 sq.; Pausanias, ii. 1. 1.

² As to Bellerophon and the Chimera, see Apollodorus, ii. 3. 1, with the note.

³ As to Sisyphus and his stone, see Homer, *Od.* xi. 593-600. Homer does not say why Sisyphus was thus punished, but Pausanias (ii. 5. 1) and the Scholiast on Homer (*Iliad*, i. 180) agree with Apollodorus as to the crime which incurred this punishment. Hyginus assigns impiety as the cause of his sufferings (*Fab.* 60). The picturesque story of this cunning knave, who is said to have laid Death himself by the heels, so that nobody died till Ares released Death and delivered

And Sisyphus, son of Aeolus, founded Ephyra, which is now called Corinth,¹ and married Merope, daughter of Atlas. They had a son Glaucus, who had by Eurymede a son Bellerophon, who slew the fire-breathing Chimera.² But Sisyphus is punished in Hades by rolling a stone with his hands and head in the effort to heave it over the top; but push it as he will, it rebounds backward.³ This punishment he endures for the sake of Aegina, daughter of Asopus; for when Zeus had secretly carried her off, Sisyphus is said to have betrayed the secret to Asopus, who was looking for her.

Deion reigned over Phocis and married Diomede, daughter of Xuthus; and there were born to him a daughter, Asterodia, and sons, Aenetus, Actor, Phylacus, and Cephalus, who married Procris, daughter of Erechtheus.⁴ But afterwards Dawn fell in love with him and carried him off.

Perieres took possession of Messene and married Gorgophone, daughter of Perseus, by whom he had sons, to wit, Aphareus and Leucippus,⁵ and Tyndareus,

Sisyphus himself into his clutches (Scholiast on Homer, *Iliad*, vi. 153), was the theme of plays by Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck², pp. 74 sqq., 251, 572; *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. ii. pp. 184 sq. Critias, one of the Thirty Tyrants at Athens, is credited with a play on the same theme, of which a very striking fragment, giving a wholly sceptical view of the origin of the belief in gods, has come down to us. See Sextus Empiricus, ed. Im. Bekker, pp. 402 sqq.; *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck², pp. 771 sqq.

⁴ Compare ii. 4. 7, iii. 15. 1. As to the love of Dawn or Day for Cephalus, see Hesiod, *Theog.* 986 sqq.; Pausanias, i. 3. 1; Antoninus Liberalis, *Transform.* 41; Ovid, *Metamorph.* vii. 700-713; Hyginus, *Fab.* 189, 270.

⁵ Compare Pausanias, iv. 2. 2 and 4.

APOLLODORUS

ἐγένοντο. πολλοὶ δὲ τὸν Περιήρην λέγουσιν οὐκ Αἰόλου παῖδα ἀλλὰ Κυνόρτα¹ τοῦ Ἀμύκλα· διόπερ τὰ περὶ τῶν Περιήρους ἐκγόνων ἐν τῷ Ἀτλαντικῷ γένει δηλώσομεν.

- 6 Μάγνης δὲ² γαμει νύμφην νηίδα, καὶ γίνονται αὐτῷ παῖδες Πολυδέκτης³ καὶ Δίκτυς· οὗτοι Σέριφον ᾤκισαν.⁴
- 7 Σαλμωνεύς δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον περὶ Θεσσαλίαν κατώκει, παραγενόμενος δὲ αὐθις εἰς Ἥλιον ἐκεῖ πόλιν ἔκτισεν. ὑβριστῆς δὲ ὢν καὶ τῷ Διὶ ἐξισούσθαι θέλων διὰ τὴν ἀσέβειαν ἐκολάσθη· ἔλεγε γὰρ ἑαυτὸν εἶναι Δία, καὶ τὰς ἐκείνου θυσίας ἀφελόμενος ἑαυτῷ προσέτασσε θύειν, καὶ βύρσας μὲν ἐξηραμμένας ἐξ ἄρματος μετὰ λεβήτων χαλκῶν σύρων ἔλεγε βροντᾶν, βάλλων δὲ εἰς οὐρανὸν αἰθομένας λαμπάδας ἔλεγεν ἀστράπτειν. Ζεὺς δὲ αὐτὸν κεραυνώσας τὴν κτισθεῖσαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πόλιν καὶ τοὺς οἰκήτορας ἠφάνισε πάντας.
- 8 Τυρῶ δὲ ἡ Σαλμωνέως θυγάτηρ καὶ Ἀλκιδίκης παρὰ Κρηθεῖ [τῷ Σαλμωνέως ἀδελφῷ] τρεφομένη ἔρωτα ἴσχει Ἐνιπέως τοῦ ποταμοῦ, καὶ συνεχῶς ἐπὶ τὰ τούτου ρεῖθρα φοιτῶσα τούτοις ἐπωδύρετο.⁵

¹ Κυνόρτα Aegius: *κυνόντου* A.

² δὲ. The MSS. add *Αἰόλου*, which is retained by Müller and Bekker, bracketed by Westermann, and deleted by Hercher and Wagner.

³ Πολυδέκτης Aegius: *πολυδεύκης* A.

⁴ ᾤκισαν Heyne: *ᾤκησαν* A.

⁵ ἐπωδύρετο Faber, Bekker, Wagner: *ἀπωδύρετο* A, Heyne, Westermann, Müller: *ἐπενήχετο* Hercher (comparing Philostratus, *Epist.* 47, ἡ δὲ Τυρῶ τῷ Ἐνιπεῖ ἐπενήξατο).

¹ See below, iii. 10. 3.

² Compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 68. 1. His city was called

and also Icarus. But many say that Perieres was not the son of Aeolus but of Cynortas, son of Amyclas;¹ so we shall narrate the history of the descendants of Perieres in dealing with the family of Atlas.

Magnes married a Naiad nymph, and sons were born to him, Polydectes and Dictys; these colonized Seriphus.

Salmoneus at first dwelt in Thessaly, but afterwards he came to Elis and there founded a city.² And being arrogant and wishful to put himself on an equality with Zeus, he was punished for his impiety; for he said that he was himself Zeus, and he took away the sacrifices of the god and ordered them to be offered to himself; and by dragging dried hides, with bronze kettles, at his chariot, he said that he thundered, and by flinging lighted torches at the sky he said that he lightened. But Zeus struck him with a thunderbolt, and wiped out the city he had founded with all its inhabitants.³

Now Tyro, daughter of Salmoneus and Alcidice, was brought up by Cretheus, brother of Salmoneus, and conceived a passion for the river Enipeus, and often would she hie to its running waters and utter Salmone. See Strabo, vii. 3. 31 and 32, p. 356; Stephanus Byzantius, s.v. Σαλμώνη.

² Compare Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 585 *sqq.* with the commentary of Servius; Hyginus, *Fab.* 61; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 28, 93 (First Vatican Mythographer, 82; Second Vatican Mythographer, 56). In the traditions concerning Salmoneus we may perhaps trace the reminiscence of a line of kings who personated the Sky-god Zeus and attempted to make rain, thunder and lightning by means of imitative magic. See *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, i. 310, ii. 177, 180 *sq.* Sophocles composed a Satyric play on the subject (*The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. ii. pp. 177 *sqq.*).

APOLLODORUS

Ποσειδῶν δὲ εἰκασθεὶς Ἐνιπεῖ συγκατεκλίθη αὐτῇ· ἢ δὲ γεννήσασα κρύφα διδύμους παῖδας ἐκτίθησιν. ἐκκειμένων δὲ τῶν βρεφῶν, παριόντων ἵπποφορβῶν¹ ἵππος μία προσαφαιμένη τῇ χηλῇ² θατέρου τῶν βρεφῶν πέλιόν τι τοῦ προσώπου μέρος ἐποίησεν. ὁ δὲ ἵπποφορβὸς ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς παῖδας ἀνελόμενος ἔθρεψε, καὶ τὸν μὲν πελιωθέντα Πελίαν ἐκάλεσε, τὸν δὲ ἕτερον Νηλέα. τελειωθέντες δὲ ἀνεγνώρισαν τὴν μητέρα, καὶ τὴν μητρὶν ἀπέκτειναν Σιδηρῶ· κακουμένην γὰρ γνόντες ὑπ' αὐτῆς τὴν μητέρα ὤρμησαν ἐπ' αὐτήν, ἢ δὲ φθάσασα εἰς τὸ τῆς Ἥρας τέμενος κατέφυγε,

¹ παριόντων ἵπποφορβῶν MSS. and editors: παριόντος ἵπποφορβοῦ Hercher. But compare Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* x. 334, ἐπελθόντες οὖν οἱ ἵπποφορβοὶ ἀνελομενοὶ τε τὰ παιδία ἔτρεφον. On the other hand Eustathius, on Homer, *Od.* xi. 253, p. 1681, has the singular: τοῦτον μὲν ἵπποφορβὸς ἀνελόμενος κτλ.

² θηλῇ A. Wagner ascribes the correction χηλῇ to Aegius; but in his text Aegius reads θηλῇ and translates it so ("mamma casu quodam tetigisset"). Commelinus and Gale read χηλῇ, and so Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher, and Wagner.

¹ As to the passion of Tyro for the river Enipeus, see Homer, *Od.* xi. 235 *sqq.*; Lucian, *Dial. Marin.* 13; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 68. 3; Eustathius, on Homer, *Od.* xi. 234, p. 1681. Sophocles wrote two plays, both called *Tyro*, on the romantic love and sorrows of this heroine. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck², pp. 272 *sqq.*; *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. ii. pp. 270 *sqq.*

² As to the exposure and discovery of the twins Pelias and Neleus, see Menander, *Epitrepontes*, 108–116 (*Four Plays of Menander*, ed. E. Capps, pp. 60 *sq.*); Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* x. 334; Eustathius, on Homer, *Od.* xi. 253, p. 1681. According to Eustathius and the Scholiast on Homer (*Il.* cc.), Pelias was suckled by a mare and Neleus by a bitch. Compare

her plaint to them. But Poseidon in the likeness of Enipeus lay with her,¹ and she secretly gave birth to twin sons, whom she exposed. As the babes lay forlorn, a mare, belonging to some passing horse-keepers, kicked with its hoof one of the two infants and left a livid mark on its face. The horse-keeper took up both the children and reared them; and the one with the livid (*pelion*) mark he called Pelias, and the other Neleus.² When they were grown up, they discovered their mother and killed their stepmother Sidero. For knowing that their mother was ill-used by her, they attacked her, but before they could catch her she had taken refuge in the precinct of Hera.³ However, Pelias cut her down

Aelian, *Var. Hist.* xii. 42. Aristotle says (*Poetics*, 16, p. 1454, b 25) that in Sophocles's play *Tyro* the recognition of the forsaken babes was effected by means of the ark (*σκάφη*) in which they were found. Menander seems to have followed a somewhat different tradition, for he says that the children were found by an old goatherd, and that the token by which they were recognized was a small scrip or wallet (*πηρῖδιον*). The legend of the exposed twins, the children of a divine father by a human mother, who were suckled by animals, reared by a peasant, and grew up to quarrel about a kingdom, presents points of resemblance to the legend of Romulus and Remus; and it has even been suggested that the Greek tale, as dramatized by Sophocles, was the ultimate source of the Roman story, having filtered to the early Roman historian Q. Fabius Pictor through the medium of the Greek historian Diocles of Peparethus, whom Fabius Pictor appears to have followed on this and many other points of early Roman history (Plutarch, *Romulus*, 3). The same word *σκάφη* which Sophocles seems to have applied to the ark in which Pelias and Neleus were exposed, is applied by Plutarch (*l.c.*) to the ark in which Romulus and Remus were exposed. See C. Trieber, "Die Romulussage," *Rheinisches Museum*, N.F. xliii. (1888), pp. 568.

³ Compare Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 175, who seems to have copied Apollodorus.

APOLLODORUS

- Πελίας δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν βωμῶν αὐτὴν κατέσφαξε,
 9 καὶ καθόλου διετέλει τὴν Ἥραν ἀτιμάζων. ἔστα-
 σίασαν δὲ ὕστερον πρὸς ἀλλήλους, καὶ Νηλεὺς
 μὲν ἐκπεσὼν ἦκεν εἰς Μεσσήνην καὶ Πύλον κτίζει,
 καὶ γαμεῖ Χλωρίδα τὴν Ἀμφίουρος, ἐξ ἧς αὐτῷ
 γίνεται θυγάτηρ μὲν Πηρώ, ἄρρενες δὲ Ταῦρος
 Ἀστέριος Πυλάων Δηίμαχος Εὐρύβιος Ἐπίλαος
 Φράσιος Εὐρυμένης Εὐαγόρας Ἀλάστωρ Νέστωρ
 Περικλύμενος, ᾧ δὴ καὶ Ποσειδῶν δίδωσι μετα-
 βάλλειν τὰς μορφάς, καὶ μαχόμενος ὅτε Ἡρακλῆς
 ἐξεπόρθει Πύλον, γινόμενος ὅτε μὲν λέων ὅτε δὲ
 ὄφις ὅτε δὲ μέλισσα, ὑφ' Ἡρακλέους μετὰ τῶν
 ἄλλων Νηλέως παίδων ἀπέθανεν. ἐσώθη δὲ
 Νέστωρ μόνος, ἐπειδὴ παρὰ Γερηνίους ἐτρέφετο·
 ὃς γήμας Ἀναξιβίαν τὴν Κρατιέως θυγατέρας
 μὲν Πεισιδίκην καὶ Πολυκάστην ἐγέννησε, παῖδας
 δὲ Περσεά Στράτιχον Ἄρητον Ἐχέφρονα Πεισις-
 τρατον Ἀντίλοχον Θρασυμήδην.
- 10 Πελίας δὲ περὶ Θεσσαλίαν κατῴκει, καὶ γήμας
 Ἀναξιβίαν τὴν Βίαντος, ὡς δὲ ἔνιοι ¹ Φυλομάχην
 τὴν Ἀμφίουρος, ἐγέννησε παῖδα μὲν Ἀκαστον,
 θυγατέρας δὲ Πεισιδίκην Πελόπειαν Ἴπποθόην
 Ἀλκηστιν.
- 11 Κρηθεὺς δὲ κτίσας Ἴωλκὸν γαμεῖ Τυρῶ τὴν
¹ ἔνιοι R, Wagner : ἔνιοι λέγουσι A.

¹ Compare Homer, *Od.* xi. 281 *sqq.*; Pausanias, iv. 2. 5.

² See below, ii. 7. 3, and compare Homer, *Il.* xi. 690-693, with the Scholia; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xii. 549 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 10. As to Periclymenus, see the verses of Hesiod quoted by the Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 156, according to whom Periclymenus received from Poseidon the power of turning himself into an eagle, an ant, a bee, or a snake; but Hercules, so says the scholiast, killed him with

on the very altars, and ever after he continued to treat Hera with contumely. But afterwards the brothers fell out, and Neleus, being banished, came to Messene, and founded Pylus, and married Chloris,¹ daughter of Amphion, by whom he had a daughter, Pero, and sons, to wit, Taurus, Asterius, Pylaon, Deimachus, Eurybius, Epilaus, Phrasius, Eurymenes, Evagoras, Alastor, Nestor and Periclymenus, whom Poseidon granted the power of changing his shape. And when Hercules was ravaging Pylus, in the fight Periclymenus turned himself into a lion, a snake, and a bee, but was slain by Hercules with the other sons of Neleus. Nestor alone was saved, because he was brought up among the Gerenians.² He married Anaxibia, daughter of Cratieus,³ and begat daughters, Pisidice and Polycaste, and sons, Perseus, Straticus, Aretus, Echephron, Pisistratus, Antilochus, and Thrasymedes.

But Pelias dwelt in Thessaly and married Anaxibia, daughter of Bias, but according to some his wife was Phylomache, daughter of Amphion; and he begat a son, Acastus, and daughters, Pisidice, Pelopia, Hippothoe, and Alcestis.⁴

Cretheus founded Iolcus and married Tyro,

a blow of his club when he had assumed the form of a fly. According to another account, it was in the form of a bee that Periclymenus was slain by Hercules (Eustathius, on Homer, *Od.* xi. 285, pp. 1685 *sq.*; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* ii. 336). But Ovid (*l.c.*) says that Hercules shot him in the shape of an eagle, and this version is followed by Hyginus (*Fab.* 10). Periclymenus is also reported to have been able to change himself into any animal or tree he pleased (Eustathius, *l.c.*; Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* xi. 286).

¹ According to Homer (*Od.* iii. 452), the wife of Nestor was Eurydice, daughter of Clymenus.

⁴ Compare Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 175.

APOLLODORUS

Σαλμωνέως, ἐξ ἧς αὐτῷ γίνονται παῖδες Αἴσων Ἀμυθάων Φέρης. Ἀμυθάων μὲν οὖν οἰκῶν Πύλον¹ Εἰδομένην γαμεί τὴν Φέρητος, καὶ γίνονται παῖδες αὐτῷ Βίας καὶ Μελάμπους, ὃς ἐπὶ τῶν χωρίων διατελῶν, οὔσης πρὸ τῆς οἰκήσεως αὐτοῦ δρυὸς ἐν ἧ φωλεὸς ὄφειν ὑπῆρχεν, ἀποκτεινάντων τῶν θεραπόντων τοὺς ὄφεις τὰ μὲν ἔρπετὰ ξύλα συμφορήσας ἔκαυσε, τοὺς δὲ τῶν ὄφειν νεοσσούς ἔθρεψεν. οἱ δὲ γενόμενοι τέλειοι παραστάντες² αὐτῷ κοιμωμένῳ τῶν ὤμων ἐξ ἑκατέρου τὰς ἀκοὰς ταῖς γλώσσαις ἐξεκάθαιρον. ὁ δὲ ἀναστὰς καὶ γενόμενος περιδεὴς τῶν ὑπερπετομένων ὀρνέων τὰς φωνὰς συνίει, καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων μαυθάνων προύλεγε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὰ μέλλοντα. προσέλαβε δὲ καὶ τὴν διὰ τῶν ἱερώων μαντικὴν, περὶ δὲ τὸν Ἀλφειὸν συντυχῶν Ἀπόλλωνι τὸ λοιπὸν ἄριστος ἦν μάντις.

- 12 Βίας δὲ³ ἐμνηστεύετο Πηρὸν τὴν Νηλέως· ὁ δὲ πολλῶν αὐτῷ μνηστευομένων τὴν θυγατέρα

¹ πύλον E: πύλην A. ² παραστάντες E: περιστάντες A.

³ Βίας δὲ ὁ Ἀμυθάωνος A: the words ὁ Ἀμυθάωνος were condemned as a gloss by Heyne and are omitted by Hercher and Wagner.

¹ Compare Homer, *Od.* xi. 258 sq.; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 175.

² As to the mode in which Melampus learned the language of birds, and with it the art of divination, from serpents in return for the kindness which he had shown to their species, see Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 118; compare Eustathius on Homer, *Od.* xi. 292, p. 1685; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* x. 137. Helenus and Cassandra are said to have acquired their prophetic power in like manner. As children they were left overnight in a temple of Apollo, and in the morning serpents were found licking their ears. See Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* vii. 44; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron, Introd.* vol. i. pp.

daughter of Salmoneus, by whom he had sons, Aeson, Amythaon, and Pheres.¹ Amythaon dwelt in Pylus and married Idomene, daughter of Pheres, and there were born to him two sons, Bias and Melampus. The latter lived in the country, and before his house there was an oak, in which there was a lair of snakes. His servants killed the snakes, but Melampus gathered wood and burnt the reptiles, and reared the young ones. And when the young were full grown, they stood beside him at each of his shoulders as he slept, and they purged his ears with their tongues. He started up in a great fright, but understood the voices of the birds flying overhead, and from what he learned from them he foretold to men what should come to pass.² He acquired besides the art of taking the auspices, and having fallen in with Apollo at the Alpheus he was ever after an excellent soothsayer.

Bias wooed Pero, daughter of Neleus.³ But as there were many suitors for his daughter's hand,

266 sq., ed. C. G. Müller. Porphyry said that perhaps we and all men might have understood the language of all animals if a serpent had washed our ears (*De abstinentia*, iii. 4). In the folk-tales of many lands, men are said to have obtained a knowledge of the language of animals from serpents, either by eating the flesh of serpents or in other ways. See my article, "The Language of Animals," *The Archaeological Review*, i. (1888), pp. 166 sqq.

³ The following romantic tale of the wooing of Pero is told also by the Scholiast on Homer (*Od.* xi. 287). It is repeated also in substantially the same form by Eustathius, on Homer, *Od.* xi. 292, p. 1685. Compare Scholiast on Theocritus, iii. 43; Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, i. 118; Propertius, ii. 3. 51 sqq. A summary of the story, shorn of its miraculous elements, is given by Homer (*Od.* xi. 287-297, xv. 225-238) and Pausanias (iv. 36. 3). See Appendix, 'Melampus and the kine of Phylacus.'

APOLLODORUS

δώσειν ἔφη τῷ τὰς Φυλάκου¹ βόας κομίσαντι αὐτῷ. αὐταὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἐν Φυλάκῃ, καὶ κύων ἐφύλασεν αὐτὰς οὐ οὔτε ἄνθρωπος οὔτε θηρίου πέλας ἔλθειν ἠδύνατο. ταύτας ἀδυνατῶν Βίας τὰς βόας κλέψαι παρεκάλει τὸν ἀδελφὸν συλλαβέσθαι. Μελάμπους δὲ ὑπέσχετο, καὶ προεῖπεν ὅτι φωραθήσεται κλέπτων καὶ δεθεὶς ἐνιαυτὸν οὕτω τὰς βόας λήψεται. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν εἰς Φυλάκην ἀπῆει καί, καθάπερ προεῖπε, φωραθεὶς ἐπὶ τῇ κλοπῇ δέσμιος² ἐν οἰκῆματι ἐφυλάσσετο. λειπομένου δὲ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ βραχέος χρόνου, τῶν κατὰ τὸ κρυφαίου³ τῆς στέγης σκωλήκων ἀκούει, τοῦ μὲν ἐρωτῶντος πόσον ἤδη μέρος τοῦ δοκοῦ διαβέβρωται, τῶν δὲ ἀποκρινομένων⁴ λοιπὸν ἐλάχιστον εἶναι. καὶ ταχέως ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν εἰς ἕτερον οἶκημα μεταγαγεῖν, γενομένου δὲ τούτου μετ' οὐ πολὺ συνέπεσε τὸ οἶκημα. θαυμάσας δὲ Φύλακος, καὶ μαθὼν ὅτι ἐστὶ μάντις ἄριστος, λύσας παρεκάλει εἰπεῖν ὅπως αὐτοῦ τῷ παιδὶ Ἰφίκλῳ παῖδες γένωνται. ὁ δὲ ὑπέσχετο ἐφ' ᾧ τὰς βόας λήψεται. καὶ καταθύσας ταύρους δύο καὶ μελίσας τοὺς οἰωνοὺς προσεκάλεσατο· παραγενομένου δὲ αἰγυπιοῦ, παρὰ τούτου μαυθάνει δὴ ὅτι Φύλακός ποτε κριοὺς τέμνων ἐπὶ τῶν αἰδοίων⁵ παρὰ τῷ Ἰφίκλῳ τὴν μάχαιραν ἠμαγμένην ἔτι κατέθετο, δεῖσαντος δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς καὶ φυγόντος αὐθις κατὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς δρυὸς αὐτὴν ἔπηξε, καὶ ταύτην ἀμφι-

¹ Φυλάκου A, Westermann, Müller: Ἰφίκλου Aegius, Heyne, Bekker, Hercher, Wagner.

² δέσμιος Bekker: δεσμοῖς A.

³ κρυφαίου RR^aB: κορυφαίου C, PR^c in the margin: ὀροφιαίου Faber, Hercher. ⁴ ἀποκρινομένων R: ἀποκριναμένων A.

⁵ αἰδοίων R: αἰβίων A: ἀγρῶν Heyne, Westermann, Bekker.

Neleus said that he would give her to him who should bring him the kine of Phylacus. These were in Phylace, and they were guarded by a dog which neither man nor beast could come near. Unable to steal these kine, Bias invited his brother to help him. Melampus promised to do so, and foretold that he should be detected in the act of stealing them, and that he should get the kine after being kept in bondage for a year. After making this promise he repaired to Phylace and, just as he had foretold, he was detected in the theft and kept a prisoner in a cell. When the year was nearly up, he heard the worms in the hidden part of the roof, one of them asking how much of the beam had been already gnawed through, and others answering that very little of it was left. At once he bade them transfer him to another cell, and not long after that had been done the cell fell in. Phylacus marvelled, and perceiving that he was an excellent soothsayer, he released him and invited him to say how his son Iphiclus might get children. Melampus promised to tell him, provided he got the kine. And having sacrificed two bulls and cut them in pieces he summoned the birds; and when a vulture came, he learned from it that once, when Phylacus was gelding rams, he laid down the knife, still bloody, beside Iphiclus, and that when the child was frightened and ran away, he stuck the knife on the sacred oak,¹ and the

¹ According to the Scholiast on Homer (*Od.* xi. 287 and 290) and Eustathius (on Homer, *Od.* xi. 292, p. 1685), the tree was not an oak but a wild pear-tree (*ἀχρεῖδος*).

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τροχάσας¹ ἐκάλυψεν ὁ φλοιός. ἔλεγεν οὖν, εὐρεθείσης τῆς μαχαίρας εἰ ξύων τὸν ἰὸν ἐπὶ ἡμέρας δέκα Ἰφίκλω δῶ πιεῖν, παῖδα γεννήσειν. ταῦτα μαθὼν παρ' αἰγυπιοῦ Μελάμπους τὴν μὲν μάχαιραν εὐρε, τῷ δὲ Ἰφίκλω τὸν ἰὸν ξύσας ἐπὶ ἡμέρας δέκα δέδωκε πιεῖν, καὶ παῖς αὐτῷ Ποδάρκης ἐγένετο. τὰς δὲ βόας εἰς Πύλον ἤλασε, καὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ τὴν Νηλέως θυγατέρα λαβὼν ἔδωκε. καὶ μέχρι μὲν τινος ἐν Μεσσήνῃ κατώκει, ὡς δὲ τὰς ἐν Ἀργεὶ γυναῖκας ἐξέμηνε Διόνυσος, ἐπὶ² μέρει τῆς³ βασιλείας ἰασάμενος αὐτὰς ἐκεῖ μετὰ Βίαντος κατώκησε.

- 13 Βίαντος δὲ καὶ Πηροῦς Ταλαός, οὗ καὶ Λυσιμάχης τῆς Ἄβαντος τοῦ Μελάμποδος Ἄδραστος Παρθενοπαῖος Πρῶναξ Μηκιστεὺς Ἀριστόμαχος Ἐριφύλη, ἦν Ἀμφιάραος γαμεῖ. Παρθενοπαίου δὲ Πρόμαχος ἐγένετο, ὃς μετὰ τῶν ἐπιγόνων ἐπὶ Θήβας ἐστρατεύθη, Μηκιστέως δὲ Εὐρύαλος, ὃς ἦκεν εἰς Τροίαν. Πρῶνακτος δὲ ἐγένετο Λυκούργος, Ἀδράστου δὲ καὶ Ἀμφιθέας τῆς Πρῶνακτος θυγατέρες μὲν Ἀργεῖα Δηιπύλη Αἰγιάλεια, παῖδες δὲ Αἰγιάλεὺς <καὶ> Κυάνιππος.
- 14 Φέρης δὲ ὁ Κρηθέως Φεράς ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ κτίσας ἐγέννησεν Ἀδμητον καὶ Λυκούργον. Λυκούργος μὲν οὖν περὶ Νεμέαν κατώκησε, γήμας δὲ Εὐρυδίκην, ὡς δὲ ἔνιοί φασιν Ἀμφιθέαν, ἐγέννησεν Ὀφέλτην <τὸν ὕστερον>⁴ κληθέντα Ἀρχέμορον. Ἀδμήτου δὲ βασιλεύοντος τῶν Φερῶν, ἐθήτευσεν Ἀπόλλων αὐτῷ μνηστευομένῳ τὴν

¹ ἀμφιτροχάσας R: ἀμφιτροχώσας A.

² ἐπὶ R: ὑπὸ A. ³ τῆς R: τοῦ A.

⁴ τὸν ὕστερον added by Hercher.

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bark encompassed the knife and hid it. He said, therefore, that if the knife were found, and he scraped off the rust, and gave it to Iphiclus to drink for ten days, he would beget a son. Having learned these things from the vulture, Melampus found the knife, scraped the rust, and gave it to Iphiclus for ten days to drink, and a son Podarces was born to him.¹ But he drove the kine to Pylus, and having received the daughter of Neleus he gave her to his brother. For a time he continued to dwell in Messene, but when Dionysus drove the women of Argos mad, he healed them on condition of receiving part of the kingdom, and settled down there with Bias.²

Bias and Pero had a son Talaus, who married Lysimache, daughter of Abas, son of Melampus, and had by her Adrastus, Parthenopaeus, Pronax, Mecisteus, Aristomachus, and Eriphyle, whom Amphiaras married. Parthenopaeus had a son Promachus, who marched with the Epigoni against Thebes;³ and Mecisteus had a son Euryalus, who went to Troy.⁴ Pronax had a son Lycurgus; and Adrastus had by Amphithea, daughter of Pronax, three daughters, Argia, Deipyle, and Aegialia, and two sons, Aegialeus and Cyanippus.

Pheres, son of Cretheus, founded Pherae in Thessaly and begat Admetus and Lycurgus. Lycurgus took up his abode at Nemea, and having married Eurydice, or, as some say, Amphithea, he begat Opheltus, afterwards called Archemorus.⁵ When Admetus reigned over Pherae, Apollo served him as his thrall,⁶ while Admetus

¹ Compare Apollodorus, *Epitome*, iii. 20, with the note.

² See below, ii. 2. 2; Diodorus Siculus, ii. 68. 4; Pausanias, ii. 18. 4.

³ Compare below, iii. 7. 2.

⁴ See Homer, *Il.* ii. 565 sq.

⁵ See below, iii. 6. 4.

⁶ See below, iii. 10. 4.

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Πελίου θυγατέρα Ἄλκηστιν. ἐκείνου¹ δὲ δώσειν ἐπαγγειλαμένου² τὴν θυγατέρα τῷ καταζεύξαντι ἄρμα λέοντος καὶ κάπρου,³ Ἀπόλλων ζεύξας ἔδωκεν· ὁ δὲ κομίσας πρὸς Πελίαν Ἄλκηστιν λαμβάνει. θύων δὲ ἐν τοῖς γάμοις ἐξελάθετο Ἀρτέμιδι θύσαι· διὰ τοῦτο τὸν θάλαμον ἀνοίξας εὔρε δρακόντων σπειράμασι⁴ πεπληρωμένον. Ἀπόλλων δὲ εἰπὼν ἐξιλάσκεισθαι τὴν θεόν, ἤτησατο παρὰ⁵ μοιρῶν ἵνα, ὅταν Ἄδμητος μέλλῃ τελευτᾶν, ἀπολυθῆ τοῦ θανάτου, ἂν ἐκουσίως τις ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ θνήσκειν ἔληται.⁶ ὡς δὲ ἦλθεν ἡ τοῦ θνήσκειν ἡμέρα, μῆτε τοῦ πατρὸς μῆτε τῆς μητρὸς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ θνήσκειν θελόντων, Ἄλκηστις ὑπεραπέθανε. καὶ αὐτὴν πάλιν ἀνέπεμψεν ἡ Κόρη, ὡς δὲ ἔνιοι λέγουσιν, Ἡρακλῆς <πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνεκόμισε>⁷ μαχεσάμενος Ἄϊδη.

16 Αἴσιονος δὲ τοῦ Κρηθέως καὶ Πολυμήδης τῆς Αὐτολύκου Ἰάσων. οὗτος ᾧκει ἐν Ἰωλκῷ, τῆς

¹ ἐκείνου Heyne, Hercher, Wagner: ἐκείνῳ MSS., Westermann, Müller, Bekker.

² ἐπαγγειλαμένου. The MSS. add πελλίου (Πελίου), which is deleted by Hercher and Wagner, following Heyne.

³ λέοντος καὶ κάπρου Heyne: λεόντων καὶ κάπρων A.

⁴ σπειράμασι Heyne: σπείραμα A.

⁵ παρὰ RR^a: περὶ A.

⁶ ἔληται. The MSS. add πατὴρ ἢ μήτηρ ἢ γυνή. These words are retained by Westermann and Müller, but omitted by Bekker, Hercher, and Wagner, following Heyne.

⁷ <πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνεκόμισε>. Omitted in the MSS.: restored by Fischer and Wagner from Zenobius, *Cent.* i. 18.

¹ Compare Hyginus, *Fab.* 50 and 51.

² That is, Persephone.

³ This pathetic story is immortalized by Euripides in his noble tragedy *Alceste*, happily still extant. Compare

wooded Alcestis, daughter of Pelias.* Now Pelias had promised to give his daughter to him who should yoke a lion and a boar to a car, and Apollo yoked and gave them to Admetus, who brought them to Pelias and so obtained Alcestis.¹ But in offering a sacrifice at his marriage, he forgot to sacrifice to Artemis; therefore when he opened the marriage chamber he found it full of coiled snakes. Apollo bade him appease the goddess and obtained as a favour of the Fates that, when Admetus should be about to die, he might be released from death if someone should choose voluntarily to die for him. And when the day of his death came neither his father nor his mother would die for him, but Alcestis died in his stead. But the Maiden² sent her up again, or, as some say, Hercules fought with Hades and brought her up to him.³

Aeson, son of Cretheus, had a son Jason by Polymede, daughter of Autolycus. Now Jason dwelt in

Zenobius, *Cent.* i. 18, which to a certain extent agrees verbally with this passage of Apollodorus. The tale of Admetus and Alcestis has its parallel in history. Once when Philip II. of Spain had fallen ill and seemed like to die, his fourth wife, Anne of Austria, "in her distress, implored the Almighty to spare a life so important to the welfare of the kingdom and of the church, and instead of it to accept the sacrifice of her own. Heaven, says the chronicler, as the result showed, listened to her prayer. The king recovered; and the queen fell ill of a disorder which in a few days terminated fatally." So they laid the dead queen to her last rest, with the kings of Spain, in the gloomy pile of the Escorial among the wild and barren mountains of Castile; but there was no Hercules to complete the parallel with the Greek legend by restoring her in the bloom of life and beauty to the arms of her husband. See W. H. Prescott, *History of the Reign of Philip the Second*, bk. vi. chap. 2, at the end.

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δὲ Ἴωλκοῦ Πελίας ἐβασίλευσε μετὰ Κρηθέα, ὃ
 χρωμένῳ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐθέσπισεν ὁ θεὸς
 τὸν μονοσάνδαλον φυλάξασθαι. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶ-
 του ἡγνῶει τὸν χρησμόν, αὐθις δὲ ὕστερον αὐτὸν
 ἔγνω. τελῶν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσῃ Ποσειδῶνι
 θυσίαν¹ ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς ἐπὶ ταύτῃ καὶ τὸν
 Ἰάσωνα μετεπέμψατο. ὁ δὲ πόθῳ γεωργίας ἐν
 τοῖς χωρίοις διατελῶν ἔσπευσεν ἐπὶ τὴν θυσίαν·
 διαβαίνων δὲ ποταμὸν Ἄναυρον ἐξῆλθε μονοσάν-
 δαλος, τὸ ἕτερον ἀπολέσας ἐν τῷ ρείθρῳ πέδιλον.
 θεασάμενος δὲ Πελίας αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν χρησμόν
 συμβαλὼν ἠρώτα προσελθὼν, τί² ἂν ἐποίησεν
 ἐξουσίαν ἔχων, εἰ λόγιον ἦν αὐτῷ πρὸς τινος
 φονευθήσεσθαι τῶν πολιτῶν. ὁ δέ, εἴτε ἐπελθὼν
 ἄλλως, εἴτε διὰ μῆνιν Ἥρας, ἴν' ἔλθοι κακὸν
 Μήδεια Πελία (τὴν γὰρ Ἥραν οὐκ ἐτίμα), “Τὸ
 χρυσόμαλλον δέρας” ἔφη “προσέταττον ἂν φέ-
 ρειν αὐτῷ.” τοῦτο Πελίας ἀκούσας εὐθύς ἐπὶ τὸ
 δέρας ἐλθεῖν³ ἐκέλευσεν αὐτόν. τοῦτο δὲ ἐν
 Κόλχοις ἦν <έν> Ἄρεος ἄλσει κρεμάμενον ἐκ
 δρυός, ἐφρουρεῖτο δὲ ὑπὸ δράκοντος ἀύπνου.

Ἐπὶ τοῦτο πεμπόμενος Ἰάσων Ἄργον παρεκά-
 λεσε τὸν Φρίξον, κακείνους Ἀθηναῖς ὑποθεμένης

¹ θυσίαν ER, Zenobius, *Cent.* iv. 92: θυσίας A.

² τί E, Zenobius, *Cent.* iv. 92: τίς A.

³ ἐλθεῖν A, Zenobius, *Cent.* iv. 92: πλεῖν E.

¹ For the story of Pelias and Jason, see Pindar, *Pyth.* iv. 73 (129) *sqq.*, with the Scholia; Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 5 *sqq.*; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, i. 175; Hyginus, *Fab.* 12 and 13; Servius, on Virgil, *Ecl.* iv. 34; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* iii. 516. The present passage of Apollodorus is copied almost literally, but as usual without acknowledgment, by Zenobius, *Cent.* iv. 92. It was the

Iolcus, of which Pelias was king after Cretheus.¹ But when Pelias consulted the oracle concerning the kingdom, the god warned him to beware of the man with a single sandal. At first the king understood not the oracle, but afterwards he apprehended it. For when he was offering a sacrifice at the sea to Poseidon, he sent for Jason, among many others, to participate in it. Now Jason loved husbandry and therefore abode in the country, but he hastened to the sacrifice, and in crossing the river Anaurus he lost a sandal in the stream and landed with only one. When Pelias saw him, he bethought him of the oracle, and going up to Jason asked him what, supposing he had the power, he would do if he had received an oracle that he should be murdered by one of the citizens. Jason answered, whether at haphazard or instigated by the angry Hera in order that Medea should prove a curse to Pelias, who did not honour Hera, "I would command him," said he, "to bring the Golden Fleece." No sooner did Pelias hear that than he bade him go in quest of the fleece. Now it was at Colchis in a grove of Ares, hanging on an oak and guarded by a sleepless dragon.²

Sent to fetch the fleece, Jason called in the help of Argus, son of Phrixus; and Argus, by Athena's advice,

regular custom of Aetolian warriors to go with the left foot shod and the right foot unshod. See Macrobius, *Sat.* v. 18-21, quoting Euripides and Aristotle; Scholiast on Pindar, *Pyth.* iv. 133. So the two hundred men who broke through the Spartan lines at the siege of Plataea were shod on the left foot only (Thucydides, iii. 22). Virgil represents some of the rustic militia of Latium marching to war with their right feet shod and their left feet bare (*Aen.* vii. 689 sq.). As to the custom, see *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, pp. 311 sqq.

² See Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* ii. 1268-1270, iv. 123 sqq. 163.

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πεντηκόντορον ναῦν κατεσκεύασε τὴν προσαγορευθεῖσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ κατασκευάσαντος Ἀργῶ· κατὰ δὲ τὴν πρῶραν ἐνήρμοσεν Ἀθηναῖ φωνῆν¹ φηγοῦ τῆς Δωδωνίδος ξύλου. ὡς δὲ ἡ ναὺς κατεσκευάσθη, χρωμένῳ ὁ θεὸς αὐτῷ πλεῖν ἐπέτρεψε συναθροίσαντι τοὺς ἀρίστους τῆς Ἑλλάδος. οἱ δὲ συναθροισθέντες εἰσὶν οἷδε· Τίφυς Ἀγνίου,² δς ἐκυβέρνα τὴν ναῦν, Ὀρφεὺς Οἰάγρου, Ζήτης καὶ Κάλαις Βορέου, Κάστωρ καὶ Πολυδεύκης Διός, Τελαμὼν καὶ Πηλεὺς Αἰακοῦ, Ἡρακλῆς Διός, Θησεὺς Αἰγέως,³ Ἴδας καὶ Λυγκεὺς Ἀφάρεως, Ἀμφιάραος Ὀικλέους,⁴ Καινεὺς Κορώνου,⁵ Παλαίμων Ἡφαίστου ἢ Αἰτώλου, Κηφεὺς Ἀλεοῦ, Λαέρτης Ἀρκεισίου, Αὐτόλυκος Ἑρμοῦ, Ἀταλάντη Σχοινέως, Μενότιος Ἄκτορος, Ἄκτωρ Ἴππάσου, Ἄδμητος Φέρητος, Ἄκαστος Πελίου, Εὐρυτος Ἑρμοῦ, Μελέαγρος Οἰνέως, Ἀγκαῖος Λυκούργου, Εὐφῆμος Ποσειδῶνος, Ποίας Θαυμάκου, Βούτης Τελέοντος, Φᾶνος καὶ Στάφυλος Διουόσου, Ἐργίμος Ποσειδῶνος, Περικλύμενος Νηλέως, Αὐγέας Ἡλίου, Ἴφικλος Θεστίου, Ἄργος Φρίξου, Εὐρύαλος Μηκιστέως, Πηνέλεως Ἴππάλμου,⁶ Λήιτος Ἀλέκτορος,⁷ Ἴφιτος Ναυ-

¹ φωνῆν ER: φωνῆ A. ² Ἀγνίου Aegius: ἀγρίου A.

³ θησεὺς Αἰγέως Aegius: αἰγεὺς θησεῶς A.

⁴ Ὀικλέους Aegius: ἰοκλέους A.

⁵ Καινέως Κόρωνος Aegius: Κόρωνος Καινέως Clavier, Hercher.

⁶ Ἴππάλμου A: Ἴππάλκμου Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* ii. 494: Ἴππαλκίμου Diodorus Siculus, iv. 67. 7.

⁷ Ἄλεκτρούνοσ Homer, *Il.* xvii. 602, with the Scholiast: Ἡλεκτρούνοσ Diodorus Siculus, iv. 67. 7.

¹ Compare Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 524 *sqq.*, iv. 580 *sqq.*; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 175. The following

built a ship of fifty oars named Argo after its builder; and at the prow Athena fitted in a speaking timber from the oak of Dodona.¹ When the ship was built, and he inquired of the oracle, the god gave him leave to assemble the nobles of Greece and sail away. And those who assembled were as follow:² Tiphys, son of Hagnias, who steered the ship; Orpheus, son of Oeagrus; Zetes and Calais, sons of Boreas; Castor and Pollux, sons of Zeus; Telamon and Peleus, sons of Aeacus; Hercules, son of Zeus; Theseus, son of Aegeus; Idas and Lynceus, sons of Aphareus; Amphiarus, son of Oicles; Caeneus, son of Coronus; Palaemon, son of Hephaestus or of Aetolus; Cepheus, son of Aleus; Laertes son of Arcisius; Autolycus, son of Hermes; Atalanta, daughter of Schoeneus; Menoetius, son of Actor; Actor, son of Hippasus; Admetus, son of Pheres; Acastus, son of Pelias; Eurytus, son of Hermes; Meleager, son of Oeneus; Ancaeus, son of Lycurgus; Euphemus, son of Poseidon; Poeas, son of Thaumacus; Butes, son of Teleon; Phanus and Staphylus, sons of Dionysus; Erginus, son of Poseidon; Periclymenus, son of Neleus; Augeas, son of the Sun; Iphiclus, son of Thestius; Argus, son of Phrixus; Euryalus, son of Mecisteus; Peneleus, son of Hippalimus; Leitus, son of Alector; Iphitus, son of Naubolus;

narrative of the voyage of the Argo is based mainly on the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius. As to the voyage of the Argonauts, see further Pindar, *Pyth.* iv. 156 (276) *sqq.*; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 40-49; *Orphica, Argonautica*; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 175; Hyginus, *Fab.* 12, 14-23; Ovid, *Metamorph.* vii. 1 *sqq.*; Valerius Flaccus, *Argonautica*.

² For lists of the Argonauts, see Pindar, *Pyth.* iv. 171 *sqq.*; Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 20 *sqq.*; *Orphica, Argonautica*, 119 *sqq.*; Valerius Flaccus, *Argon.* i. 352 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 14.

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βόλου, Ἀσκάλαφος καὶ Ἰάλμενος¹ Ἄρεος, Ἀστέριος Κομήτου, Πολύφημος Ἐλάτου.

- 17 Οὗτοι ναυαρχοῦντος Ἰάσονος ἀναχθέντες προσίσχουσι Λήμνῳ. ἔτυχε δὲ ἡ Λήμνος ἀνδρῶν τότε οὔσα ἔρημος, βασιλευομένη δὲ ὑπὸ Ἐψιπύλης τῆς Θόαντος δι' αἰτίαν τήνδε. αἱ Λήμνιαι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην οὐκ ἐτίμων· ἡ δὲ αὐταῖς ἐμβάλλει δυσσομίαν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οἱ γήμαντες αὐτὰς ἐκ τῆς πλησίον Θράκης λαβόντες αἰχμαλωτίδας συνεννάζοντο αὐταῖς. ἀτιμαζόμεναι δὲ αἱ Λήμνιαι τοὺς τε πατέρας καὶ τοὺς ἀνδρας φονεύουσι· μόνη δὲ ἔσωσεν Ἐψιπύλη τὸν ἑαυτῆς πατέρα κρύψασα Θόαντα. προσσχόντες οὖν τότε γυναικοκρατουμένη τῇ Λήμνῳ μίσγονται ταῖς γυναίξιν. Ἐψιπύλη δὲ Ἰάσονι συνεννάζεται, καὶ γεννᾷ παῖδας Εὐνήον καὶ Νεβροφόνον.

- 18 Ἀπὸ Λήμνου δὲ προσίσχουσι Δολίοσιν,² ὧν ἔβασιλευε Κύζικος. οὗτος αὐτοὺς ὑπεδέξατο φιλοφρόνως. νυκτὸς δὲ ἀναχθέντες ἐντεῦθεν καὶ περιπεσόντες ἀντιπνοαῖς, ἀγνοοῦντες πάλιν τοῖς

¹ Ἰάλμενος Homer, *Il.* ii. 512: ἔλμενος A.

² Δολίοσιν Aegius: δολίοις EA.

¹ As to the visit of the Argonauts to Lemnos, see Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 607 *sqq.*; *Orphica, Argonautica*, 473 *sqq.*; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* vii. 468; Valerius Flaccus, *Argon.* ii. 77 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 15. As to the massacre of the men of Lemnos by the women, see further Herodotus, vi. 138; Apostolius, *Cent.* x. 65; Zenobius, *Cent.* iv. 91; Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 609, 615. The visit of the Argonauts to Lemnos was the theme of plays by Aeschylus and Sophocles. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck², pp. 79, 215 *sqq.*; *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, ii. 51 *sqq.* The Lemnian traditions have been interpreted as evidence of a former custom of gynocracy, or

Ascalaphus and Ialmenus, sons of Ares; Asterius, son of Cometes; Polyphemus, son of Elatus.

These with Jason as admiral put to sea and touched at Lemnos.¹ At that time it chanced that Lemnos was bereft of men and ruled over by a queen, Hypsipyle, daughter of Thoas, the reason of which was as follows. The Lemnian women did not honour Aphrodite, and she visited them with a noisome smell; therefore their spouses took captive women from the neighbouring country of Thrace and bedded with them. Thus dishonoured, the Lemnian women murdered their fathers and husbands, but Hypsipyle alone saved her father Thoas by hiding him. So having put in to Lemnos, at that time ruled by women, the Argonauts had intercourse with the women, and Hypsipyle bedded with Jason and bore sons, Euneus and Nebrophonus.

And after Lemnos they landed among the Doliones, of whom Cyzicus was king.² He received them kindly. But having put to sea from there by night and met with contrary winds, they lost their bearings and landed again among the Doliones.

the rule of men by women, in the island. See J. J. Bachofen, *Das Mutterrecht* (Stuttgart, 1861), pp. 84 *sqq.* Every year the island of Lemnos was purified from the guilt of the massacre and sacrifices were offered to the dead. The ceremonies lasted nine days, during which all fires were extinguished in the island, and a new fire was brought by ship from Delos. If the vessel arrived before the sacrifices to the dead had been offered, it might not put in to shore or anchor, but had to cruise in the offing till they were completed. See Philostratus, *Heroica*, xx. 24.

² As to the visit of the Argonauts to the Doliones and the death of King Cyzicus, see Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 935-1077; *Orphica, Argonautica*, 486 *sqq.*; Valerius Flaccus, *Argon.* ii. 634 *sqq.*, iii. 1 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 16.

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Δολίοσι προσίσχουσιν. οἱ δὲ νομίζοντες Πελασγικὸν εἶναι στρατόν (ἔτυχον γὰρ ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν συνεχῶς πολεμούμενοι) μάχην τῆς νυκτὸς συνάπτουσιν ἀγνοοῦντες πρὸς ἀγνοοῦντας. κτείναντες δὲ πολλοὺς οἱ Ἀργοναῦται, μεθ' ὧν καὶ Κύζικον, μεθ' ἡμέραν, ὡς ἔγνωσαν, ἀποδυράμενοι τὰς τε κόμας ἐκείραντο καὶ τὸν Κύζικον πολυτελῶς ἔθαψαν. καὶ μετὰ τὴν ταφὴν πλεύσαντες Μυσία προσίσχουσιν.

- 19 Ἐνταῦθα δὲ Ἡρακλέα καὶ Πολύφημον κατέλιπον. Ὑλας γὰρ ὁ Θειοδάμαντος παῖς, Ἡρακλέους δὲ ἐρώμενος, ἀποσταλεῖς ὑδρεύσασθαι διὰ κάλλος ὑπὸ νυμφῶν ἠρπάγη. Πολύφημος δὲ ἀκούσας αὐτοῦ βοήσαντος, σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφος ἐδίωκεν,¹ ὑπὸ ληστῶν ἄγεσθαι νομίζων. καὶ δηλοῖ συντυχόντι Ἡρακλεῖ. ζητούντων δὲ ἀμφοτέρων τὸν Ὑλαν ἡ ναῦς ἀνήχθη, καὶ Πολύφημος μὲν ἐν Μυσία κτίσας πόλιν Κίον² ἐβασίλευσεν, Ἡρακλῆς δὲ ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Ἄργος. Ἡρόδωρος³ δὲ αὐτὸν οὐδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν φησι πλεύσαι τότε, ἀλλὰ παρ' Ὀμφάλῃ δουλεύειν. Φερεκύδης δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν Ἀφεταιῖς τῆς Θεσσαλίας ἀπολειφθῆναι λέγει, τῆς Ἀργοῦς φθεγξαμένης μὴ δύνασθαι φέρειν τὸ τού-

¹ ἐδίωκεν Zenobius, *Cent.* vi. 21, Hercher, Wagner : ἐδίωξεν EA.

² κίον E : κίου A.

³ Ἡρόδωρος Faber : Ἡρόδοτος A.

¹ They lamented for three days and tore out their hair ; they raised a mound over the grave, marched round it thrice in armour, performed funeral rites, and celebrated games in honour of the dead man. The mound was to be seen down to later days, and the people of Cyzicus continued to pour libations at it every year. See Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 1057-1077. Compare *Orphica, Argonautica*, 571 sqq.; Valerius Flaccus, *Argon.* iii. 332 sqq.

However, the Doliones, taking them for a Pelasgian army (for they were constantly harassed by the Pelasgians), joined battle with them by night in mutual ignorance of each other. The Argonauts slew many and among the rest Cyzicus; but by day, when they knew what they had done, they mourned and cut off their hair and gave Cyzicus a costly burial; and after the burial they sailed away and touched at Mysia.²

There they left Hercules and Polyphemus. For Hylas, son of Thiodamas, a minion of Hercules, had been sent to draw water and was ravished away by nymphs on account of his beauty.³ But Polyphemus heard him cry out, and drawing his sword gave chase in the belief that he was being carried off by robbers. Falling in with Hercules, he told him; and while the two were seeking for Hylas, the ship put to sea. So Polyphemus founded a city Cius in Mysia and reigned as king;⁴ but Hercules returned to Argos. However Herodorus says that Hercules did not sail at all at that time, but served as a slave at the court of Omphale. But Pherecydes says that he was left behind at Aphetæ in Thessaly, the Argo having declared with human voice that she could not bear

² Compare Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 1172 *sqq.*; Valerius Flaccus, *Argon.* iii. 481 *sqq.*

³ As to Hylas and Hercules, compare Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 1207 *sqq.*; Theocritus, *Id.* xiii.; Antoninus Liberalis, *Transform.* 26; *Orphica, Argonautica*, 646 *sqq.*; Valerius Flaccus, *Argon.* iii. 521 *sqq.*; Propertius, i. 20. 17 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 14; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 18, 140 (First Vatican Mythographer, 49; Second Vatican Mythographer, 199). It is said that down to comparatively late times the natives continued to sacrifice to Hylas at the spring where he had disappeared, that the priest used to call on him thrice by name, and that the echo answered thrice (Antoninus Liberalis, *l.c.*).

⁴ Compare Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 1321 *sqq.*, 1345 *sqq.*

ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΡΟΣ

του βάρους. Δημάρατος δὲ αὐτὸν εἰς Κόλχους πεπλευκότα παρέδωκε· Διονύσιος μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ ἡγεμόνα φησὶ τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν γενέσθαι.

- 20 Ἀπὸ δὲ Μυσίας ἀπήλθον εἰς τὴν Βεβρύκων γῆν, ἧς ἐβασίλευεν Ἄμυκος Ποσειδῶνος παῖς καὶ <νύμφης>¹ Βιθυνίδος. γενναῖος δὲ ὢν οὗτος τοὺς προσσχόντας ξένους ἠνάγκαζε πυκτεύειν καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἀνῆρει. παραγενόμενος οὖν καὶ τότε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀργῶ τὸν ἄριστον αὐτῶν εἰς πυγμῆν προεκαλείτο.² Πολυδεύκης δὲ ὑποσχόμενος πυκτεύσειν πρὸς αὐτόν, πλήξας κατὰ τὸν ἀγκῶνα ἀπέκτεινε. τῶν δὲ Βεβρύκων ὄρμησάντων πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀρπάσαντες οἱ ἀριστεῖς τὰ ὄπλα πολλοὺς φεύγοντας φονεύουσιν αὐτῶν.

- 21 Ἐντεῦθεν ἀναχθέντες καταντῶσιν εἰς τὴν τῆς Θράκης Σαλμυδησσόν, ἔνθα ᾧκει Φινεὺς μάντις τὰς ὄψεις πεπηρωμένος. τοῦτον οἱ μὲν Ἀγῆ-¹ νύμφης added by Hercher, comparing Scholiast on Plato, *Laios*, vii. p. 796 A. ² προεκαλείτο Faber : προσεκαλείτο A.

¹ The opinions of the ancients were much divided as to the share Hercules took in the voyage of the Argo. See Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 1290. In saying that Hercules was left behind in Mysia and returned to Argos, our author follows, as usual, the version of Apollonius Rhodius (*Argon.* i. 1273 *sqq.*). According to another version, after Hercules was left behind by the Argo in Mysia, he made his way on foot to Colchis (Theocritus, *Id.* xiii. 73 *sqq.*). Herodotus says (i. 193) that at Aphetæ in Thessaly the hero landed from the Argo to fetch water and was left behind by Jason and his fellows. From the present passage of Apollodorus it would seem that in this account Herodotus was following Pherecydes. Compare Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Ἀφεταιί.

² As to the visit of the Argonauts to the Bebryces, and the boxing-match of Pollux with Amycus, see Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* ii. 1 *sqq.*; Theocritus, xxii. 27 *sqq.*; *Orphica, Argonautica*, 661 *sqq.*; Valerius Flaccus, *Argon.* iv. 99 *sqq.*; Hygi-

his weight. Nevertheless Demaratus has recorded that Hercules sailed to Colchis; for Dionysius even affirms that he was the leader of the Argonauts.¹

From Mysia they departed to the land of the Bebryces, which was ruled by King Amycus, son of Poseidon and a Bithynian nymph.² Being a doughty man he compelled the strangers that landed to box and in that way made an end of them. So going to the Argo as usual, he challenged the best man of the crew to a boxing match. Pollux undertook to box against him and killed him with a blow on the elbow. When the Bebryces made a rush at him, the chiefs snatched up their arms and put them to flight with great slaughter.

Thence they put to sea and came to land at Salmydessus in Thrace, where dwelt Phineus, a seer who had lost the sight of both eyes.³ Some say he

nus, *Fab.* 17; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* iii. 353; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 31, 123 (First Vatican Mythographer, 93; Second Vatican Mythographer, 140). The name of the Bithynian nymph, mother of Amycus, was Melie (Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* ii. 4; Hyginus, *Fab.* 17; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* v. 373).

³ As to Phineus and the Harpies, see Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* ii. 176 *sqq.*, with the Scholia on vv. 177, 178, 181; Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* xii. 69; Valerius Flaccus, *Argon.* iv. 422 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 19; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 209; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 9 *sq.*, 124 (First Vatican Mythographer, 27; Second Vatican Mythographer, 142). Aeschylus and Sophocles composed tragedies on the subject of Phineus. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck², pp. 83, 284 *sqq.*; *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. ii. pp. 311 *sqq.* The classical description of the Harpies is that of Virgil (*Aen.* iii. 225 *sqq.*). Compare Hesiod, *Theog.* 265-269. In his account of the visit of the Argonauts to Phineus, the rationalistic Diodorus Siculus (iv. 43 *sq.*) omits all mention of the Harpies.

APOLLODORUS

νορος εἶναι λέγουσιν, οἱ δὲ Ποσειδῶνος υἱόν· καὶ
 πηρωθῆναί φασιν αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ θεῶν, ὅτι
 προέλεγε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὰ μέλλοντα, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ
 Βορέου καὶ τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν, ὅτι πεισθεὶς μη-
 τρυιᾷ τοὺς ἰδίους ἐτύφλωσε παῖδας, τινὲς δὲ ὑπὸ
 Ποσειδῶνος, ὅτι τοῖς Φρίξου παισὶ τὸν ἐκ Κόλ-
 χων εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα πλοῦν ἐμήνυσεν. ἔπεμψαν
 δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τὰς ἀρπυίας οἱ θεοί· πτερωταὶ δὲ
 ἦσαν αὐταί, καὶ ἐπειδὴ¹ τῷ Φινεῖ παρετίθετο
 τράπεζα, ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καθιπτάμεναι τὰ μὲν πλεί-
 ονα ἀνήρπαζον, ὀλίγα δὲ ὅσα ὀσμῆς ἀνάπλευα
 κατέλειπον, ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι προσενέγκασθαι.
 βουλομένοις δὲ τοῖς Ἀργοναύταις τὰ περὶ τοῦ
 πλοῦ μαθεῖν ὑποθήσασθαι τὸν πλοῦν ἔφη, τῶν
 ἀρπυιῶν αὐτὸν εἶναι ἀπαλλάξωσιν. οἱ δὲ παρέ-
 θεσαν αὐτῷ τράπεζαν ἐδεσμάτων, ἀρπυιαὶ δὲ
 ἐξαίφνης σὺν βοῇ καταπτᾶσαι τὴν τροφὴν ἤρ-
 πασαν.² θεασάμενοι δὲ οἱ Βορέου παῖδες Ζήτης
 καὶ Κάλαις, ὄντες πτερωτοί, σπασάμενοι τὰ ξίφη
 δι' αἴερος ἐδίωκον. ἦν δὲ ταῖς ἀρπυίαις χρεῶν
 τεθνάναι ὑπὸ τῶν Βορέου παίδων, τοῖς δὲ Βορέου
 παισὶ τότε τελευτήσκειν ὅταν διώκοντες μὴ κατα-
 λάβωσι. διωκομένων δὲ τῶν ἀρπυιῶν ἡ μὲν κατὰ
 Πελοπόννησον εἰς τὸν Τίγρην ποταμὸν ἐμπίπτει,
 ὃς νῦν ἀπ' ἐκείνης Ἄρπυς καλεῖται· ταύτην δὲ οἱ
 μὲν Νικοθόην οἱ δὲ Ἀελλόπουν καλοῦσιν. ἡ δὲ
 ἑτέρα καλουμένη Ὠκυπέτη, ὡς δὲ ἔνιοι Ὠκυπόθη
 (Ἡσιόδος δὲ λέγει αὐτὴν Ὠκυπόδη), αὕτη κατὰ
 τὴν Προποντίδα φεύγουσα μέχρις Ἐχινάδων
 ἦλθε νήσων, αἱ νῦν ἀπ' ἐκείνης Στροφάδες καλοῦν-

¹ ἐπειδὴ Bekker: ἐπειδὴν EA: ἐπειδὴν . . . παρατίθειτο (for MS. παρετίθετο) Hercher. ² ἤρπασαν E: ἤρπασον A.

was a son of Agenor,¹ but others that he was a son of Poseidon, and he is variously alleged to have been blinded by the gods for foretelling men the future ; or by Boreas and the Argonauts because he blinded his own sons at the instigation of their stepmother ;² or by Poseidon, because he revealed to the children of Phrixus how they could sail from Colchis to Greece. The gods also sent the Harpies to him. These were winged female creatures, and when a table was laid for Phineus, they flew down from the sky and snatched up most of the victuals, and what little they left stank so that nobody could touch it. When the Argonauts would have consulted him about the voyage, he said that he would advise them about it if they would rid him of the Harpies. So the Argonauts laid a table of viands beside him, and the Harpies with a shriek suddenly pounced down and snatched away the food. When Zetes and Calaïs, the sons of Boreas, saw that, they drew their swords and, being winged, pursued them through the air. Now it was fated that the Harpies should perish by the sons of Boreas, and that the sons of Boreas should die when they could not catch up a fugitive. So the Harpies were pursued and one of them fell into the river Tigres in Peloponnese, the river that is now called Harpys after her ; some call her Nicothoe, but others Aellopus. But the other, named Ocypete or, according to others, Ocythoe (but Hesiod calls her Ocypode)³ fled by the Propontis till she came to the Echinadian Islands, which are now called Strophades after her ;

¹ So Apollonius Rhodius (*Argon.* ii. 237, 240) and Hyginus (*Fab.* 19).

² See below, iii. 15. 3 note.

³ Hesiod (*Theog.* 267) calls her Ocypete.

ται· ἐστράφη γὰρ ὡς ἦλθεν ἐπὶ ταύτας, καὶ γενομένη κατὰ τὴν ἡίονα ὑπὸ καμάτου πίπτει σὺν τῷ διώκοντι. Ἀπολλώνιος δὲ ἐν τοῖς Ἀργοναύταις ἕως Στροφάδων νήσων φησὶν αὐτὰς διωχθῆναι καὶ μηδὲν παθεῖν, δούσας ὄρκον τὸν Φινέα μηκέτι ἀδικῆσαι.

22 Ἀπαλλαγείς δὲ τῶν ἀρπυιῶν Φινεὺς ἐμήνυσε τὸν πλοῦν τοῖς Ἀργοναύταις, καὶ περὶ τῶν συμπληγάδων ὑπέθετο πετρῶν τῶν κατὰ θάλασσαν. ἦσαν δὲ ὑπερμεγέθεις αὐταί, συγκρουόμεναι δὲ ἀλλήλαις ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν πνευμάτων βίας τὸν διὰ θαλάσσης πόρον ἀπέκλειον. ἐφέρετο δὲ πολλὴ μὲν ὑπὲρ¹ αὐτῶν ὀμίχλη πολὺς δὲ πάταγος, ἦν δὲ ἀδύνατον καὶ τοῖς πετεινοῖς δι' αὐτῶν διελθεῖν.² εἶπεν οὖν αὐτοῖς ἀφεῖναι πελειάδα διὰ τῶν πετρῶν, καὶ ταύτην ἐὰν μὲν ἴδωσι σωθεῖσαν, διαπλεῖν καταφρονούντας, ἐὰν δὲ ἀπολομένην,³ μὴ πλεῖν βιάζεσθαι. ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες ἀνήγοντο, καὶ ὡς πλησίον ἦσαν τῶν πετρῶν, ἀφιασιν ἐκ τῆς πρῶρας πελειάδα· τῆς δὲ ἵπταμένης τὰ ἄκρα τῆς οὐρᾶς ἢ σύμπτωσις τῶν πετρῶν ἀπεθέρισεν.⁴ ἀναχωρούσας οὖν ἐπιτηρήσαντες τὰς πέτρας μετ' εἰρεσίας ἐντόνου,⁵ συλλαβομένης Ἡρας, διῆλθον,

¹ ὑπὲρ Bekker: ὑπ' EA: ἀπ' Clavier, Hercher.

² διελθεῖν E: ἐλθεῖν A.

³ ἀπολλυμένην EA, Wagner: ἀπολομένην Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher.

⁴ ἀπεθέρισεν A: ἀπέθριξεν E: ἀπέθριξεν Wagner.

⁵ ἐντόνου A: εὐτόνου E, Wagner.

¹ Compare Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* ii. 284–298, who says that previously the islands were called the Floating Isles (*Plotai*).

² The Clashing Rocks are the islands which the Greeks

for when she came to them she turned (*estraphe*) and being at the shore fell for very weariness with her pursuer. But Apollonius in the *Argonautica* says that the Harpies were pursued to the Strophades Islands and suffered no harm, having sworn an oath that they would wrong Phineus no more.¹

Being rid of the Harpies, Phineas revealed to the Argonauts the course of their voyage, and advised them about the Clashing Rocks² in the sea. These were huge cliffs, which, dashed together by the force of the winds, closed the sea passage. Thick was the mist that swept over them, and loud the crash, and it was impossible for even the birds to pass between them. So he told them to let fly a dove between the rocks, and, if they saw it pass safe through, to thread the narrows with an easy mind, but if they saw it perish, then not to force a passage. When they heard that, they put to sea, and on nearing the rocks let fly a dove from the prow, and as she flew the clash of the rocks nipped off the tip of her tail. So, waiting till the rocks had recoiled, with hard rowing and the help of Hera, they passed through, the extremity of the ship's ornamented

called Symplegades. Another name for them was the Wandering Rocks (*Planctae*) or the Blue Rocks (*Cyaneae*). See Herodotus, iv. 85; Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* ii. 317 sq.; Valerius Flaccus, *Argon.* iv. 561 sq.; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* vi. 32; Merry, on Homer, *Od.* xii. 61; Appendix, "The Clashing Rocks." As to the passage of the *Argo* between them, see Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* ii. 317 sqq., 549-610; *Orphica, Argonautica*, 683-714; Valerius Flaccus, *Argon.* iv. 561-702; Hyginus, *Fab.* 19. According to the author of the *Orphica* the bird which the Argonauts, or rather Athena, let fly between the Clashing Rocks was not a dove but a heron (*ἐρωδιός*). The heron was specially associated with Athena. See D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson, *Glossary of Greek Birds*, p. 58.

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τὰ ἄκρα τῶν ἀφλάστων τῆς νεῶς¹ περικοπίσης. αἱ μὲν οὖν συμπληγάδες ἔκτοτε ἔστησαν· χρεῶν γὰρ ἦν αὐταῖς νεῶς¹ περαιωθείσης στήναι παντελῶς.

- 23 Οἱ δὲ Ἄργοναῦται πρὸς Μαριανδυνοὺς παρεγένοντο, καὶ κεῖ φιλοφρόνως ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑπεδέξατο Λύκος. ἔνθα θνήσκει μὲν Ἰδμων ὁ μάντις πλήξαντος αὐτὸν κάπρου, θνήσκει δὲ καὶ Τίφυς, καὶ τὴν ναῦν Ἀγκαῖος ὑπισχνεῖται κυβερνᾶν.

Παραπλεύσαντες δὲ Θερμῶδοντα καὶ Καύκασον ἐπὶ Φᾶσιν ποταμὸν ἤλθον· οὗτος τῆς Κολχικῆς ἐστίν.² ἐγκαθορμισθείσης δὲ τῆς νεῶς¹ ἦκε πρὸς Αἰήτην Ἰάσων, καὶ τὰ ἐπιταγέντα ὑπὸ Πελλίου λέγων παρεκάλει δοῦναι τὸ δέρας αὐτῷ· ὁ δὲ δώσειν ὑπέσχετο, εἰ τὸν χαλκόποδας ταύρους μόνος καταζεύξῃ. ἦσαν δὲ ἄγριοι παρ' αὐτῷ ταῦροι δύο, μεγέθει διαφέροντες, δῶρον Ἡφαίστου, οἳ χαλκοῦς μὲν εἶχον πόδας, πῦρ δὲ ἐκ στομάτων ἐφύσων. τούτους αὐτῷ ζεύξαντι ἐπέτασσε³ σπείρειν δράκοντος ὀδόντας· εἶχε γὰρ λαβῶν παρ' Ἀθηνᾶς τοὺς ἡμίσεις ὧν Κάδμος ἔσπειρεν ἐν Θήβαις. ἀπορούντος δὲ τοῦ Ἰάσονος

¹ νεῶς E: νηὶς A.

² ἐστίν· ἐγκαθορμισθείσης E, Wagner: ἐστι γῆς· καθορμισθείσης A. ³ ἐπέτασσε E: ἐπετάσσετο A.

¹ Compare Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* ii. 720 sqq.; *Orphica, Argonautica*, 715 sqq.; Valerius Flaccus, *Argon.* iv. 733 sqq.; Hyginus, *Fab.* 18.

² Compare Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* ii. 815 sqq.; *Orphica, Argonautica*, 725 sqq.; Valerius Flaccus, *Argon.* v. 1 sqq.; Hyginus, *Fab.* 14 and 18. According to Apollonius, the barrow of Idmon was surmounted by a wild olive tree, which the Nisaeans were commanded by Apollo to worship as the guardian of the city.

poop being shorn away right round. Henceforth the Clashing Rocks stood still; for it was fated that, so soon as a ship had made the passage, they should come to rest completely.

The Argonauts now arrived among the Marian-dynians, and there King Lycus received them kindly.¹ There died Idmon the seer of a wound inflicted by a boar;² and there too died Tiphys, and Ancaeus undertook to steer the ship.³

And having sailed past the Thermodon and the Caucasus they came to the river Phasis, which is in the Colchian land.⁴ When the ship was brought into port, Jason repaired to Aetes, and setting forth the charge laid on him by Pelias invited him to give him the fleece. The other promised to give it if single-handed he would yoke the brazen-footed bulls. These were two wild bulls that he had, of enormous size, a gift of Hephaestus; they had brazen feet and puffed fire from their mouths. These creatures Aetes ordered him to yoke and to sow dragon's teeth; for he had got from Athena half of the dragon's teeth which Cadmus sowed in Thebes.⁵ While Jason puzzled how he could yoke the bulls,

³ Compare Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* ii. 851-898; *Orphica*, *Argonautica*, 729 *sqq.*; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 890; Valerius Flaccus, *Argon.* v. 13 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 14 and 18.

⁴ As to Jason in Colchis, and his winning of the Golden Fleece, see Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* ii. 1260 *sqq.*, iii. 1 *sqq.*, iv. 1-240; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 48. 1-5; Valerius Flaccus, *Argon.* v. 177-viii. 139; Ovid, *Metamorph.* vii. 1-158. The adventures of Jason in Colchis were the subject of a play by Sophocles called *The Colchian Women*. See *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. ii. pp. 15 *sqq.*; *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck², pp. 204 *sqq.*

⁵ Compare Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iii. 401 *sqq.*, 1176 *sqq.*

ι
σα
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καὶ

,² ὦν
δέξατο
θεν καὶ
λιν τοῖς

, see Apollo-
nautica, 473
erius Flaccus,
he massacre of
Herodotus, vi.
v. 91; Scholiast
The visit of the
ys by Aeschylus
n *Fragmenta*, ed.
s of *Sophocles*, ed.
aditions have been
m of gynocracy, or

Medea conceived a passion for him; now she was a witch, daughter of Aetes and Idyia, daughter of Ocean. And fearing lest he might be destroyed by the bulls, she, keeping the thing from her father, promised to help him to yoke the bulls and to deliver to him the fleece, if he would swear to have her to wife and would take her with him on the voyage to Greece. When Jason swore to do so, she gave him a drug with which she bade him anoint his shield, spear, and body when he was about to yoke the bulls; for she said that, anointed with it, he could for a single day be harmed neither by fire nor by iron. And she signified to him that, when the teeth were sown, armed men would spring up from the ground against him; and when he saw a knot of them he was to throw stones into their midst from a distance, and when they fought each other about that, he was then to kill them.¹ On hearing that, Jason anointed himself with the drug,² and being come to the grove of the temple he sought the bulls, and though they charged him with a flame of fire, he yoked them.³ And when he had sowed the teeth, there rose armed men from the ground; and where he saw several together, he pelted them unseen with stones, and when they fought each other he drew near and slew them.⁴ But though the bulls

iii. 1026 *sqq.* As to the drug with which Jason was to anoint himself, see further Pindar, *Pyth.* iv. 221 (394) *sq.*; Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iii. 844 *sqq.* It was extracted from a plant with a saffron-coloured flower, which was said to grow on the Caucasus from the blood of Prometheus. Compare Valerius Flaccus, *Argon.* vii. 355 *sqq.*; Pseudo-Plutarch, *De Fluviis*, v. 4.

² Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iii. 1246 *sqq.*

³ *Ibid.* 1278 *sqq.* ⁴ *Ibid.* 1320-1398.

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τῶν ταύρων οὐκ ἐδίδου τὸ δέρας Αἰήτης, ἐβούλετο δὲ τὴν τε Ἄργῳ καταφλέξει καὶ κτείνει τοὺς ἐμπλέοντας. φθάσασα δὲ Μήδεια τὸν Ἰάσονα νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὸ δέρας ἤγαγε, καὶ τὸν φυλάσσοντα δράκοντα κατακοιμίσασα τοῖς φαρμάκοις μετὰ Ἰάσονος, ἔχουσα τὸ δέρας, ἐπὶ τὴν Ἄργῳ παρέγενετο. συνείπετο δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἀψυρτος. οἱ δὲ νυκτὸς μετὰ τούτων ἀνήχθησαν.

- 24 Αἰήτης δὲ ἐπιγνοὺς τὰ τῇ Μηδείᾳ τετολμημένα ὤρμησε τὴν ναῦν διώκειν. ἰδοῦσα δὲ αὐτὸν πλησίον ὄντα Μήδεια τὸν ἀδελφὸν φονεῖει καὶ μελίσασα κατὰ τοῦ βυθοῦ ρίπτει. συναθροίζων δὲ Αἰήτης τὰ τοῦ παιδὸς μέλη τῆς διώξεως ὑστέρησε· διόπερ ὑποστρέψας, καὶ τὰ σωθέντα τοῦ παιδὸς μέλη θάψας, τὸν τόπον προσηγόρευσε Τόμους. πολλοὺς δὲ τῶν Κόλχων ἐπὶ τὴν ζήτησιν τῆς Ἀργούης ἐξέπεμψεν, ἀπειλήσας, εἰ μὴ Μήδειαν ἄξουσιν, αὐτοὺς πείσεσθαι τὰ ἐκείνης. οἱ δὲ σχισθέντες¹ ἄλλος ἄλλαχού ζήτησιν ἐποιούντο.

Τοῖς δὲ Ἀργοναύταις τὸν Ἡριδανὸν ποταμὸν ἤδη παραπλέουσι Ζεὺς μηνίσας ὑπὲρ τοῦ φονευθέντος Ἀψύρτου χειμῶνα λάβρον ἐπιπέμψας

¹ σχισθέντες ER, Wagner: σχεθέντες A: διασχεθέντες Heyne, Westermann, Müller: διαχεθέντες Bekker: διαχυθέντες Hercher.

¹ Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 123–182.

² Here Apollodorus departs from the version of Apollonius Rhodius, according to whom Apsyrtus, left behind by Jason and Medea, pursued them with a band of Colchians, and, overtaking them, was treacherously slain by Jason, with the connivance of Medea, in an island of the Danube. See

were yoked, Aetes did not give the fleece; for he wished to burn down the Argo and kill the crew. But before he could do so, Medea brought Jason by night to the fleece, and having lulled to sleep by her drugs the dragon that guarded it, she possessed herself of the fleece and in Jason's company came to the Argo.¹ She was attended, too, by her brother Apsyrtus.² And with them the Argonauts put to sea by night.

When Aetes discovered the daring deeds done by Medea, he started off in pursuit of the ship; but when she saw him near, Medea murdered her brother and cutting him limb from limb threw the pieces into the deep. Gathering the child's limbs, Aetes fell behind in the pursuit; wherefore he turned back, and, having buried the rescued limbs of his child, he called the place Tomi. But he sent out many of the Colchians to search for the Argo, threatening that, if they did not bring Medea to him, they should suffer the punishment due to her; so they separated and pursued the search in divers places.

When the Argonauts were already sailing past the Eridanus river, Zeus sent a furious storm upon them, and drove them out of their course, because he was

Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 224 sq., 303-481. Apollodorus seems to have followed the account given by Pherecydes in his seventh book (Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 223, 228). The version of Apollonius is followed by Hyginus (*Fab.* 23) and the Orphic poet (*Argonautica*, 1027 sqq.). According to Sophocles, in his play *The Colchian Women*, Apsyrtus was murdered in the palace of Aetes (Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 228); and this account seems to have been accepted by Euripides (*Medea*, 1334). Apollodorus's version of the murder of Apsyrtus is repeated verbally by Zenobius (iv. 92), but as usual without acknowledgment.

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ἐμβάλλει πλάνην. καὶ αὐτῶν τὰς Ἀψυρτίδας νήσους παραπλέοντων ἢ ναῦς φθέγγεται μὴ λήξειν τὴν ὄργην τοῦ Διός, ἐὰν¹ μὴ πορευθέντες εἰς τὴν Αὔσουϊαν τὸν Ἀψύρτου φόνον καθαρθῶσιν ὑπὸ Κίρκης. οἱ δὲ παραπλεύσαντες τὰ Λιγύων² καὶ Κελτῶν ἔθνη, καὶ διὰ τοῦ Σαρδονίου πελάγους διακομισθέντες,³ παραμειψάμενοι Τυρρηϊαν ἤλθον εἰς Αἰαίνην,⁴ ἔνθα Κίρκης ἰκέται γενόμενοι καθαίρονται.

25 Παραπλέοντων δὲ Σειρήνας αὐτῶν, Ὀρφεὺς τὴν ἐναντίαν μούσαν μελωδῶν τοὺς Ἀργοναύτας κατέσχε. μόνος δὲ Βούτης ἐξενήξατο πρὸς αὐτάς, ὃν ἀρπάσασα Ἀφροδίτη ἐν Λιλυβαίῳ κατώκισε.

Μετὰ δὲ τὰς Σειρήνας τὴν ναῦν Χάρυβδις ἐξεδέχετο καὶ Σκύλλα καὶ πέτραι πλαγκταί, ὑπὲρ ὧν φλόξ πολλὴ καὶ καπνὸς ἀναφερόμενος ἐωράτο. ἀλλὰ διὰ τούτων διεκόμισε τὴν ναῦν σὺν Νηρηΐσι Θέτις παρακληθεῖσα ὑπὸ Ἥρας.

Παραμειψάμενοι δὲ Θρινακίαν νῆσον Ἥλιου βούς⁵ ἔχουσιν εἰς τὴν Φαιάκων νῆσον Κέρκυραν ἦκον, ἧς βασιλεὺς ἦν Ἀλκίνοος. τῶν δὲ Κόλχων

¹ ἐὰν Heyne : εἰ EA.

² Λιγύων Scaliger : λιβύων EA.

³ διακομισθέντες E : κομισθέντες A.

⁴ αἰαίνην ERR^aC : Αἰαίαν Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher.

⁵ βούς EA : βόας Wagner.

¹ Compare Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 576–591; *Orphica*, *Argonautica*, 1160 sqq.

² Compare Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 659–717, who describes the purificatory rites. A sucking-pig was waved over the homicides; then its throat was cut, and their hands were sprinkled with its blood. Similar rites of purification

angry at the murder of Apsyrtus. And as they were sailing past the Apsyrtides Islands, the ship spoke, saying that the wrath of Zeus would not cease unless they journeyed to Ausonia and were purified by Circe for the murder of Apsyrtus.¹ So when they had sailed past the Ligurian and Celtic nations and had voyaged through the Sardinian Sea, they skirted Tyrrhenia and came to Aeaëa, where they supplicated Circe and were purified.²

And as they sailed past the Sirens,³ Orpheus restrained the Argonauts by chanting a counter melody. Butes alone swam off to the Sirens, but Aphrodite carried him away and settled him in Lilybaëum.

After the Sirens, the ship encountered Charybdis and Scylla and the Wandering Rocks,⁴ above which a great flame and smoke were seen rising. But Thetis with the Nereids steered the ship through them at the summons of Hera.

Having passed by the Island of Thrinacia, where are the kine of the Sun,⁵ they came to Corcyra, the island of the Phaeacians, of which Alcinous was king.⁶ But when the Colchians could not find the

for homicide are represented on Greek vases. See my note on Pausanias, ii. 31. 8 (vol. iii. p. 277).

³ About the Argonauts and the Sirens, see Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 891-921; *Orphica, Argonautica*, 1270-1297; Hyginus, *Fab.* 14.

⁴ Compare Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 922 *sqq.* These Wandering Rocks are supposed to be the Lipari islands, two of which are still active volcanoes.

⁵ Compare Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 964-979, according to whom the kine of the Sun were milk-white, with golden horns.

⁶ About the Argonauts among the Phaeacians, see Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 982 *sqq.*; *Orphica, Argonautica*, 1298-1354; Hyginus, *Fab.* 23.

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τὴν ναῦν εὐρεῖν μὴ δυναμένων οἱ μὲν τοῖς Κεραυνίοις¹ ὄρεσι παρώκησαν, οἱ δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα κομισθέντες ἔκτισαν Ἀψυρτίδας νήσους· ἔνιοι δὲ πρὸς Φαίακας ἐλθόντες τὴν Ἀργὴν κατέλαβον καὶ τὴν Μήδειαν ἀπήτουν παρ' Ἀλκινόου. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν, εἰ μὲν ἤδη συνελήλυθεν Ἰάσονι, δώσειν αὐτὴν ἐκείνῳ, εἰ δ' ἔτι παρθένος ἐστί, τῷ πατρὶ ἀποπέμψειν.² Ἀρήτη δὲ ἡ Ἀλκινόου γυνὴ φθασασα Μήδειαν Ἰάσονι συνέζευξεν· ὅθεν οἱ μὲν Κόλχοι μετὰ Φαίακων κατώκησαν, οἱ δὲ Ἀργοναῦται μετὰ τῆς Μηδείας ἀνήχθησαν.

26 Πλέοντες δὲ νυκτὸς σφοδρῶ περιπίπτουσι χειμῶνι. Ἀπόλλων δὲ στὰς ἐπὶ τὰς Μελαντίους³ δεῖράς, τοξεύσας τῷ βέλει εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν κατήστραψεν. οἱ δὲ πλησίον ἐθεάσαντο νῆσον, τῷ δὲ παρὰ προσδοκίαν ἀναφανῆναι⁴ προσορμισθέντες Ἀνάφην ἐκάλεσαν· ἰδρυσάμενοι δὲ βωμὸν Ἀπόλλωνος αἰγλήτου⁵ καὶ θυσιάσαντες ἐπ' εὐωχίαν ἐτράπησαν. δοθεῖσαι δ' ὑπὸ Ἀρήτης Μηδεία δώδεκα θεράπαινοι τοὺς ἀριστέας ἔσκωπτον μετὰ παιγνίας· ὅθεν ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐν τῇ θυσίᾳ σὺνήθες ἐστί σκώπτειν ταῖς γυναῖξιν.

¹ Κεραυνοῖς Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 175: κεκρυφαλοῖς A: κερκυραίων E. ² ἀποπέμψειν E: ἀντιπέμψειν A.

³ Μελαντίους Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 1707: μενοιτίου A.

⁴ A participle like *καταπλεγέντες* seems wanted. Compare ii. 5. 1.

⁵ αἰγλήτου Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 1716: αἰγαίου A.

¹ Compare Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 1106 *sqq.*; *Orphica, Argonautica*, 1327 *sqq.*

² Compare Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 1111–1169; *Orphica, Argonautica*, 1342 *sqq.*

³ Compare Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 1206 *sqq.*

ship, some of them settled at the Ceraunian mountains, and some journeyed to Illyria and colonized the Apsyrtydes Islands. But some came to the Phaeacians, and finding the Argo there, they demanded of Alcinous that he should give up Medea. He answered, that if she already knew Jason, he would give her to him, but that if she were still a maid he would send her away to her father.¹ However, Arete, wife of Alcinous, anticipated matters by marrying Medea to Jason;² hence the Colchians settled down among the Phaeacians³ and the Argonauts put to sea with Medea.

Sailing by night they encountered a violent storm, and Apollo, taking his stand on the Melantian ridges, flashed lightning down, shooting a shaft into the sea. Then they perceived an island close at hand, and anchoring there they named it Anaphe, because it had loomed up (*anaphanēnai*) unexpectedly. So they founded an altar of Radiant Apollo, and having offered sacrifice they betook them to feasting; and twelve handmaids, whom Arete had given to Medea, jested merrily with the chiefs; whence it is still customary for the women to jest at the sacrifice.⁴

⁴ Compare Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 1701-1730; *Orphica. Argonautica*, 1361-1367. From the description of Apollonius we gather that the raillery between men and women at these sacrifices was of a ribald character (*αισχροίς ἔπαισιν*). Here Apollodorus again departs from Apollonius, who places the intervention of Apollo and the appearance of the island of Anaphe after the approach of the Argonauts to Crete, and their repulse by Talos. Moreover, Apollonius tells how, after leaving Phaeacia, the Argonauts were driven by a storm to Libya and the Syrtes, where they suffered much hardship (*Argon.* iv. 1228-1628). This Libyan episode in the voyage of the Argo is noticed by Diodorus Siculus (iv. 56. 6), but entirely omitted by Apollodorus.

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Ἐντεῦθεν ἀναχθέντες κωλύονται Κρήτη προσίσχειν ὑπὸ Τάλω. τοῦτον οἱ μὲν τοῦ χαλκοῦ γένους εἶναι λέγουσιν, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ Ἡφαίστου Μίνωι δοθῆναι· ὃς ἦν χαλκοῦς ἀνὴρ, οἱ δὲ ταῦρον αὐτὸν λέγουσιν. εἶχε δὲ φλέβα μίαν ἀπὸ αὐχένος κατατείνουσαν ἄχρι σφυρῶν· κατὰ δὲ τὸ τέρμα¹ τῆς φλεβὸς ἦλος διήρειστο χαλκοῦς. οὗτος ὁ Τάλως τρεῖς ἐκάστης ἡμέρας τὴν νῆσον περιτροχάζων ἐτήρει· διὸ καὶ τότε τὴν Ἄργω προσπλέουσαν θεωρῶν τοῖς λίθοις ἔβαλλεν. ἑξαπατηθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ Μηδείας ἀπέθανεν, ὡς μὲν ἔνιοι λέγουσι, διὰ φαρμάκων αὐτῷ μανίαν Μηδείας ἐμβαλοῦσης, ὡς δὲ τινες, ὑποσχομένης ποιήσειν ἀθάνατον καὶ τὸν ἦλον ἐξελοῦσης, ἐκρύνετος τοῦ παντὸς ἰχώρος αὐτὸν ἀποθανεῖν. τινὲς δὲ αὐτὸν τοξευθέντα ὑπὸ Ποίαντος εἰς τὸ σφυρὸν τελευτῆσαι λέγουσι.

Μίαν δὲ ἐνταῦθα νύκτα μείναντες Αἰγίγη προσίσχουσιν ὑδρεύσασθαι θέλοντες, καὶ γίνεται περὶ τῆς ὑδρείας αὐτοῖς ἄμιλλα. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ διὰ τῆς Εὐβοίας καὶ τῆς Λοκρίδος πλεύσαντες εἰς Ἴωλκὸν

¹ τέρμα Faber, Heyne, Bekker, Hercher, Wagner : δέρμα A, Zenobius, *Cent.* v. 85, Westermann, Müller.

¹ As to Talos, see Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 1639–1693; *Orphica, Argonautica*, 1358–1360; Agatharchides, in Photius, *Bibliotheca*, p. 443 b, lines 22–25, ed. Bekker; Lucian, *De saltatione*, 49; Zenobius, *Cent.* v. 85; Suidas, *s.v.* Σαρδάμιος γέλως; Eustathius, on Homer, *Odyssey*, xx. 302, p. 1893; Scholiast on Plato, *Republic*, i. p. 337 A. Talos would seem to have been a bronze image of the sun represented as a man with a bull's head. See *The Dying God*, pp. 74 sq.; A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, i. 718 sqq. In his account of the death of Talos our author again differs from Apollonius Rhodius, according

Putting to sea from there, they were hindered from touching at Crete by Talos.¹ Some say that he was a man of the Brazen Race, others that he was given to Minos by Hephaestus; he was a brazen man, but some say that he was a bull. He had a single vein extending from his neck to his ankles, and a bronze nail was rammed home at the end of the vein. This Talos kept guard, running round the island thrice every day; wherefore, when he saw the Argo standing inshore, he pelted it as usual with stones. His death was brought about by the wiles of Medea, whether, as some say, she drove him mad by drugs, or, as others say, she promised to make him immortal and then drew out the nail, so that all the ichor gushed out and he died. But some say that Poëas shot him dead in the ankle.

After tarrying a single night there they put in to Aegina to draw water, and a contest arose among them concerning the drawing of the water.² Thence they sailed betwixt Euboea and Locris and came to

to whom Talos perished through grazing his ankle against a jagged rock, so that all the ichor in his body gushed out. This incident seems to have been narrated by Sophocles in one of his plays (Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 1638; *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, i. 110 sqq.). The account, mentioned by Apollodorus, which referred the death of Talos to the spells of Medea, is illustrated by a magnificent vase-painting, in the finest style, which represents Talos swooning to death in presence of the Argonauts, while the enchantress Medea stands by, gazing grimly at her victim and holding in one hand a basket from which she seems to be drawing with the other the fatal herbs. See A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, i. p. 721, with plate XLI.

² Compare Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 1765-1772, from whose account we gather that this story was told to explain the origin of a foot-race in Aegina, in which young men ran with jars full of water on their shoulders.

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ἦλθον, τὸν πάντα πλοῦν ἐν τέτταρσι μῆσι τελειώσαντες.

- 27 Πελίας δὲ ἀπογνοὺς τὴν ὑποστροφὴν τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν τὸν Αἴσονα κτείνειν ἤθελεν· ὁ δὲ αἰτησάμενος ἑαυτὸν ἀνελεῖν θυσίαν ἐπιτελῶν ἀδεῶς τοῦ ταυρείου σπασάμενος αἵματος¹ ἀπέθανεν. ἡ δὲ Ἰάσονος μήτηρ ἐπαρασαμένη Πελία,² νήπιον ἀπολιπούσα παῖδα Πρόμαχον ἑαυτὴν ἀνήρτησε· Πελίας δὲ καὶ τὸν αὐτῇ καταλειφθέντα παῖδα ἀπέκτειεν. ὁ δὲ Ἰάσων κατελθὼν τὸ μὲν δέρας ἔδωκε, περὶ ᾧ δὲ ἡδίκηθη μετελθεῖν ἐθέλων καιρὸν ἐξεδέχετο. καὶ τότε μὲν εἰς Ἴσθμὸν μετὰ τῶν ἀριστέων πλεύσας ἀνέθηκε τὴν ναῦν Ποσειδῶνι, αὐθις δὲ Μήδειαν παρακαλεῖ ζητεῖν ὅπως Πελίας αὐτῷ δίκας ὑπόσχη. ἡ δὲ εἰς τὰ βασίλεια τοῦ Πελίου παρελθούσα πείθει τὰς θυγατέρας αὐτοῦ τὸν πατέρα κρεουργῆσαι καὶ καθεψῆσαι, διὰ φαρμάκων αὐτὸν ἐπαγγελλομένη ποιήσειν νέον· καὶ τοῦ πιστεῦσαι χάριν κριὸν μελίσασα καὶ καθεψήσασα ἐποίησεν ἄρνα. αἱ δὲ πιστεῦσασαι τὸν πατέρα κρεουργοῦσι καὶ καθέψουσιν. Ἄκαστος³ δὲ μετὰ τῶν τὴν Ἴωλκὸν

¹ ταυρείου σπασάμενος αἵματος E: ταύρου αἷμα σπασάμενος A.

² πελία E: πελίαν A.

³ Ἄκαστος Aegius: ἄδραστος EA.

¹ Compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 50. 1; Valerius Flaccus, *Argon.* i. 777 sq. The ancients believed that bull's blood was poisonous. Similarly Themistocles was popularly supposed to have killed himself by drinking bull's blood (Plutarch, *Themistocles*, 31).

² Her name was Perimede, according to Apollodorus (i. 9. 16). Diodorus Siculus calls her Amphinome, and says that she stabbed herself after cursing Pelias (iv. 50. 1).

Iolcus, having completed the whole voyage in four months.

Now Pelias, despairing of the return of the Argonauts, would have killed Aeson; but he requested to be allowed to take his own life, and in offering a sacrifice drank freely of the bull's blood and died.¹ And Jason's mother cursed Pelias and hanged herself,² leaving behind an infant son Promachus; but Pelias slew even the son whom she had left behind.³ On his return Jason surrendered the fleece, but though he longed to avenge his wrongs he bided his time. At that time he sailed with the chiefs to the Isthmus and dedicated the ship to Poseidon, but afterwards he exhorted Medea to devise how he could punish Pelias. So she repaired to the palace of Pelias and persuaded his daughters to make mince meat of their father and boil him, promising to make him young again by her drugs; and to win their confidence she cut up a ram and made it into a lamb by boiling it. So they believed her, made mince meat of their father and boiled him.⁴ But Acastus buried his father with the help

³ Compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 50. 1.

⁴ With this account of the death of Pelias compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 51 *sq.*; Pausanias, viii. 11. 2 *sq.*; Zenobius, *Cent.* iv. 92; Plautus, *Pseudolus*, Act iii. *vv.* 868 *sqq.*; Cicero, *De senectute*, xxiii. 83; Ovid, *Metamorph.* vii. 297-349; Hyginus, *Fab.* 24. The story of the fraud practised by Medea on Pelias is illustrated by Greek vase-paintings. For example, on a black-figured vase the ram is seen issuing from the boiling cauldron, while Medea and the two daughters of Pelias stand by watching it with gestures of glad surprise, and the aged white-haired king himself sits looking on expectant. See Miss J. E. Harrison, *Greek Vase Paintings* (London, 1894), plate ii; A. Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, ii. 1201 *sq.*, with fig. 1394. According to the author of

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οικούντων τὸν πατέρα θάπτει, τὸν δὲ Ἴάσονα μετὰ τῆς Μηδείας τῆς Ἴωλκοῦ ἐκβάλλει.

- 28 Οἱ δὲ ἦγον εἰς Κόρινθον, καὶ δέκα μὲν ἔτη διετέλουν εὐτυχοῦντες, αὐθις δὲ τοῦ τῆς Κορίνθου βασιλέως Κρέοντος τὴν θυγατέρα Γλαύκην Ἴάσονι ἐγγυῶντος, παραπεμφάμενος Ἴάσων Μήδειαν ἐγάμει. ἡ δέ, οὓς τε ὤμοσεν Ἴάσων θεοὺς ἐπικαλεσαμένη καὶ τὴν Ἴάσονος ἀχαριστίαν μεμφαμένη πολλάκις, τῇ μὲν γαμουμένη πέπλον μεμαγμένον¹ φαρμάκοις² ἔπεμψεν, ὃν ἀμφιεσαμένη μετὰ τοῦ βοηθοῦντος πατρὸς πυρὶ λάβρῳ κατεφλέχθη,³ τοὺς δὲ παῖδας οὓς εἶχεν ἐξ Ἴάσονος, Μέρμερον καὶ Φέρητα, ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ λαβούσα παρὰ Ἑλίου ἄρμα πτηνῶν⁴ δρακόντων ἐπὶ τούτου φεύγουσα ἦλθεν εἰς Ἀθήνας. λέγεται δὲ <καὶ> ὅτι φεύγουσα τοὺς παῖδας ἔτι νηπίους ὄντας κατέλιπεν, ἰκέτας καθίσασα ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν

¹ μεμαγμένον E: μεμαγευμένον A.

² φαρμάκοις ER: φάρμακον A.

³ κατεφλέχθη E: καταφλέγει A.

⁴ πτηνῶν EC. Some MSS. read πτηνὸν.

the epic *Returns* (*Nostoi*), Medea in like manner restored to youth Jason's old father, Aeson; according to Pherocydes and Simonides, she applied the magical restorative with success to her husband, Jason. Again, Aeschylus wrote a play called *The Nurses of Dionysus*, in which he related how Medea similarly renovated not only the nurses but their husbands by the simple process of decoction. See the Greek Argument to the *Medea* of Euripides, and the Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Knights*, 1321. (According to Ovid, *Metamorph.*, vii. 251-294, Medea restored Aeson to youth, not by boiling him, but by draining his body of his effete old blood and replacing it by a magic brew.) Again, when Pelops had been killed and

of the inhabitants of Iolcus, and he expelled Jason and Medea from Iolcus.

They went to Corinth, and lived there happily for ten years, till Creon, king of Corinth, betrothed his daughter Glauce to Jason, who married her and divorced Medea. But she invoked the gods by whom Jason had sworn, and after often upbraiding him with his ingratitude she sent the bride a robe steeped in poison, which when Glauce had put on, she was consumed with fierce fire along with her father, who went to her rescue.¹ But Mermerus and Pheres, the children whom Medea had by Jason, she killed, and having got from the Sun a car drawn by winged dragons she fled on it to Athens.² Another tradition is that on her flight she left behind her children, who were still infants, setting them as suppliants on the altar of Hera of the

served up at a banquet of the gods by his cruel father Tantalus, the deities in pity restored him to life by boiling him in a cauldron from which he emerged well and whole except for the loss of his shoulder, of which Demeter had inadvertently partaken. See Pindar, *Olymp.* i. 26. (40) *sq.*, with the Scholiast; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 152-153. For similar stories of the magical restoration of youth and life, see Appendix, "The Renewal of Youth."

¹ See Euripides, *Medea*, 1136 *sqq.* It is said that in her agony Glauce threw herself into a fountain, which was thenceforth named after her (Pausanias, ii. 2. 6). The fountain has been discovered and excavated in recent years. See G. W. Elderkin, "The Fountain of Glauce at Corinth," *American Journal of Archaeology*, xiv. (1910), pp. 19-50.

² In this account of the tragic end of Medea's stay at Corinth our author has followed the *Medea* of Euripides. Compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 54; Ovid, *Metamorph.* vii. 391 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 25. According to Apuleius (*Metamorph.* i. 10), Medea contrived to burn the king's palace and the king himself in it, as well as his daughter.

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τῆς Ἥρας τῆς ἀκράϊας· Κορίνθιοι δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀναστήσαντες κατετραυμάτισαν.

Μήδεια δὲ ἦκεν εἰς Ἀθήνας, κακεῖ γαμηθεῖσα Αἰγεί παῖδα γεννᾷ Μῆδον. ἐπιβουλεύουσα δὲ ὕστερον Θεσεί φυγὰς ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν μετὰ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐκβάλλεται. ἀλλ' οὗτος μὲν πολλῶν κρατήσας βαρβάρων τὴν ὑφ' ἑαυτὸν χώραν ἀπασαν Μηδίαν ἐκάλεσε, καὶ στρατευόμενος ἐπὶ Ἴνδου ἀπέθανε· Μήδεια δὲ εἰς Κόλχους ἦλθεν ἄγνωστος, καὶ καταλαβοῦσα Αἰήτην ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Πέρσου τῆς βασιλείας ἐστερημένον, κτείνασα τοῦτον τῷ πατρὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀποκατέστησεν.

¹ Compare Pausanias, ii. 3. 6 ; Aelian, *Varia Historia*, v. 21 ; Scholiast on Euripides, *Medea*, 9 and 264. Down to a comparatively late date the Corinthians used to offer annual sacrifices and perform other rites for the sake of expiating the murder of the children. Seven boys and seven girls, clad in black and with their hair shorn, had to spend a year in the sanctuary of Hera of the Height, where the murder had been perpetrated. These customs fell into desuetude after Corinth was captured by the Romans. See Pausanias, ii. 3. 7 ; Scholiast on Euripides, *Medea*, 264 ; compare Philostratus, *Heroica*, xx. 24.

² According to one account, Medea attempted to poison Theseus, but his father dashed the poison cup from his lips. See below, *Epitome*, i. 5 sq. ; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 12 ; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 55. 4-6 ; Pausanias, ii. 3. 8 ; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xi. 741 ; Eustathius, *Comment. on Dionysius Perieg.* 1017 ; Ovid, *Metamorph.* vii. 406-424. According to Ovid,

Height; but the Corinthians removed them and wounded them to death.¹

Medea came to Athens, and being there married to Aegeus bore him a son Medus. Afterwards, however, plotting against Theseus, she was driven a fugitive from Athens with her son.² But he conquered many barbarians and called the whole country under him Media,³ and marching against the Indians he met his death. And Medea came unknown to Colchis, and finding that Aeetes had been deposed by his brother Perses, she killed Perses and restored the kingdom to her father.⁴

the poison which Medea made use of to take off Theseus was aconite.

¹ For the etymology, compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 55. 5 and 7, iv. 56. 1; Strabo, xi. 13. 10, p. 526; Pausanias, ii. 3. 8; Eustathius, *Comment. on Dionysius Perieg.* 1017; Hyginus, *Fab.* 27.

² According to others, it was not Medea but her son Medus who killed Perses. See Diodorus Siculus, iv. 56. 1; Hyginus, *Fab.* 27. Cicero quotes from an otherwise unknown Latin tragedy some lines in which the deposed Aeetes is represented mourning his forlorn state in an unkingly and unmanly strain (*Tusculan. Disput.* iii. 12. 26). The narrative of Hyginus has all the appearance of being derived from a tragedy, perhaps the same tragedy from which Cicero quotes. But that tragedy itself was probably based on a Greek original; for Diodorus Siculus introduces his similar account of the assassination of the usurper with the remark that the history of Medea had been embellished and distorted by the extravagant fancies of the tragedians.

BOOK II

B

I. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὸ τοῦ Δευκαλίωνος διεξεληλύθαμεν γένος, ἐχομένως λέγωμεν¹ τὸ Ἰνάχειον.

Ἔκκεανὸς καὶ Τηθύος γίνεται παῖς Ἰναχος, ἀφ' οὗ ποταμὸς ἐν Ἄργει Ἰναχος καλεῖται. τούτου καὶ Μελίας² τῆς Ἔκκεανὸς Φορωνεύς τε καὶ Αἰγιάλευς παῖδες ἐγένοντο. Αἰγιάλευς μὲν οὖν ἄπαιδος ἀποθανόντος ἡ χώρα ἅπασα Αἰγιάλεια ἐκλήθη, Φορωνεύς δὲ ἀπάσης τῆς ὕστερον Πελοποννήσου προσαγορευθείσης δυναστεύων ἐκ Τηλεδίκης³ νύμφης Ἄπιον καὶ Νιόβην ἐγέννησεν. Ἄπις μὲν οὖν εἰς τυραννίδα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ μεταστήσας δύναμιν καὶ βίαιος ὢν τύραννος, ὀνομάσας⁴ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ τὴν Πελοπόννησον Ἀπίαν, ὑπὸ Θελξίου καὶ Τελχίνου ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ἄπαις ἀπέθανε, καὶ νομισθεὶς θεὸς ἐκλήθη Σάραπις. Νιόβης δὲ καὶ Διὸς (ἧ πρώτη γυναικὶ Ζεὺς θνητῇ ἐμίγη) παῖς Ἄργος ἐγένετο, ὡς δὲ Ἀκουσίλαός

¹ λέγωμεν Aegius : λέγομεν A.

² Μελίας Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 177, Scholiast on Plato, *Timaeus*, p. 22 A : μελίσης A.

³ Τηλοδίκης Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 177, Scholiast on Plato, *Timaeus*, p. 22 A : ἐκ τῆς Λαοδίκης Heyne (in the text). ⁴ ὀνομάσας Bekker, Wagner (misprint).

¹ As to Inachus and his descendants, see Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 177 (who follows Apollodorus); Pausanias, ii. 15. 5; Scholiast on Euripides, *Orestes*, 932; Scholiast on

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I. HAVING now gone through the family of Deucalion, we have next to speak of that of Inachus.

Ocean and Tethys had a son Inachus, after whom a river in Argos is called Inachus.¹ He and Melia, daughter of Ocean, had sons, Phoroneus and Aegialeus. Aegialeus having died childless, the whole country was called Aegialia; and Phoroneus, reigning over the whole land afterwards named Peloponnese, begat Apis and Niobe by a nymph Teledice. Apis converted his power into a tyranny and named the Peloponnese after himself Apia; but being a stern tyrant he was conspired against and slain by Thelxion and Telchis. He left no child, and being deemed a god was called Sarapis.² But Niobe had by Zeus (and she was the first mortal woman with whom Zeus cohabited) a son Argus, and also, so says

Homer, *Il.* i. 22. According to Apion, the flight of the Israelites from Egypt took place during the reign of Inachus at Argos. See Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelii*, x. 10. 10 *sq.* On the subject of Phoroneus there was an ancient epic *Phoronis*, of which a few verses have survived. See *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, pp. 209 *sqq.*

² Apollodorus identifies the Argive Apis with the Egyptian bull Apis, who was in turn identified with Serapis (Sarapis). As to the Egyptian Apis, see Herodotus, ii. 153 (with Wiedemann's note), iii. 27 and 28. As to Apia as a name for Peloponnese or Argos, see Aeschylus, *Suppl.* 260 *sqq.*; Pausanias, ii. 5. 7; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* i. 22; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 177; Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* 'Απία.

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φησι, καὶ Πελασγός, ἀφ' οὗ κληθῆναι τοὺς τὴν Πελοπόννησον οἰκοῦντας Πελασγούς. Ἡσίοδος
 2 δὲ τὸν Πελασγὸν αὐτόχθονά φησιν εἶναι. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτου πάλιν ἐροῦμεν· Ἄργος δὲ λαβὼν¹ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐκάλεσεν Ἄργος, καὶ γήμας Εὐάδην τὴν Στρυμόνος καὶ Νεαίρας ἐτέκνωσεν Ἐκβασον Πείραντα Ἐπίδαυρον Κρίασον, ὃς καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβεν.

Ἐκβάσου δὲ Ἀγήνωρ γίνεται, τούτου δὲ Ἄργος ὁ πανόπτης λεγόμενος. εἶχε δὲ οὗτος ὀφθαλμοὺς μὲν ἐν παντὶ τῷ σώματι, ὑπερβάλλων δὲ δυνάμει τὸν μὲν τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν λυμαινόμενον ταῦρον ἀνελὼν τὴν τούτου δορὰν ἠμφιέσατο, Σάτυρον δὲ τοὺς Ἀρκάδας ἀδικοῦντα καὶ ἀφαιρούμενον τὰ βοσκηματα ὑποστάς ἀπέκτεινε. λέγεται δὲ ὅτι καὶ τὴν Ταρτάρου καὶ Γῆς Ἐχιδναν, ἣ τοὺς παριόντας συνήρπαζεν, ἐπιτηρήσας κοιμωμένην ἀπέκτεινεν. ἐξεδίκησε δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἄπιδος φόνον, τοὺς αἰτίους ἀποκτείνας.

3 Ἄργου δὲ καὶ Ἰσμήνης τῆς Ἀσωποῦ παῖς Ἰασος,² οὗ φασιν Ἰὼ γενέσθαι. Κάστωρ δὲ ὁ συγγράφας τὰ χρονικὰ καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν τραγικῶν Ἰνάχου τὴν Ἰὼ λέγουσιν· Ἡσίοδος δὲ καὶ Ἄκου-

¹ After λαβὼν the MSS. (A) add παρὰ Φορωνέως, which is omitted by Hercher and Wagner, following Heyne.

² Ἰασος Aegius : Ἴσος A.

¹ See below, iii. 8. 1.

² Compare Scholiast on Euripides, *Orestes*, 932 ; Hyginus, *Fab.* 145.

³ As to Argus and his many eyes, compare Aeschylus, *Suppl.* 303 *sqq.* ; Scholiast on Euripides, *Phoen.* 1116 ; Ovid, *Metamorph.* i. 625 *sqq.* ; Hyginus, *Fab.* 145 ; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 790 ; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*,

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Acusilaus, a son Pelasgus, after whom the inhabitants of the Peloponnese were called Pelasgians. However, Hesiod says that Pelasgus was a son of the soil. About him I shall speak again.¹ But Argus received the kingdom and called the Peloponnese after himself Argos; and having married Evadne, daughter of Strymon and Neaera, he begat Ecbasus, Piras, Epidaurus, and Criasus,² who also succeeded to the kingdom.

Ecbasus had a son Agenor, and Agenor had a son Argus, the one who is called the All-seeing. He had eyes in the whole of his body,³ and being exceedingly strong he killed the bull that ravaged Arcadia and clad himself in its hide; ⁴ and when a satyr wronged the Arcadians and robbed them of their cattle, Argus withstood and killed him. It is said, too, that Echidna,⁵ daughter of Tartarus and Earth, who used to carry off passers-by, was caught asleep and slain by Argus. He also avenged the murder of Apis by putting the guilty to death.

Argus and Ismene, daughter of Asopus, had a son Iasus, who is said to have been the father of Io.⁶ But the annalist Castor and many of the tragedians allege that Io was a daughter of Inachus;⁷ and Hesiod ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 5 sq. (First Vatican Mythographer, 18).

¹ Compare Dionysius, quoted by the Scholiast on Euripides, *Phoeniss.* 1116, who says merely that Argus was clad in a hide and had eyes all over his body.

² As to the monster Echidna, half woman, half snake, see Hesiod, *Theog.* 295 sqq.

³ Compare Pausanias, ii. 16. 1; Scholiast on Euripides, *Orestes*, 932.

⁴ Compare Aeschylus, *Prometheus*, 589 sqq.; Herodotus, i. 1; Plutarch, *De malignitate Herodoti*, 11; Lucian, *Dial. deorum*, iii.; *id. Dial. Marin.* vii. 1; Pausanias, iii. 18. 13; Ovid, *Metamorph.* i. 583 sqq.; Hyginus, *Fab.* 145.

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σίλαος Πειρήνος αὐτήν φασιν εἶναι. ταύτην ἱερωσύνην τῆς Ἥρας ἔχουσαν Ζεὺς ἔφθειρε. φωραθεὶς δὲ ὑφ' Ἥρας τῆς μὲν κόρης ἀψάμενος εἰς βοῦν μετεμόρφωσε λευκὴν, ἀπωμόσατο δὲ ταύτη¹ μὴ συνελθεῖν· διό φησιν Ἡσίοδος οὐκ ἐπισπᾶσθαι τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν ὄργην τοὺς γινομένους ὄρκους ὑπὲρ ἔρωτος. Ἥρα δὲ αἰτησαμένη παρὰ Διὸς τὴν βοῦν φύλακα αὐτῆς κατέστησεν Ἄργον τὸν πανόπτην, ὃν Φερεκύδης² μὲν Ἀρέστορος λέγει, Ἀσκληπιάδης δὲ Ἰνάχου, Κέρκωψ³ δὲ Ἄργου καὶ Ἰσμήνης τῆς Ἀσωποῦ θυγατρὸς· Ἀκουσίλαος δὲ γηγενῆ αὐτὸν λέγει. οὗτος ἐκ τῆς ἐλαίας ἐδέσμευεν αὐτὴν ἥτις ἐν τῷ Μυκηναίῳ ὑπῆρχεν ἄλσει. Διὸς δὲ ἐπιτάξαντος Ἑρμῆ κλέψαι τὴν βοῦν, μηνύσαντος Ἰέρακος, ἐπειδὴ λαθεῖν οὐκ ἠδύνατο, λίθῳ βαλὼν ἀπέκτεινε τὸν Ἄργον, ὅθεν ἀργειφόντης ἐκλήθη. Ἥρα δὲ τῇ βοῖ οἴστρον ἐμβάλλει ἢ δὲ πρῶτον ἤκεν εἰς τὸν ἀπ' ἐκείνης Ἰόνιον κόλπον κληθέντα, ἔπειτα διὰ τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος πορευθεῖσα καὶ τὸν Αἴμον ὑπερβαλοῦσα διέβη τὸν τότε μὲν καλούμενον πόρον Θράκιον, νῦν δὲ ἀπ' ἐκείνης Βόσπορον. ἀπελθοῦσα⁴ δὲ εἰς Σκυθίαν καὶ τὴν Κιμμερίδα γῆν, πολλὴν χέρσου πλανηθεῖσα καὶ πολλὴν διανηξαμένη θάλασσαν Εὐρώπης τε καὶ

¹ ταύτη Wagner: ταύτην E: αὐτήν A: ἀρχὴν Hercher.

² Φερεκύδης . . . Ἀσκληπιάδης Heyne (comparing Scholiast on Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 1116), Bekker, Hercher, Wagner: Ἀσκληπιάδης . . . Φερεκύδης A, Westermann.

³ Κέρκωψ Aegius: κέρκωψ A.

⁴ ἀπελθοῦσα E: ἐπελθοῦσα A.

¹ Compare Aeschylus, *Suppl.* 291 sqq.; Scholiast on Homer,

and Acusilaus say that she was a daughter of Piren. Zeus seduced her while she held the priesthood of Hera, but being detected by Hera he by a touch turned Io into a white cow¹ and swore that he had not known her; wherefore Hesiod remarks that lover's oaths do not draw down the anger of the gods. But Hera requested the cow from Zeus for herself and set Argus the All-seeing to guard it. Pherecydes says that this Argus was a son of Arestor;² but Asclepiades says that he was a son of Inachus, and Cercops says that he was a son of Argus and Ismene, daughter of Asopus; but Acusilaus says that he was earth-born.³ He tethered her to the olive tree which was in the grove of the Mycenaeans. But Zeus ordered Hermes to steal the cow, and as Hermes could not do it secretly because Hierax had blabbed, he killed Argus by the cast of a stone;⁴ whence he was called Argiphontes.⁵ Hera next sent a gadfly to infest the cow,⁶ and the animal came first to what is called after her the Ionian gulf. Then she journeyed through Illyria and having traversed Mount Haemus she crossed what was then called the Thracian Straits but is now called after her the Bosphorus.⁷ And having gone away to Scythia and the Cimmerian land she wandered over great tracts of land and swam wide stretches of sea both in Europe and Asia until at last *Il. ii. 103* (who cites the present passage of Apollodorus); Ovid, *Metamorph. i. 588 sqq.*

¹ The passage of Pherecydes is quoted by the Scholiast on Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 1116.

² So Aeschylus, *Prometheus*, 305.

³ Compare Scholiast on Aeschylus, *Prometheus*, 561; Scholiast on Homer, *Il. ii. 103*. ⁵ That is, slayer of Argus.

⁶ For the wanderings of Io, goaded by the gadfly, see Aeschylus, *Suppl. 540 sqq.*, *Prometheus*, 786 (805) *sqq.*; Ovid *Metamorph. i. 724 sqq.*

Bosporos, "Cow's strait" or "Ox-ford."

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Ἀσίας, τελευταίου ἦκεν¹ εἰς Αἴγυπτον, ὅπου τὴν ἀρχαίαν μορφήν ἀπολαβοῦσα γεννᾷ παρὰ τῷ Νείλῳ ποταμῷ Ἐπαφον παῖδα. τοῦτον δὲ Ἡρα δεῖται Κουρήτων ἀφανῆ ποιῆσαι· οἱ δὲ ἠφάνισαν αὐτόν. καὶ Ζεὺς μὲν αἰσθόμενος κτείνει Κούρητας, Ἴω δὲ ἐπὶ ζήτησιν τοῦ παιδὸς ἐτράπετο. πλανωμένη δὲ κατὰ τὴν Συρίαν ἅπασαν (ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἐμνηύετο <ὅτι² ἦ>³ τοῦ Βυβλίων βασιλέως <γυνῆ>⁴ ἐτίθηναι τὸν υἱόν) καὶ τὸν Ἐπαφον εὐροῦσα, εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐλθοῦσα ἐγαμήθη Τηλεγόνῳ τῷ βασιλεύοντι τότε Αἰγυπτίων. ἰδρύσατο δὲ ἄγαλμα Δήμητρος, ἣν ἐκάλεσαν Ἴσιν Αἰγύπτιοι, καὶ τὴν Ἴω Ἴσιν ὁμοίως προσηγόρευσαν.

- 4 Ἐπαφος δὲ βασιλεύων Αἰγυπτίων γαμῆ Μέμφιν τὴν Νείλου θυγατέρα, καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης κτίζει Μέμφιν πόλιν, καὶ τεκνοῖ θυγατέρα Λιβύην, ἀφ' ἧς ἡ χώρα Λιβύη ἐκλήθη. Λιβύης δὲ καὶ Ποσειδῶνος γίνονται παῖδες δίδυμοι Ἀγῆνωρ καὶ Βῆλος. Ἀγῆνωρ μὲν οὖν εἰς Φοινίκην ἀπαλλαγείς ἐβασίλευσε, καὶ ἐκεῖ τῆς μεγάλης ρίζης ἐγένετο γενεάρχης· ὅθεν ὑπερθησόμεθα περὶ τούτου. Βῆλος δὲ ὑπομείνας ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ βασιλεύει μὲν Αἰγύπτου, γαμῆ δὲ Ἀγχινόην⁵ τὴν Νείλου θυγατέρα, καὶ αὐτῷ γίνονται παῖδες δίδυμοι,

¹ ἦκεν A : ἦει E. ² ὅτι inserted by Bekker : ὡς Heyne.

³ ἦ a conjecture of Heyne's. ⁴ γυνῆ inserted by Aegius.

⁵ Ἀγχινόην A, Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* i. 42 (citing the Second Book of Apollodorus): Ἀγχιρρόη Scholiast on Plato, *Timaeus*, p. 25 B : Ἀχιρρόη Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, vii. 353, and *Schol. on Lycophron*, 583.

¹ Compare Aeschylus, *Prometheus*, 846 (865) *sqq.*; Herodotus, ii. 153, iii. 27; Ovid, *Metamorph.* i. 748 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 145.

² Isis, whom the ancients sometimes identified with Io (see

she came to Egypt, where she recovered her original form and gave birth to a son Epaphus beside the river Nile.¹ Him Hera besought the Curetes to make away with, and make away with him they did. When Zeus learned of it, he slew the Curetes; but Io set out in search of the child. She roamed all over Syria, because there it was revealed to her that the wife of the king of Byblus was nursing her son; ² and having found Epaphus she came to Egypt and was married to Telegonus, who then reigned over the Egyptians. And she set up an image of Demeter, whom the Egyptians called Isis,³ and Io likewise they called by the name of Isis.⁴

Reigning over the Egyptians Epaphus married Memphis, daughter of Nile, founded and named the city of Memphis after her, and begat a daughter Libya, after whom the region of Libya was called.⁵ Libya had by Poseidon twin sons, Agenor and Belus.⁶ Agenor departed to Phoenicia and reigned there, and there he became the ancestor of the great stock; hence we shall defer our account of him.⁷ But Belus remained in Egypt, reigned over the country, and married Anchinoe, daughter of Nile, by whom he had twin

below), is said to have nursed the infant son of the king of Byblus. See Plutarch, *Isis et Osiris*, 15 sq. Both stories probably reflect the search said to have been instituted by Isis for the body of the dead Osiris.

³ For the identification of Demeter with Isis, see Herodotus, ii. 59, 156; Diodorus Siculus, i. 13. 5, i. 25. 1, i. 96. 5.

⁴ Herodotus remarked (ii. 41) that in art Isis was represented like Io as a woman with cow's horns. For the identification of Io and Isis, see Diodorus Siculus, i. 24. 8; Lucian, *Dial. deorum*, iii.; Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* i. 21. 106, p. 382, ed. Potter; Propertius, iii. 20. 17 sq.; Juvenal, *Sat.* vi. 526 sqq.; Statius, *Sylv.* iii. 2. 101 sq.; Hyginus, *Fab.* 145.

⁵ Compare Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 894.

⁶ Compare J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, vii. 349 sq.

⁷ See below, iii. 1.

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Αἴγυπτος καὶ Δαναός, ὡς δέ φησιν Εὐριπίδης, καὶ Κηφεὺς καὶ Φινεὺς προσέτι. Δαναὸν μὲν οὖν Βῆλος ἐν Λιβύῃ κατώκισεν,¹ Αἴγυπτου δὲ ἐν Ἀραβία, ὃς καὶ καταστρεψάμενος² τὴν Μελαμπόδων³ χώραν <ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ>⁴ ὠνόμασεν Αἴγυπτον. γίνονται δὲ ἐκ πολλῶν γυναικῶν Αἰγύπτῳ μὲν παῖδες πενήκοντα, θυγατέρες δὲ Δαναῶ πενήκοντα. στασιασάντων δὲ αὐτῶν περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς⁵ ὕστερον, Δαναὸς τοὺς Αἰγύπτου παῖδας δεδοικώς, ὑποθεμένης Ἀθηναῖς αὐτῷ ναῦν κατεσκεύασε πρῶτος καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας ἐνθέμενος ἔφυγε. προσσχῶν⁶ δὲ Ῥόδῳ τὸ τῆς Λινδίας⁷ ἄγαλμα Ἀθηναῖς ἰδρύσατο. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἦκεν εἰς Ἄργος, καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτῷ παραδίδωσι Γελάνωρ⁸ ὁ τότε βασιλεύων <αὐτὸς δὲ κρατήσας τῆς χώρας ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ τοὺς ἐνοικούντας Δαναοὺς ὠνόμασε>.⁹ ἀνύδρου δὲ τῆς χώρας ὑπαρχούσης,

¹ κατώκισεν R: κατώκησεν A.

² καταστρεψάμενος Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* i. 42, Scholiast on Plato, *Timaeus*, p. 25 B: κατασκαψάμενος A.

³ μελαμπόδων R, Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* i. 42, Scholiast on Plato, *Timaeus*, p. 25 B, Zenobius, *Cent.* ii. 6: μὲν λαμπάδων A.

⁴ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ added by Aegius from the Scholiasts on Homer and Plato, *ll. cc.*

⁵ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς omitted by Heyne and Bekker. Compare Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* i. 42, στασιάντων δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλους περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς.

⁶ προσσχῶν Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* i. 42: προσάγων A.

⁷ λινδίας R: λυδίας A.

⁸ Γελάνωρ Heyne; compare Pausanias ii. 16. 1, ii. 19. 3, *sq.*: πελάνωρ A: ἐλλάνωρ Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* i. 42.

⁹ αὐτὸς δὲ κρατήσας τῆς χώρας ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ τοὺς ἐνοικούντας Δαναοὺς ὠνόμασεν. These words are cited in the present connexion by the Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* i. 42, as from the Second Book of Apollodorus. They are inserted by Aegius, Commelinus, Gale, and Müller, but omitted by Heyne, Westermann, Bekker, Hercher, and Wagner.

sons, Egyptus and Danaus,¹ but according to Euripides, he had also Cepheus and Phineus. Danaus was settled by Belus in Libya, and Egyptus in Arabia; but Egyptus subjugated the country of the Melampods and named it Egypt after himself. Both had children by many wives; Egyptus had fifty sons, and Danaus fifty daughters. As they afterwards quarrelled concerning the kingdom, Danaus feared the sons of Egyptus, and by the advice of Athena he built a ship, being the first to do so, and having put his daughters on board he fled. And touching at Rhodes he set up the image of Lindian Athena.² Thence he came to Argos and the reigning king Gelanor surrendered the kingdom to him;³ and having made himself master of the country he named the inhabitants Danai after himself. But the country being

¹ The following account of Egyptus and Danaus, including the settlement of Danaus and his daughters at Argos, is quoted verbally, with a few omissions and changes, by the Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* i. 42, who mentions the second book of Apollodorus as his authority. Compare Aeschylus, *Suppl.* 318 *sqq.*; Scholiast on Euripides, *Hecuba*, 886, and *Orestes*, 872; Hyginus, *Fab.* 168; Servius on Virgil, *Aen.* x. 497.

² Compare Herodotus, ii. 182; *Marmor Parium*, 15-17, pp. 544, 546, ed. C. Müller (*Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, vol. i.); Diodorus Siculus, v. 58. 1; Strabo, xiv. 2. 11, p. 655; Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelii*, iii. 8. As to the worship of the goddess, see Cecil Torr, *Rhodes in Ancient Times* (Cambridge, 1885), pp. 74 *sq.*, 94 *sq.* In recent years a chronicle of the temple of Lindian Athena has been discovered in Rhodes: it is inscribed on a marble slab. See Chr. Blinkenberg, *La Chronique du temple Lindien* (Copenhagen, 1912).

³ Compare Pausanias, ii. 16. 1, ii. 19. 3 *sq.*

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ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὰς πηγὰς ἐξήρανε Ποσειδῶν μηνίων Ἰνάχῳ διότι τὴν χώραν Ἦρας¹ ἐμαρτύρησεν εἶναι, τὰς θυγατέρας ὑδρευσομένας ἔπεμψε. μία δὲ αὐτῶν Ἀμμώνη ζητοῦσα ὕδωρ ῥίπτει βέλος ἐπὶ ἔλαφον καὶ κοιμωμένου Σάτυρου τυγχάνει, κακείνος περιαναστὰς ἐπεθύμει συγγενέσθαι. Ποσειδῶνος δὲ ἐπιφανέντος ὁ Σάτυρος μὲν ἔφυγεν, Ἀμμώνη δὲ τούτῳ συνευνάζεται, καὶ αὐτῇ Ποσειδῶν τὰς ἐν Λέρνῃ πηγὰς ἐμήνυσε.

- 5 Οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτου παῖδες ἐλθόντες εἰς Ἄργος τῆς τε ἔχθρας παύσασθαι παρεκάλουν καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας αὐτοῦ γαμεῖν ἤξιουν. Δαναὸς δὲ ἅμα μὲν ἀπιστῶν αὐτῶν τοῖς ἐπαγγέλμασιν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ μνησικακῶν περὶ τῆς φυγῆς, ὠμολόγει τοὺς γάμους καὶ διεκλήρου τὰς κόρας. Ἐπερμνήστραν μὲν οὖν τὴν πρεσβυτέραν ἐξεῖλον Λυγκεὶ καὶ Γοργοφόνῃ² Πρωτεί· οὗτοι γὰρ ἐκ βασιλίδος γυναικὸς Ἀργυφίης ἐγεγόνεισαν Αἰγύπτῳ. τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν ἔλαχον Βούσιρις μὲν καὶ Ἐγκέλαδος καὶ Λύκος καὶ Δαΐφρων τὰς Δαναῶν γεννηθείσας ἐξ Εὐρώπης Αὐτομάτην Ἀμμώνην Ἀγαυὴν Σκαιήν. αὐταὶ δὲ ἐκ βασιλίδος ἐγένοντο Δαναῶν, ἐκ δὲ Ἐλεφαντίδος Γοργοφόνῃ καὶ Ἐπερμνήστρα.³

¹ Ἦρας Heyne, comparing Pausanias, ii. 15, 5: Ἄθηνᾶς Α.

² Γοργοφόνῃ Aegius: γοργοφόντην Α.

³ After Ἐπερμνήστρα the MSS. (A) add Λυγκεὺς δὲ Καλύκην ἔλαχεν. These words are rightly omitted by Hercher and Wagner, following Heyne: they are bracketed by C. Müller, but retained by Westermann and Bekker.

¹ Compare Pausanias, ii. 15. 5.

² Compare Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 187 sqq.; Lucian, *Dial. Marin.* vi.; Philostratus, *Imagines*, i. 8; Scholiast on Homer,

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waterless, because Poseidon had dried up even the springs out of anger at Inachus for testifying that the land belonged to Hera,¹ Danaus sent his daughters to draw water. One of them, Amymone, in her search for water threw a dart at a deer and hit a sleeping satyr, and he, starting up, desired to force her; but Poseidon appearing on the scene, the satyr fled, and Amymone lay with Poseidon, and he revealed to her the springs at Lerna.²

But the sons of Egyptus came to Argos, and exhorted Danaus to lay aside his enmity, and begged to marry his daughters. Now Danaus distrusted their professions and bore them a grudge on account of his exile; nevertheless he consented to the marriage and allotted the damsels among them.³ First, they picked out Hypermnestra as the eldest to be the wife of Lynceus, and Gorgophone to be the wife of Proteus; for Lynceus and Proteus had been borne to Egyptus by a woman of royal blood, Argyphia; but of the rest Busiris, Enceladus, Lycus, and Daiphron obtained by lot the daughters that had been borne to Danaus by Europe, to wit, Automate, Amymone, Agave, and Scaea. These daughters were borne to Danaus by a queen; but Gorgophone and Hypermnestra were borne to him

Il. iv. 171; Propertius, iii. 18. 47 *sq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 169. There was a stream called Amymone at Lerna. See Strabo, viii. 6. 8, p. 371; Pausanias, ii. 37. 1 and 4; Hyginus, *l.c.*

³ For the marriage of the sons of Egyptus with the daughters of Danaus, and its tragic sequel, see Zenobius, *Cent.* ii. 6; Scholiast on Euripides, *Hecuba*, 886, and *Orestes*, 872; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* iv. 171; Hyginus, *Fab.* 168; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* x. 497. With the list of names of the bridal pairs as recorded by Apollodorus, compare the list given by Hyginus, *Fab.* 170.

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Ἰστρος δὲ Ἴπποδάμειαν, Χαλκῶδων Ῥοδίαν, Ἀγήνωρ Κλεοπάτραν, Χαΐτος Ἀστερίαν, Διοκορυστῆς Ἴπποδαμείαν,¹ Ἄλκης² Γλαύκην, Ἀλκμήνωρ Ἴππομέδουσαν, Ἴππόθοος Γόργην, Εὐχῆνωρ Ἴφιμέδουσαν, Ἴππόλυτος Ῥόδην. οὗτοι μὲν οἱ δέκα ἐξ Ἀραβίας γυναικός, αἱ δὲ παρθένοι ἐξ ἁμαδρυνάδων νυμφῶν, αἱ μὲν Ἀτλαντεΐης, αἱ δὲ ἐκ Φοΐβης. Ἀγαπτόλεμος δὲ ἔλαχε Πειρήνην, Κερκέτης δὲ Δώριον, Εὐρυδάμας Φάρτιν,³ Αἴγιος Μνήστραν, Ἄργιος Εὐίππην, Ἀρχέλαος Ἀναξιβίην, Μενέμαχος Νηλώ, οἱ <μὲν> ἑπτὰ ἐκ Φοιύισσης γυναικός, αἱ δὲ παρθένοι Αἰθιοπίδος. ἀκληρωτὶ δὲ ἔλαχον δι' ὁμωνυμίαν τὰς Μέμφιδος οἱ ἐκ Τυρίας, Κλειτὸς Κλειτήν, Σθένελος Σθενέλην, Χρῦσιππος Χρυσίππην. οἱ δὲ ἐκ Καλιαδῆνης νηίδος νύμφης παῖδες δώδεκα ἐκληρώσαντο περὶ τῶν ἐκ Πολυξοῦς νηίδος νύμφης· ἦσαν δὲ οἱ μὲν παῖδες Εὐρύλοχος Φάντης Περισθένης Ἐρμος Δρύας Ποταμῶν Κισσεὺς Λίξος Ἴμβρος Βρομῖος Πολύκτωρ Χθονίος, αἱ δὲ κόραι Αὐτονόη Θεανὼ Ἥλέκτρα Κλεοπάτρα Εὐρυδίκη Γλαυκίππη Ἀνθήλεια Κλεοδώρη Εὐίππη Ἐρατὼ Στύγνη Βρύκη. οἱ δὲ <ἐκ> Γοργόνος Αἰγύπτῳ γενόμενοι ἐκληρώσαντο περὶ τῶν ἐκ Πιερίας, καὶ λαγχάνει Περίφας μὲν Ἀκταίην, Οἶνεὺς δὲ Ποδάρκην, Αἴγυπτος

¹ Ἴπποδάμειαν. This name has already occurred two lines higher up; hence Heyne conjectured κλεοδάμειαν or φιλοδάμειαν, comparing Pausanias, iv. 30. 2 (where the better reading seems to be φυλοδάμεια). Wagner conjectured Ἴπποθόην, comparing Hyginus, *Fab.* 170.

² Ἄλκης R: ἔλκεις A.

³ Φάρτιν R: φάρτην A: φαιναρέτην Hercher. Heyne conjectured φάρην.

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by Elephantis. And Istrus got Hippodamia; Chalcodon got Rhodia; Agenor got Cleopatra; Chaetus got Asteria; Diocorystes got Hippodamia; Alces got Glauce; Alcmenor got Hippomedusa; Hippothous got Gorge; Euchenor got Iphimedusa; Hippolytus got Rhode. These ten sons were begotten on an Arabian woman; but the maidens were begotten on Hamadryad nymphs, some being daughters of Atlantia, and others of Phoebe. Agaptolemus got Pirene; Cercetes got Dorium; Eurydamas got Phartis; Aegius got Mnestra; Argius got Evippe; Archelaus got Anaxibia; Menemachus got Nelo. These seven sons were begotten on a Phoenician woman, and the maidens on an Ethiopian woman. The sons of Egyptus by Tyria got as their wives, without drawing lots, the daughters of Danaus by Memphis in virtue of the similarity of their names; thus Clitus got Clite; Sthenelus got Sthenele; Chrysippus got Chryssippe. The twelve sons of Egyptus by the Naiad nymph Caliadne cast lots for the daughters of Danaus by the Naiad nymph Polyxo: the sons were Eurylochus, Phantes, Peristhenes, Hermus, Dryas, Potamon, Cisseus, Lixus, Imbrus, Bromius, Polycctor, Chthonius; and the damsels were Autonoe, Theano, Electra, Cleopatra, Eurydice, Glaucippe, Anthelia, Cleodore, Evippe, Erato, Stygne, Bryce. The sons of Egyptus by Gorgo, cast lots for the daughters of Danaus by Pieria, and Periphas got Actaea, Oeneus got Podarce, Egyptus

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Διωξίππην, Μενάλκης Ἀδίτην, Λάμπος Ὀκυπέτην, Ἴδμων Πυλάρην. οὗτοι¹ δὲ εἰσι νεώτατοι Ἴδας Ἴπποδίκην, Δαΐφρων Ἀδιάντην (αὗται δὲ ἐκ μητρὸς ἐγένοντο Ἐρσης), Πανδίων Καλλιδικήν, Ἄρβηλος Οἶμην, Ἐπέρβιος Κελαινώ, Ἴπποκορυστῆς Ἐπερίππην· οὗτοι ἔξ Ἥφαιστίνης, αἱ δὲ ἐκ Κρινοῦς.

Ὡς δὲ ἐκληρώσαντο² τοὺς γάμους, ἐστίασας ἐγχειρίδια δίδωσι ταῖς θυγατράσιν. αἱ δὲ κοιμωμένους τοὺς νυμφίους ἀπέκτειναν πλὴν Ἐπερμνήστρας· αὕτη γὰρ Λυγκέα διέσωσε παρθένον αὐτὴν φυλάξαντα· διὸ καθεύξας αὐτὴν Δαναὸς ἐφρούρει. αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι τῶν Δαναοῦ θυγατέρων τὰς μὲν κεφαλὰς τῶν νυμφίων ἐν τῇ Λέρνῃ κατώρυξαν, τὰ δὲ σώματα πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐκῆδυσαν. καὶ αὐτὰς ἐκάθηραν Ἀθηνᾶ τε καὶ Ἑρμῆς Διὸς κελεύσαντος. Δαναὸς δὲ ὕστερον Ἐπερμνήστραν Λυγκεῖ συνώκισε, τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς θυγατέρας εἰς γυμνικὸν ἀγῶνα τοῖς νικῶσιν ἔδωκεν.

Ἀμυμώνη δὲ ἐκ Ποσειδῶνος ἐγέννησε Ναύπλιον. οὗτος μακρόβιος γενόμενος, πλέων τὴν θάλασσαν, τοῖς ἐμπίπτουσιν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἐπυροσο-

¹ οὗτοι Heyne (conjecture), Westermann: οἱ δὲ νεώτατοι (omitting εἰσι) Hercher: ὀκτώ MSS., Aegius, Commelinus, Gale, Heyne (in text), Bekker: †ὀκτώ Wagner.

² ἐκληρώσαντο EA: ἐκληρώσατο Wagner, comparing Zenobius, *Cent.* ii. 6, where, however, we should rather read ἐκληρώσαντο instead of ἐκληρώσατο; for the middle voice of κληροῦν cannot be used in the sense of "allotting."

¹ Compare Pindar, *Nem.* i. 6 (10), with the Scholiast; Pausanias, ii. 19. 6, ii. 20. 7, ii. 21. 1 and 2; Horace, *Odes*, iii. 11. 30 *sqq.*; Ovid, *Heroides*, xiv.

² Compare Zenobius, *Cent.* iv. 86. According to Pausanias

got Dioxippe, Menalces got Adite, Lampus got Ocy-pete, Idmon got Pylarge. The youngest sons of Egyptus were these : Idas got Hippodice ; Daiphron got Adiante (the mother who bore these damsels was Herse) ; Pandion got Callidice ; Arbelus got Oeme ; Hyperbius got Celaeno ; Hippocorystes got Hyperippe ; the mother of these men was Hephaestine, and the mother of these damsels was Crino.

When they had got their brides by lot, Danaus made a feast and gave his daughters daggers ; and they slew their bridegrooms as they slept, all but Hypermnestra ; for she saved Lynceus because he had respected her virginity :¹ wherefore Danaus shut her up and kept her under ward. But the rest of the daughters of Danaus buried the heads of their bridegrooms in Lerna² and paid funeral honours to their bodies in front of the city ; and Athena and Hermes purified them at the command of Zeus. Danaus afterwards united Hypermnestra to Lynceus ; and bestowed his other daughters on the victors in an athletic contest.³

Amynone had a son Nauplius by Poseidon.⁴ This Nauplius lived to a great age, and sailing the sea he used by beacon lights to lure to death such as he fell

(ii. 24. 2) the heads of the sons of Egyptus were buried on the Larisa, the acropolis of Argos, and the headless trunks were buried at Lerna.

³ Compare Pindar, *Pyth.* ix. 112 (195), with the Scholiasts ; Pausanias, iii. 12. 2. The legend may reflect an old custom of racing for a bride. See *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, ii. 299 *sqq.* It is said that Danaus instituted games which were celebrated every fifth (or, as we should say, every fourth) year, and at which the prize of the victor in the foot-race was a shield. See Hyginus, *Fab.* 170.

⁴ Compare Strabo, viii. 6. 2, p. 368 ; Pausanias, ii. 38. 2, iv. 35. 2.

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φέρει.¹ συνέβη οὖν καὶ αὐτὸν τελευτῆσαι ἐκείνῳ τῷ θανάτῳ.² πρὶν δὲ τελευτῆσαι ἔγημε³ ὡς μὲν οἱ τραγικοὶ λέγουσι, Κλυμένην τὴν Κατρέως, ὡς δὲ ὁ τοὺς νόστους γράψας, Φιλύραν, ὡς δὲ Κέρκωψ,⁴ Ἑσιόνην, καὶ ἐγέννησε Παλαμήδην Οἶακα Ναυσιμέδοντα.

II. Λυγκεὺς δὲ μετὰ Δαναὸν Ἄργους δυναστεύων ἐξ Ἑπερμνήστρας τεκνοῖ παῖδα Ἄβαντα. τούτου δὲ καὶ Ἀγλαίας⁵ τῆς Μαντινέως δίδυμοι παῖδες ἐγένοντο Ἀκρίσιος καὶ Προῖτος. οὗτοι καὶ κατὰ γαστρὸς μὲν ἔτι ὄντες ἐστασίαζον πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ὡς δὲ ἀνεγράφησαν, περὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐπολέμουν, καὶ πολεμοῦντες εὗρον ἀσπίδας πρῶτοι. καὶ κρατήσας Ἀκρίσιος Προῖτον Ἄργους ἐξελαύνει. ὁ δ' ἤκεν εἰς Λυκίαν πρὸς Ἰοβάτην, ὡς δὲ τινὲς φασί, πρὸς Ἀμφιάνακτα· καὶ γαμῆ τὴν τούτου θυγατέρα, ὡς μὲν Ὀμηρος, Ἄντειαν, ὡς δὲ οἱ τραγικοὶ, Σθενέβοιαν. κατάγει δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ κηδεστὴς μετὰ στρατοῦ Λυκίων, καὶ

¹ ἐπυρσοφόρει J. Kuhn, on Pausanias, ii. 25. 4: ἐδυσφόρει MSS.

² ἐκείνῳ τῷ θανάτῳ. After these words the MSS. add ᾧπερ τῶν ἄλλων τελευτησάντων ἐδυσφόρει, which appears to be a corrupt and ungrammatical gloss on ἐκείνῳ τῷ θανάτῳ. The clause is retained by Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, and Wagner, but is rightly omitted by Hercher. J. Kuhn (*l.c.*) proposed to retain the clause, but to alter ἐδυσφόρει as before into ἐπυρσοφόρει; but this would not suffice to restore the grammar and sense. For such a restoration a sentence like ᾧπερ ἄλλους τελευτῆσαι ἐποίει πυρσοφορῶν would be required.

³ πρὶν δὲ τελευτῆσαι ἔγημε A: πρὶν τελευτῆσαι. ἔγημε δὲ Wagner (connecting πρὶν τελευτῆσαι with the preceding sentence). ⁴ Κέρκωψ Aegius: κέκρωψ A.

⁵ Ἀγλαίας Heyne, comparing Scholiast on Euripides, *Orestes*, 965: ἀγαλλίας A: Ὠκαλείας Aegius, Commelinus, Gale.

in with.¹ It came to pass, therefore, that he himself died by that very death. But before his death he married a wife; according to the tragic poets, she was Clymene, daughter of Catreus; but according to the author of *The Returns*,² she was Philyra; and according to Cercops she was Hesione. By her he had Palamedes, Oeax, and Nausimedon.

II. Lynceus reigned over Argos after Danaus and begat a son Abas by Hypermnestra; and Abas had twin sons Acrisius and Proetus³ by Aglaia, daughter of Mantineus. These two quarrelled with each other while they were still in the womb, and when they were grown up they waged war for the kingdom,⁴ and in the course of the war they were the first to invent shields. And Acrisius gained the mastery and drove Proetus from Argos; and Proetus went to Lycia to the court of Iobates or, as some say, of Amphianax, and married his daughter, whom Homer calls Antia,⁵ but the tragic poets call her Stheneboea.⁶ His father-in-law restored him to his own land with an

¹ See below, *Epitome*, vi. 7-11.

² *Nostoi*, an epic poem describing the return of the Homeric heroes from Troy. See *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, pp. 52 *sqq.*; Hesiod, in this series, pp. 524 *sqq.*; D. B. Monro, in his edition of Homer, *Odyssey*, Bks. xiii.-xxiv. pp. 378-382.

³ With this and what follows compare Pausanias ii. 16. 2, ii. 25. 7.

⁴ So the twins Esau and Jacob quarrelled both in the womb and in after life (Genesis, xxv. 21 *sqq.*). Compare Rendel Harris, *Boanerges*, pp. 279 *sq.*, who argues that Proetus was the elder twin, who, as in the case of Esau and Jacob, was worsted by his younger brother.

⁵ Homer, *Il.* vi. 160.

⁶ See below, ii. 3. 1, iii. 9. 1. Euripides called her Stheneboea (Eustathius, on Homer, *Il.* vi. 158, p. 632).

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καταλαμβάνει Τίρυνθα, ταύτην αὐτῷ Κυκλώπων
 τειχισάντων. μερισάμενοι δὲ τὴν Ἀργεῖαν
 ἄπασαν κατώκουν, καὶ Ἀκρίσιος μὲν Ἄργους
 2 βασιλεύει, Πρόϊτος δὲ Τίρυνθος. καὶ γίνεται
 Ἀκρισίῳ μὲν ἐξ Εὐρυδίκης τῆς Λακεδαίμονος
 Δανάη, Πρόϊτῳ δὲ ἐκ Σθενεβοίας Λυσίππη καὶ
 Ἴφινόη καὶ Ἴφιάνασσα. αὐταὶ δὲ ὡς ἐτελειώ-
 θησαν, ἐμάνησαν, ὡς μὲν Ἡσιόδός φησιν, ὅτι τὰς
 Διονύσου τελετὰς οὐ κατεδέχοντο, ὡς δὲ Ἀκου-
 σίλαος λέγει, διότι τὸ τῆς Ἥρας ξόανον ἐξητέ-
 λισαν. γενόμεναι δὲ ἐμμανεῖς ἐπλανῶντο ἀνὰ
 τὴν Ἀργεῖαν ἄπασαν, αὐθις δὲ τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν
 καὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον¹ διελθούσαι μετ' ἀκοσ-

¹ καὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον omitted by Hercher and Wagner.
 We should perhaps read καὶ τὴν <λοιπὴν> Πελοπόννησον.

¹ Compare Bacchylides, *Epinic.* x. 77 sq.; Pausanias, ii. 25. 8; Strabo, viii. 6. 8, p. 371.

² Compare Bacchylides, *Epinic.* x. 40-112; Herodotus, ix. 34; Strabo, viii. 3. 19, p. 346; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 68; Pausanias, ii. 7. 8, ii. 18. 4, v. 5. 10, viii. 18. 7 sq.; Scholiast on Pindar, *Nem.* ix. 13 (30); Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* vii. 4. 26, p. 844, ed. Potter; Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Ἀζανία; Virgil, *Ecl.* vi. 48 sqq.; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xv. 325 sqq.; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxv. 47; Servius, on Virgil, *Ecl.* vi. 48; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* iii. 453; Vitruvius, viii. 3. 21. Of these writers, Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, and, in one passage (ii. 18. 4), Pausanias, speak of the madness of the Argive women in general, without mentioning the daughters of Proetus in particular. And, according to Diodorus Siculus, with whom Pausanias in the same passage (ii. 18. 4) agrees, the king of Argos at the time of the affair was not Proetus but Anaxagoras, son of Megapenthes. As to Megapenthes, see Apollodorus, ii. 4. 4. According to Virgil the damsels imagined that they were turned into cows; and Servius and Lactantius Placidus inform us that this notion was infused into their minds by Hera (Juno) to punish them for the airs of superiority which they

army of Lycians, and he occupied Tiryns, which the Cyclopes had fortified for him.¹ They divided the whole of the Argive territory between them and settled in it, Acrisius reigning over Argos and Proetus over Tiryns. And Acrisius had a daughter Danae by Eurydice, daughter of Lacedaemon, and Proetus had daughters, Lysippe, Iphinoe, and Iphianassa, by Stheneboea. When these damsels were grown up, they went mad,² according to Hesiod, because they would not accept the rites of Dionysus, but according to Acusilaus, because they disparaged the wooden image of Hera. In their madness they roamed over the whole Argive land, and afterwards, passing through Arcadia and the Peloponnese, assumed towards her; indeed, in one place Lactantius Placidus says that the angry goddess turned them into heifers outright. In these legends Mr. A. B. Cook sees reminiscences of priestesses who assumed the attributes and assimilated themselves to the likeness of the cow-goddess Hera. See his *Zeus*, i. 451 *sqq.* But it is possible that the tradition describes, with mythical accessories, a real form of madness by which the Argive women, or some portion of them, were temporarily affected. We may compare a somewhat similar form of temporary insanity to which the women of the wild Jakun tribe in the Malay Peninsula are said to be liable. "A curious complaint was made to the Penghulu of Piang-gu, in my presence, by a Jakun man from the Anak Endau. He stated that all the women of his settlement were frequently seized by a kind of madness—presumably some form of hysteria—and that they ran off singing into the jungle, each woman by herself, and stopped there for several days and nights, finally returning almost naked, or with their clothes all torn to shreds. He said that the first outbreak of this kind occurred a few years ago, and that they were still frequent, one usually taking place every two or three months. They were started by one of the women, whereupon all the others followed suit." See Ivor H. N. Evans, "Further Notes on the Aboriginal Tribes of Pahang," *Journal of the Federated Malay States Museums*, vol. ix. part 1, January 1920, p. 27 (Calcutta, 1920).

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μίας ἀπάσης διὰ τῆς ἐρημίας ἐτρόχαζον. Μελάμπους δὲ ὁ Ἄμυθάου καὶ Εἰδομένης τῆς Ἄβαντος, μάντις ὢν καὶ τὴν διὰ φαρμάκων καὶ καθαρμῶν θεραπείαν πρῶτος εὐρηκῶς, ὑπισχνεῖται θεραπεύειν τὰς παρθένους, εἰ λάβοι τὸ τρίτον μέρος τῆς δυναστείας. οὐκ ἐπιτρέποντος δὲ Προΐτου θεραπεύειν ἐπὶ μισθοῖς τηλικούτοις, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐμαίνοντο αἱ παρθένοι καὶ προσέτι μετὰ τούτων αἱ λοιπαὶ γυναῖκες· καὶ γὰρ αὐταὶ τὰς οἰκίας ἀπολιποῦσαι τοὺς ἰδίους ἀπώλλουν παῖδας καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐρημίαν ἐφοίτων. προβαινούσης δὲ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τῆς συμφορᾶς, τοὺς αἰτηθέντας μισθοὺς ὁ Προΐτος ἐδίδου. ὁ δὲ ὑπέσχετο θεραπεύειν ὅταν ἕτερον τοσοῦτον τῆς γῆς ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ λάβῃ Βίας. Προΐτος δὲ εὐλαβηθεὶς μὴ βραδυνούσης τῆς θεραπείας αἰτηθεῖη καὶ πλείον, θεραπεύειν συνεχώρησεν ἐπὶ τούτοις. Μελάμπους δὲ παραλαβὼν τοὺς δυνατωτάτους τῶν νεανιῶν μετ' ἀλαλαγμοῦ καὶ τινοσ ἐνθέου χορείας ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν αὐτὰς εἰς Σικυῶνα συνεδίωξε. κατὰ δὲ τὸν διωγμὸν ἢ πρεσβυτάτη τῶν θυγατέρων Ἰφινόη μετήλλαξεν· ταῖς δὲ λοιπαῖς τυχούσαις καθαρμῶν σωφρονῆσαι συνέβη. καὶ ταύτας μὲν ἐξέδοτο Προΐτος Μελάμποδι καὶ Βιάντι, παῖδα δ' ὕστερον ἐγέννησε Μεγαπένθη.

III. Βελλεροφόντης δὲ ὁ Γλαύκου τοῦ Σισύφου, κτεῖνας ἀκουσίως ἀδελφὸν Δηλιάδην,¹ ὡς δὲ τινὲς φασὶ Πειρήνα,² ἄλλοι δὲ Ἀλκιμένην, πρὸς Προΐ-

¹ Δηλιάδην J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, vii. 812: ἰλιάδην A.

² Πειρήνα J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, vii. 812: Πείρην A, Zenobius, *Cent.* ii. 87.

they ran through the desert in the most disorderly fashion. But Melampus, son of Amythaon by Idomene, daughter of Abas, being a seer and the first to devise the cure by means of drugs and purifications, promised to cure the maidens if he should receive the third part of the sovereignty. When Proetus refused to pay so high a fee for the cure, the maidens raved more than ever, and besides that, the other women raved with them; for they also abandoned their houses, destroyed their own children, and flocked to the desert. Not until the evil had reached a very high pitch did Proetus consent to pay the stipulated fee, and Melampus promised to effect a cure whenever his brother Bias should receive just so much land as himself. Fearing that, if the cure were delayed, yet more would be demanded of him, Proetus agreed to let the physician proceed on these terms. So Melampus, taking with him the most stalwart of the young men, chased the women in a bevy from the mountains to Sicyon with shouts and a sort of frenzied dance. In the pursuit Iphinoe, the eldest of the daughters, expired; but the others were lucky enough to be purified and so to recover their wits.¹ Proetus gave them in marriage to Melampus and Bias, and afterwards begat a son, Megapenthes.

III. Bellerophon, son of Glaucus, son of Sisyphus, having accidentally killed his brother Deliades or, as some say, Piren, or, as others will have it, Alcimenes,

¹ According to Bacchylides (*Epinic.* x. 95 *sqq.*), the father of the damsels vowed to sacrifice twenty red oxen to the Sun, if his daughters were healed: the vow was heard, and on the intercession of Artemis the angry Hera consented to allow the cure.

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τον ἔλθων καθαίρεται. καὶ αὐτοῦ Σθενέβοια ἔρωτα ἴσχει, καὶ προσπέμπει¹ λόγους περὶ συνουσίας. τοῦ δὲ ἀπαρνουμένου, λέγει πρὸς Προΐτον ὅτι Βελλεροφόντης αὐτῇ περὶ φθορᾶς προσεπέμψατο λόγους. Προΐτος δὲ πιστεύσας ἔδωκεν ἐπιστολὰς αὐτῷ πρὸς Ἰοβάτην κομίσει,² ἐν αἷς ἐνεγέγραπτο Βελλεροφόντην ἀποκτείνειαι. Ἰοβάτης δὲ ἀναγνούς³ ἐπέταξεν αὐτῷ Χίμαιραν κτείνειαι, νομίζων αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ θηρίου διαφθαρῆσθαι. ἦν γὰρ οὐ μόνον ἐνὶ ἀλλὰ πολλοῖς οὐκ εὐάλωτον, εἶχε δὲ προτομὴν μὲν λέοντος, οὐρὰν δὲ δράκοντος, τρίτην δὲ κεφαλὴν μέσσην αἰγός, δι' ἧς πῦρ ἀνίει. καὶ τὴν χώραν διέφθειρε, καὶ τὰ βοσκήματα ἐλυμαίνετο· μία γὰρ φύσις τριῶν θηρίων εἶχε δύναμιν.⁴ λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὴν Χίμαιραν ταύτην⁵ τραφήναι μὲν ὑπὸ Ἀμισωδάρου, καθάπερ εἶρηκε καὶ Ὀμηρος, γεννηθῆναι δὲ ἐκ Τυφῶνος καὶ Ἐχίδνης, καθὼς Ἡσίοδος ἱστορεῖ.

2 ἀναβιβάσας οὖν ἑαυτὸν ὁ Βελλεροφόντης ἐπὶ τὸν

¹ προσπέμπει Faber: προπέμπει A.

² κομίσει Wagner (comparing Zenobius, *Cent.* ii. 87): κομίσειν A, Heyne, Müller: κομίζειν Westermann, Bekker, Hercher.

³ ἀναγνούς Hercher, Wagner (comparing Zenobius, *Cent.* ii. 87): ἐπιγνούς A.

⁴ μία γὰρ φύσις τριῶν θηρίων εἶχε δύναμιν. Wagner would transpose this sentence so as to make it follow immediately the words πολλοῖς οὐκ εὐάλωτον above, omitting the following εἶχε δὲ. The sentence would then run: ἦν γὰρ οὐ μόνον ἐνὶ ἀλλὰ πολλοῖς οὐκ εὐάλωτον· μία γὰρ φύσις τριῶν θηρίων εἶχε δύναμιν, προτομὴν μὲν λέοντος κτλ. The change improves the sense and is confirmed by Zenobius, *Cent.* ii. 87.

⁵ καὶ τὴν Χίμαιραν ταύτην omitted by Hercher and Wagner, following Heyne.

came to Proetus and was purified.¹ And Stheneboea fell in love with him,² and sent him proposals for a meeting; and when he rejected them, she told Proetus that Bellerophon had sent her a vicious proposal. Proetus believed her, and gave him a letter to take to Iobates, in which it was written that he was to kill Bellerophon. Having read the letter, Iobates ordered him to kill the Chimera, believing that he would be destroyed by the beast, for it was more than a match for many, let alone one; it had the fore part of a lion, the tail of a dragon, and its third head, the middle one, was that of a goat, through which it belched fire. And it devastated the country and harried the cattle; for it was a single creature with the power of three beasts. It is said, too, that this Chimera was bred by Amisodares, as Homer also affirms,³ and that it was begotten by Typhon on Echidna, as Hesiod relates.⁴ So Bellerophon mounted

¹ Compare Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 17; *id. Chiliades*, vii. 810 *sqq.*; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* vi. 155. According to one account, mentioned by these writers, Bellerophon received his name (meaning slayer of Bellerus) because he had slain a tyrant of Corinth called Bellerus.

² In the following story of Bellerophon, our author follows Homer, *Il.* vi. 155 *sqq.* (where the wife of Proetus is called Antia instead of Stheneboea). Compare Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 17; *id. Chiliades*, vii. 816 *sqq.*; Zenobius, *Cent.* ii. 87 (who probably followed Apollodorus); Hyginus, *Fab.* 57; *id. Astronom.* ii. 18; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 24, 119 (First Vatican Mythographer, 71 and 72; Second Vatican Mythographer, 131). Euripides composed a tragedy on the subject called *Stheneboea*. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck², pp. 567 *sqq.* According to Tzetzes (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 17), Iobates refrained from slaying Bellerophon with his own hand in virtue of an old custom which forbade those who had eaten together to kill each other.

³ Homer, *Il.* xvi. 328 *sq.*

⁴ Hesiod, *Theog.* 319 *sq.*

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Πήγασον,¹ ὃν εἶχεν ἵππον ἐκ Μεδούσης πτηνὸν γεγεννημένον καὶ Ποσειδῶνος, ἀρθεὶς εἰς ὕψος ἀπὸ τούτου κατετόξευσε τὴν Χίμαιραν. μετὰ δὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα τούτον ἐπέταξεν αὐτῷ Σολύμοις μαχεσθῆναι.² ὡς δὲ ἐτελεύτησε καὶ τούτον, Ἀμαζόσιν ἐπέταξεν ἀγωνίσασθαι³ αὐτόν. ὡς δὲ καὶ ταύτας ἀπέκτεινε, τοὺς γενναιότητι⁴ Λυκίων διαφέρειν δοκούντας ἐπιλέξας ἐπέταξεν ἀποκτεῖναι λοχήσαντας. ὡς δὲ καὶ τούτους ἀπέκτεινε πάντας, θαυμάσας τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ ὁ Ἰοβάτης τὰ τε γράμματα ἔδειξε καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ μένειν ἤξιωσε· δοῦς δὲ τὴν θυγατέρα Φιλονόην καὶ θνήσκων τὴν βασιλείαν κατέλιπεν αὐτῷ.⁵

IV. Ἀκρισίῳ δὲ περὶ παίδων γενέσεως ἀρρένων χρηστηριαζομένῳ ὁ θεὸς⁶ ἔφη γενέσθαι⁷ παῖδα ἐκ τῆς θυγατρὸς, ὃς αὐτὸν ἀποκτενεῖ.⁸ δείσας δὲ ὁ⁹ Ἀκρισίος τούτο, ὑπὸ γῆν θάλαμον κατα-

¹ τὸν Πήγασον Aegius : τὰς πηγὰς A.

² μαχεσθῆναι MSS. : μαχέσασθαι Heyne, Müller, Bekker, Hercher. But for the aorist μαχεσθῆναι see Pausanias, v. 4. 9, μαχεσθῆναι ; Plutarch, *De solertia animalium*, 15, μαχεσθέντα ; and on such forms of the aorist in later Greek, see Lobeck, *Phrygichus*, pp. 731 sq. ; W. G. Rutherford, *The New Phrygichus*, pp. 191 sqq.

³ ἀγωνίσασθαι R^aBT, Zenobius, *Cent.* ii. 87 : ἀγωνίσεσθαι LN, Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher.

⁴ γενναιότητι Bekker, Hercher : τε νεότητι A : τότε νεότητι Gale, Westermann, Wagner (comparing Zenobius, *Cent.* τοὺς τότε βῶμῃ νεότητος διαφέροντας).

⁵ δοῦς δὲ τὴν θυγατέρα . . . κατέλιπεν αὐτῷ A : δοῦς δὲ αὐτῷ τὴν θυγατέρα . . . κατέλιπεν, Wagner (comparing Zenobius, *Cent.* ii. 87). ⁶ ὁ Πύθιος E.

⁷ γενέσθαι EA, Zenobius, *Cent.* i. 41, Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xiv. 319 : γενήσεσθαι Hercher. Perhaps we should read γενέσθαι ἄν.

⁸ ἀποκτενεῖ E : ἀποκτείνῃ A, Zenobius, *Cent.* i. 41.

⁹ δὲ ὁ E, Zenobius, *Cent.* i. 41, Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xiv. 319 : οὗν A.

his winged steed Pegasus, offspring of Medusa and Poseidon, and soaring on high shot down the Chimera from the height.¹ After that contest Iobates ordered him to fight the Solymi, and when he had finished that task also, he commanded him to combat the Amazons. And when he had killed them also, he picked out the reputed bravest of the Lycians and bade them lay an ambush and slay him. But when Bellerophon had killed them also to a man, Iobates, in admiration of his prowess, showed him the letter and begged him to stay with him; moreover he gave him his daughter Philonoe,² and dying bequeathed to him the kingdom.

IV. When Acrisius inquired of the oracle how he should get male children, the god said that his daughter would give birth to a son who would kill him.³ Fearing that, Acrisius built a brazen chamber

¹ For the combat of Bellerophon with the Chimera, see Homer, *Il.* vi. 179 *sqq.*; Hesiod, *Theog.* 319 *sqq.*; Pindar, *Olymp.* xiii. 84 (120) *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 57.

² Anticlia, according to the Scholiast on Pindar, *Olymp.* xiii. 59 (82); Casandra, according to the Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* vi. 155.

³ The following legend of Perseus (ii. 4. 1-4) seems to be based on that given by Pherecydes in his second book, which is cited as his authority by the Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 1091, 1515, whose narrative agrees closely with that of Apollodorus. The narrative of Apollodorus is quoted, for the most part verbally, but as usual without acknowledgment, by Zenobius, *Cent.* i. 41, who, however, like the Scholiast on Apollonius (*l. cc.*), passes over in silence the episode of Andromeda. Compare Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 838 (who may have followed Apollodorus); Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xiv. 319. The story of Danae, the mother of Perseus, was the theme of plays by Sophocles and Euripides. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck², pp. 143 *sqq.*, 168 *sqq.*, 453 *sqq.*; *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. i. pp. 38 *sqq.*, 115 *sqq.*

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σκευάσας χάλκεον τὴν Δανάην ἐφρούρει. ταύτην μὲν, ὡς ἔνιοι λέγουσιν, ἔφθειρε Προῖτος, ὅθεν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἡ στάσις ἐκινήθη· ὡς δὲ ἔνιοι φασι, Ζεὺς μεταμορφωθείς εἰς χρυσοῦν καὶ διὰ τῆς ὀροφῆς εἰς τοὺς Δανάης εἰσρυσὶς κόλπους συνῆλθεν. αἰσθόμενος δὲ Ἀκρίσιος ὕστερον ἐξ αὐτῆς γεγεννημένον Περσέα, μὴ πιστεύσας ὑπὸ Διὸς ἐφθάρθαι, τὴν θυγατέρα μετὰ τοῦ παιδὸς εἰς λάρνακα βαλὼν ἔρριψεν εἰς θάλασσαν. προσενεχθείσης δὲ τῆς λάρνακος Σερῖφω Δίκτυς ἄρας ² ἀνέτρεφε¹ τοῦτον. βασιλεύων δὲ τῆς Σερίφου Πολυδέκτης ἀδελφὸς Δίκτυος, Δανάης ἔρασθεις, καὶ ἠνδρωμένου Περσέως μὴ δυνάμενος αὐτῇ συνελθεῖν, συρεκάλει τοὺς φίλους, μεθ' ὧν καὶ Περσέα, λέγων ἔρανον συνάγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἴπποδαμείας τῆς Οἰνομάου γάμους. τοῦ δὲ Περσέως εἰπόντος καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ τῆς Γοργόνης οὐκ ἀντερεῖν,² παρὰ μὲν τῶν λοιπῶν ἤτησεν ἵππους, παρὰ δὲ τοῦ Περσέως οὐ λαβὼν τοὺς ἵππους, ἐπέταξε τῆς Γοργόνης κομίζειν τὴν κεφαλὴν. ὁ δὲ Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς προκαθηγουμένων ἐπὶ τὰς Φόρκου παραγίνεται³ θυγατέρας, Ἐννῶ καὶ Πεφρηδῶ⁴ καὶ Δεινώ· ἦσαν δὲ αὐταὶ Κητοῦς τε καὶ Φόρκου, Γοργόνων ἀδελφαί, γράϊαι ἐκ γενετῆς. ἓνα τε ὀφθαλμὸν αἱ τρεῖς καὶ ἓνα ὀδόντα εἶχον,

¹ ἀνέτρεφε A, Zenobius, *Cent.* i. 41 : ἀνέθρεψε E, Wagner.

² ἀντερεῖν Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher : ἀνταίρειν A, Zenobius, *Cent.* ii. 41 (corrected by Gaisford).

³ παραγίνεται Zenobius, *Cent.* i. 41 : γίνεται A.

⁴ Πεφρηδῶ Heyne (compare Hesiod, *Theog.* 273) : μεμφρηδῶ A.

¹ Compare Sophocles, *Antigone*, 944 *sqq.* Horace represents Danae as shut up in a brazen tower (*Odes*, iii. 16. 1 *sqq.*).

under ground and there guarded Danae.¹ However, she was seduced, as some say, by Proetus, whence arose the quarrel between them;² but some say that Zeus had intercourse with her in the shape of a stream of gold which poured through the roof into Danae's lap. When Acrisius afterwards learned that she had got a child Perseus, he would not believe that she had been seduced by Zeus, and putting his daughter with the child in a chest, he cast it into the sea. The chest was washed ashore on Seriphus, and Dictys took up the boy and reared him. Polydectes, brother of Dictys, was then king of Seriphus and fell in love with Danae, but could not get access to her, because Perseus was grown to man's estate. So he called together his friends, including Perseus, under the pretext of collecting contributions towards a wedding-gift for Hippodamia, daughter of Oenomaus.³ Now Perseus having declared that he would not stick even at the Gorgon's head, Polydectes required the others to furnish horses, and not getting horses from Perseus ordered him to bring the Gorgon's head. So under the guidance of Hermes and Athena he made his way to the daughters of Phorcus, to wit, Enyo, Pephredo, and Dino; for Phorcus had them by Ceto, and they were sisters of the Gorgons, and old women from their birth.⁴ The three had but one eye and one

² That is, between Acrisius and Proetus. See above, ii. 2. 1.

³ That is, he pretended to be a suitor for the hand of Hippodamia and to be collecting a present for her, such as suitors were wont to offer to their brides. As to Hippodamia and her suitors, see *Epitome*, ii. 4 *sqq.*

⁴ As to the Phorcides, compare Hesiod, *Theog.* 270 *sqq.*; Aeschylus, *Prometheus*, 794 *sqq.*; Eratosthenes, *Cataster.* 22; Ovid, *Metamorph.* iv. 774 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 12. Aeschylus wrote a satyric play on the subject. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck², pp. 83 *sq.*

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καὶ ταῦτα παρὰ μέρος ἡμειβον ἀλλήλαις. ὦν κυριεύσας ὁ Περσεύς, ὡς ἀπήτουν, ἔφη δώσειν ἂν ὑφηγήσωνται τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐπὶ τὰς νύμφας φέρουσαν. αὐταὶ δὲ αἱ νύμφαι πτηνὰ εἶχον πέδιλα καὶ τὴν κίβισιν, ἣν φασιν εἶναι πήραν [Πίνδαρος δὲ καὶ Ἡσίοδος ἐν Ἀσπίδι ἐπὶ τοῦ Περσέως·

Πᾶν δὲ μετάφρενον εἶχε <κάρα> δεινοῖο πελώρου <Γοργούς>, ἀμφὶ δέ μιν κίβισις θέε.

εἴρηται δὲ παρὰ τὸ κείσθαι ἐκεῖ ἐσθῆτα καὶ τὴν τροφήν.]¹ εἶχον δὲ καὶ τὴν <Ἄϊδος> κυνῆν.² ὑφηγησαμένων δὲ τῶν Φορκίδων, ἀποδοὺς τὸν τε ὀδόντα καὶ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν αὐταῖς, καὶ παραγενόμενος πρὸς τὰς νύμφας, καὶ τυχῶν ὦν ἐσπούδαζε, τὴν μὲν κίβισιν περιεβάλετο, τὰ δὲ πέδιλα τοῖς σφυροῖς προσήρμοσε, τὴν δὲ κυνῆν τῇ κεφαλῇ ἐπέθετο. ταύτην ἔχων αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδὲ ἤθελεν ἔβλεπεν, ὑπὸ ἄλλων δὲ οὐχ ἑωρᾶτο. λαβὼν δὲ καὶ παρὰ Ἑρμοῦ ἀδαμαντίνην ἄρπην, πετόμενος εἰς τὸν Ὠκεανὸν ἦκε καὶ κατέλαβε τὰς Γοργόνας κοιμωμένας. ἦσαν δὲ αὐταὶ Σθενὼ Εὐρύαλη Μέδουσα. μόνη δὲ ἦν θνητὴ Μέδουσα· διὰ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τὴν ταύτης κεφαλὴν Περσεύς ἐπέμφθη. εἶχον δὲ αἱ Γοργόνας κεφαλὰς μὲν περισπειραμένας φολίσι δρακόντων, ὀδόντας δὲ μεγάλους ὡς συῶν, καὶ χεῖρας χαλκᾶς, καὶ πτέρυγας χρυσᾶς, δι' ὧν ἐπέτοντο. τοὺς δὲ ἰδόντας λίθους ἐποίουν. ἐπιστὰς

¹ The passage enclosed in square brackets is probably a gloss which has crept into the text.

² τὴν <Ἄϊδος> κυνῆν Wagner (comparing Zenobius, *Cent.* i. 41; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 838): τὴν κυνῆν A.

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tooth, and these they passed to each other in turn. Perseus got possession of the eye and the tooth, and when they asked them back, he said he would give them up if they would show him the way to the nymphs. Now these nymphs had winged sandals and the *kibisis*, which they say was a wallet. But Pindar and Hesiod in *The Shield* say of Perseus :—¹

“ But all his back had on the head of a dread monster,
The Gorgon, and round him ran the *kibisis*.”

The *kibisis* is so called because dress and food are deposited in it.² They had also the cap of Hades. When the Phorcides had shown him the way, he gave them back the tooth and the eye, and coming to the nymphs got what he wanted. So he slung the wallet (*kibisis*) about him, fitted the sandals to his ankles, and put the cap on his head. Wearing it, he saw whom he pleased, but was not seen by others. And having received also from Hermes an adamantine sickle he flew to the ocean and caught the Gorgons asleep. They were Stheno, Euryale, and Medusa. Now Medusa alone was mortal; for that reason Perseus was sent to fetch her head. But the Gorgons had heads twined about with the scales of dragons, and great tusks like swine's, and brazen hands, and golden wings, by which they flew; and they turned to stone such as beheld them. So Perseus

¹ Hesiod, *Shield of Hercules*, 223 sq.

² The word *κίβισις* is absurdly derived by the writer from *κείσθαι* and *έσθής*. The gloss is probably an interpolation.

APOLLODORUS

οὖν αὐταῖς ὁ Περσεὺς κοιμωμέναις, κατευθυνούσης τὴν χεῖρα Ἀθηνᾶς, ἀπεστραμμένος καὶ βλέπων εἰς ἀσπίδα χαλκῆν, δι' ἧς τὴν εἰκόνα τῆς Γοργόνης ἔβλεπεν, ἐκαρatóμησεν αὐτήν. ἀποτμηθείσης δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς, ἐκ τῆς Γοργόνης ἐξέθορε Πήγασος πτηνὸς ἵππος, καὶ Χρυσάωρ ὁ Γηρυόνου
 3 πατήρ. τούτους δὲ ἐγέννησεν ἐκ Ποσειδῶνος. ὁ μὲν οὖν Περσεὺς ἐνθήμενος εἰς τὴν κίβισιν τὴν κεφαλὴν τῆς Μεδούσης ὀπίσω πάλιν ἐχώρει, αἱ δὲ Γοργόνες ἐκ τῆς κοίτης ἀναστᾶσαι¹ τὸν Περσέα ἐδίωκον, καὶ συνιδεῖν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἠδύναντο διὰ τὴν κυνήν. ἀπεκρύπτετο γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτῆς.

Παραγενόμενος δὲ εἰς Αἰθιοπίαν, ἧς ἐβασίλευε Κηφεὺς, εὔρε τὴν τούτου θυγατέρα Ἀνδρομέδα παρακειμένην βορὰν θαλασσίῳ κήτει. Κασσιέπεια γὰρ ἡ Κηφέως γυνὴ Νηρηίοισιν ἤρισε περὶ κάλλους, καὶ πασῶν εἶναι κρείστων ἠύχησεν ὅθεν αἱ Νηρηίδες ἐμήνισαν, καὶ Ποσειδῶν αὐταῖς συνοργισθεὶς πλήμμυράν τε ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν ἔπεμψε καὶ κῆτος. Ἀμμωνος δὲ χρήσαντος τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν τῆς συμφορᾶς, ἐὰν ἡ Κασσιεπείας θυγάτηρ Ἀνδρομέδα προτεθῆ τῷ κήτει βορά, τοῦτο ἀναγκασθεὶς ὁ Κηφεὺς ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰθιόπων ἔπραξε, καὶ προσέδησε τὴν θυγατέρα πέτρα. ταύτην θεασάμενος ὁ Περσεὺς καὶ ἐρασθεὶς

¹ ἀναστᾶσαι A: ἀναπτᾶσαι Wagner, comparing Zenobius, *Cent.* i. 41.

¹ Compare Ovid, *Metamorph.* iv. 782 sq.

² Compare Hesiod, *Theog.* 280 sqq.; Ovid, *Metamorph.* iv. 784 sqq., vi. 119 sq.; Hyginus, *Fab.* 151.

³ For the story of Andromeda, see Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 836; Conon, *Narrat.* 40 (who rationalizes the

stood over them as they slept, and while Athena guided his hand and he looked with averted gaze on a brazen shield, in which he beheld the image of the Gorgon,¹ he beheaded her. When her head was cut off, there sprang from the Gorgon the winged horse Pegasus and Chrysaor, the father of Geryon; these she had by Poseidon.² So Perseus put the head of Medusa in the wallet (*kibisis*) and went back again; but the Gorgons started up from their slumber and pursued Perseus: but they could not see him on account of the cap, for he was hidden by it.

Being come to Ethiopia, of which Cepheus was king, he found the king's daughter Andromeda set out to be the prey of a sea monster.³ For Cassiepea, the wife of Cepheus, vied with the Nereids in beauty and boasted to be better than them all; hence the Nereids were angry, and Poseidon, sharing their wrath, sent a flood and a monster to invade the land. But Ammon having predicted deliverance from the calamity if Cassiepea's daughter Andromeda were exposed as a prey to the monster, Cepheus was compelled by the Ethiopians to do it, and he bound his daughter to a rock. When Perseus beheld her, he loved her and promised Cepheus that he would

story); Eratosthenes, *Cataster.* 16, 17, and 36; Ovid, *Metamorph.* iv. 665 sqq.; Hyginus, *Fab.* 64; *id.* *Astronom.* ii. 11; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 24 sq. (First Vatican Mythographer, 73). According to the first two of these writers, the scene of the tale was laid at Joppa. The traces of Andromeda's fetters were still pointed out on the rocks at Joppa in the time of Josephus (*Bell. Jud.* iii. 9. 2). Sophocles and Euripides composed tragedies on the subject, of which some fragments remain. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck², pp. 157 sqq., 392 sqq.; *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, i. 78 sqq.

APOLLODORUS

ἀναιρήσειν ὑπέσχετο Κηφεῖ τὸ κῆτος, εἰ μέλλει σωθεῖσαν αὐτὴν αὐτῷ δώσειν γυναῖκα. ἐπὶ τούτοις γενομένων ὄρκων, ὑποστὰς τὸ κῆτος ἔκτεινε καὶ τὴν Ἀνδρομέδαν ἔλυσεν. ἐπιβουλεύοντος δὲ αὐτῷ Φινέως, ὃς ἦν ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Κηφέως ἐγγεγυημένος¹ πρῶτος τὴν Ἀνδρομέδαν, μαθὼν τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, τὴν Γοργόνα δείξας μετὰ τῶν συνεπιβουλεύοντων αὐτὸν ἐλίθωσε παραχρῆμα. παραγενόμενος δὲ εἰς Σέριφον, καὶ καταλαβὼν προσπεφευγίαν² τοῖς βωμοῖς μετὰ τοῦ Δίκτυος τὴν μητέρα διὰ τὴν Πολυδέκτου βίαν, εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὰ βασίλεια,³ συγκαλέσαντος τοῦ Πολυδέκτου τοὺς φίλους ἀπεστραμμένος τὴν κεφαλὴν τῆς Γοργόνας ἔδειξε· τῶν δὲ ἰδόντων, ὁποῖον ἕκαστος ἔτυχε σχῆμα ἔχων, ἀπελιθώθη. καταστήσας δὲ τῆς Σερίφου Δίκτυν βασιλέα, ἀπέδωκε τὰ μὲν πέδιλα καὶ τὴν κίβισιν καὶ τὴν κυνὴν Ἑρμῇ, τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν τῆς Γοργόνας Ἀθηνᾶ. Ἑρμῆς μὲν οὖν τὰ προειρημένα πάλιν ἀπέδωκε ταῖς νύμφαις, Ἀθηνᾶ δὲ ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ἀσπίδι τῆς Γοργόνας τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐνέθηκε.⁴ λέγεται δὲ ὑπ' ἐνίων ὅτι δι' Ἀθηνᾶν ἢ Μέδουσα ἐκατατομήθη· φασὶ δὲ ὅτι καὶ περὶ κάλλους ἠθέλησεν ἢ Γοργῶ αὐτῇ συγκριθῆναι.

- 4 Περσεὺς δὲ μετὰ Δανάης καὶ Ἀνδρομέδας ἔσπευδεν εἰς Ἄργος, ἵνα Ἀκρίσιον θεάσσηται. ὁ δὲ <τοῦτο μαθὼν καὶ>⁵ δεδοικῶς τὸν χρησμόν,

¹ ἐγγεγυημένος R : ἐγγενόμενος A : ἐγγυόμενος Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher.

² προσπεφευγίαν Tzetzes, Schol. on Lycophron, 838 : προσπεφευγίαν A. ³ τὰ βασίλεια R : τὸν βασιλέα A.

⁴ ἐνέθηκε Heyne : ἀνέθηκε A.

⁵ τοῦτο μαθὼν καὶ. These words, absent in the MSS., are restored by Wagner from Zenobius, Cent. i. 41.

kill the monster, if he would give him the rescued damsel to wife. These terms having been sworn to, Perseus withstood and slew the monster and released Andromeda. However, Phineus, who was a brother of Cepheus, and to whom Andromeda had been first betrothed, plotted against him; but Perseus discovered the plot, and by showing the Gorgon turned him and his fellow conspirators at once into stone. And having come to Seriphus he found that his mother and Dictys had taken refuge at the altars on account of the violence of Polydectes; so he entered the palace, where Polydectes had gathered his friends, and with averted face he showed the Gorgon's head; and all who beheld it were turned to stone, each in the attitude which he happened to have struck. Having appointed Dictys king of Seriphus, he gave back the sandals and the wallet (*kibisis*) and the cap to Hermes, but the Gorgon's head he gave to Athena. Hermes restored the aforesaid things to the nymphs and Athena inserted the Gorgon's head in the middle of her shield. But it is alleged by some that Medusa was beheaded for Athena's sake; and they say that the Gorgon was fain to match herself with the goddess even in beauty.

Perseus hastened with Danae and Andromeda to Argos in order that he might behold Acrisius. But he, learning of this and dreading the oracle,¹

¹ That is, the oracle which declared that he would be killed by the son of Danae. See above, ii. 4. 1.

APOLLODORUS

ἀπολιπὼν Ἄργος εἰς τὴν Πελασγιῶτιν ἐχώρησε γῆν. Τευταμίδου¹ δὲ τοῦ Λαρισσαίων² βασιλέως ἐπὶ κατοικομένην τῷ πατρὶ διατιθέντος³ γυμνικὸν ἀγῶνα, παρεγένετο καὶ ὁ Περσεὺς ἀγωνίσασθαι θέλων, ἀγωνιζόμενος δὲ πένταθλον, τὸν δίσκον ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀκρισίου πόδα βαλὼν παραχρῆμα ἀπέκτεινε αὐτόν. αἰσθόμενος δὲ τὸν χρησμὸν τετελειωμένου⁴ τὸν μὲν Ἀκρισιον ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἔθαψεν, αἰσχυνόμενος δὲ εἰς Ἄργος ἐπανελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν κλῆρον τοῦ δι' αὐτοῦ τετελευτηκότος, παραγενόμενος εἰς Τίρυνθα⁵ πρὸς τὸν Προίτου παῖδα Μεγαπένθην ἠλλάξατο, τούτῳ τε τὸ Ἄργος ἐνεχείρισε. καὶ Μεγαπένθης μὲν ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀργείων, Περσεὺς δὲ Τίρυνθος, προστειχίσας⁵ Μίδειαν⁶ καὶ Μυκῆνας. ἐγένοντο δὲ ἕξ Ἀνδρομέδας παῖδες αὐτῷ, πρὶν μὲν ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα Πέρσης, ὃν παρὰ Κηφεῖ κατέλιπεν (ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ τοὺς Περσῶν βασιλεῖας λέγεται γενέσθαι), ἐν Μυκῆναις δὲ Ἀλκαῖος καὶ Σθένηςος καὶ Ἐλειος⁷ Μῆστωρ τε καὶ Ἡλεκτρύων, καὶ θυγάτηρ Γοργοφόνη, ἣν Περιήρης ἔγημεν.

¹ Τευταμίδου E, Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 838 (compare Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 28. 3), Hercher, Wagner: τευταμία A, Westermann: Τευταμίον, Heyne, Müller, Bekker.

² Λαρισσαίων EA, Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 838, Zenobius, *Cent.* i. 41: Λαρισαίων R^a, Bekker, Hercher, Wagner.

³ διατιθέντος E, Zenobius, *Cent.* i. 41: διατεθέντος A.

⁴ τετελειωμένου R: τετελεσμένον A.

⁵ τίρυνθα R: τίρυνθον A.

⁶ Μίδειαν Aegius: μήδειαν A: Μίδεαν Heyne. See below, ii. 4. 6, p. 170, note.

⁷ Ἐλειος Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 838: ἔλης R: ἔλας R^aC: ἔλλας B.

forsook Argos and departed to the Pelasgian land. Now Teutamides, king of Larissa, was holding athletic games in honour of his dead father, and Perseus came to compete. He engaged in the pentathlum, but in throwing the quoit he struck Acrisius on the foot and killed him instantly.¹ Perceiving that the oracle was fulfilled, he buried Acrisius outside the city,² and being ashamed to return to Argos to claim the inheritance of him who had died by his hand, he went to Megapenthes, son of Proetus, at Tiryns and effected an exchange with him, surrendering Argos into his hands.³ So Megapenthes reigned over the Argives, and Perseus reigned over Tiryns, after fortifying also Midea and Mycenae.⁴ And he had sons by Andromeda: before he came to Greece he had Perses, whom he left behind with Cepheus (and from him it is said that the kings of Persia are descended); and in Mycenae he had Alcaeus and Sthenelus and Heleus and Mestor and Electryon,⁵ and a daughter Gorgophone, whom Perieres married.⁶

¹ Compare Pausanias, ii. 16. 2.

² According to another account, the grave of Acrisius was in the temple of Athena on the acropolis of Larissa. See Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* iii. 45, p. 39, ed. Potter.

³ As to this exchange of kingdoms, compare Pausanias, ii. 16. 3.

⁴ As to the fortification or foundation of Mycenae by Perseus, see Pausanias, ii. 15. 4, ii. 16. 3.

⁵ As to the sons of Perseus and Andromeda, compare Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xix. 116; Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 747. The former agrees with Apollodorus as to the five sons born to Perseus in Mycenae, except that he calls one of them Aelius instead of Heleus; the latter mentions only four sons, Alcaeus, Sthenelus, Mestor, and Electryon.

⁶ See below, iii. 10. 3.

APOLLODORUS

Ἐκ μὲν οὖν Ἀλκαίου καὶ Ἀστυδαμείας τῆς Πέλοπος, ὡς δὲ ἔνιοι λέγουσι Λαονόμης τῆς Γουνέως, ὡς δὲ ἄλλοι πάλιν Ἴππονόμης τῆς Μενοικέως, Ἀμφιτρύων ἐγένετο καὶ θυγάτηρ Ἀναξώ, ἐκ δὲ Μήστορος καὶ Λυσιδίκης τῆς Πέλοπος Ἴπποθόη. ταύτην ἀρπάσας Ποσειδῶν καὶ κομίσας ἐπὶ τὰς Ἐχινάδας νήσους μίγνυται, καὶ γεννᾷ Τάφιον, ὃς ὤκισε Τάφον καὶ τοὺς λαοὺς Τηλεβόας ἐκάλεσεν, ὅτι τηλοῦ τῆς πατρίδος ἔβη. ἐκ Ταφίου δὲ παῖς Πτερέλαος ἐγένετο· τούτου ἀθάνατον ἐποίησε Ποσειδῶν, ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ χρυσὴν ἐνθεὶς τρίχα. Πτερελάῳ δὲ ἐγένοντο παῖδες Χρομίος Τύραννος Ἀντίοχος Χερσιδάμας Μήστωρ Εὐήρης.

Ἡλεκτρύων δὲ γήμας τὴν Ἀλκαίου θυγατέρα Ἀναξώ, ἐγέννησε θυγατέρα μὲν Ἀλκμήνην, παῖδας δὲ <Στρατοβάτην>¹ Γοργοφόνον Φυλόνομον² Κελαινέα Ἀμφίμαχον Λυσίνομον Χειρίμαχον Ἀνάκτορα Ἀρχέλαον, μετὰ δὲ τούτους καὶ νόθον ἐκ Φρυγίας γυναικὸς Μιδέας³ Λικύμνιον.

¹ Στρατοβάτην added by Aegius from Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 932; compare Scholiast on Pindar, *Olymp.* vii. 28 (49).

² Φυλόνομον RR^aB, Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 932: φιλονόμον C.

³ Μιδέας Pindar, *Ol.* vii. 29 (53), Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher, Wagner: Μηδείας A, Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 932, where Müller, the editor, reads Μιδέας in the text "auctoritate Apollodori," but adds that "Nostri Codd. consentiunt in μηδείας."

¹ The name Teleboans is derived by the writer from *telou* *ebē* (τηλοῦ ἔβη), "he went far." The same false etymology is accepted by Tzetzes (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 932). Strabo

Alcaeus had a son Amphitryon and a daughter Anaxo by Astydamia, daughter of Pelops; but some say he had them by Laonome, daughter of Guneus, others that he had them by Hipponome, daughter of Menoeceus; and Mestor had Hippothoe by Lysidice, daughter of Pelops. This Hippothoe was carried off by Poseidon, who brought her to the Echinadian Islands, and there had intercourse with her, and begat Taphius, who colonized Taphos and called the people Teleboans, because he had gone far¹ from his native land. And Taphius had a son Pterelaus, whom Poseidon made immortal by implanting a golden hair in his head.² And to Pterelaus were born sons, to wit, Chromius, Tyrannus, Antiochus, Chersidamas, Mestor, and Eueres.

Electryon married Anaxo, daughter of Alcaeus,³ and begat a daughter Alcmena,⁴ and sons, to wit, Stratobates, Gorgophonus, Phylonomus, Celaeneus, Amphimachus, Lysinomus, Chirimachus, Anactor, and Archelaus; and after these he had also a bastard son, Licymnius, by a Phrygian woman Midea.⁵

says (x. 2. 20, p. 459) that the Taphians were formerly called Teleboans. ² See below, ii. 4. 7.

³ Thus Electryon married his niece, the daughter of his brother Alcaeus (see above, ii. 4. 5). Similarly Butes is said to have married the daughter of his brother Erechtheus (iii. 15. 1), and Phineus is reported to have been betrothed to the daughter of his brother Cepheus (ii. 4. 3). Taken together, these traditions perhaps point to a custom of marriage with a niece, the daughter of a brother.

⁴ According to another account, the mother of Alcmena was a daughter of Pelops (Euripides, *Heracidae*, 210 sq.), her name being variously given as Lysidice (Scholiast on Pindar, *Olymp.* vii. 27 (49); Plutarch, *Theseus*, 6) and Eurydice (Diodorus Siculus, iv. 9. 1).

⁵ Compare Scholiast on Pindar, *Olymp.* vii. 27 (49).

APOLLODORUS

Σθενέλου δὲ καὶ Νικίππης τῆς Πέλοπος Ἄλκυνόη¹ καὶ Μέδουσα, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ Εὐρυσθεὺς ἐγένετο, ὃς καὶ Μυκηνῶν ἐβασίλευσεν. ὅτε γὰρ Ἡρακλῆς ἔμελλε γεννᾶσθαι, Ζεὺς ἐν θεοῖς ἔφη τὸν ἀπὸ Περσέως γεννηθισόμενον τότε βασιλεύσειν Μυκηνῶν, "Ἡρα δὲ διὰ² ζῆλον Εἰλειθυίας³ ἔπεισε τὸν μὲν Ἄλκμήνης τόκον ἐπισχεῖν, Εὐρυσθέα δὲ τὸν Σθενέλου παρεσκεύασε γεννηθῆναι ἑπταμηνιαῖον ὄντα.

- 6 Ἡλεκτρύονος δὲ βασιλεύοντος Μυκηνῶν, μετὰ Ταφίων⁴ οἱ Πτερελάου παῖδες ἐλθόντες τὴν Μῆστορος ἀρχὴν [τοῦ μητροπάτορος]⁵ ἀπητουν, καὶ μὴ προσέχοντος⁶ Ἡλεκτρύονος ἀπήλαυνον τὰς

¹ Ἄλκυνόη Wagner (comparing Diodorus Siculus, iv. 12. 7) : ἀλκυνόη R : ἀλκινόη A. ² διὰ E : διὰ τὸν A.

³ Εἰλειθυίας EA, Wagner : Εἰλειθυίαν Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher.

⁴ Ταφίων Heyne : Ταφίου MSS., Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher, Wagner.

⁵ τοῦ μητροπάτορος (compend.) R : τῷ μητροπάτωρος R^a : τῷ μητροπάτορι A. As Heyne saw, the words are probably a gloss which has crept into the text. Wagner does not bracket them.

⁶ προσέχοντος Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 932 : προσέχοντες A.

¹ According to other accounts, her name was Antibia (Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xix. 119) or Archippe (J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 172, 192).

² Compare Homer, *Il.* xix. 95-133, where (*v.* 119) the Ilithyias, the goddesses of childbirth, are also spoken of in the plural. According to Ovid (*Metamorph.* ix. 292 *sqq.*), the goddess of childbirth (Lucina, the Roman equivalent of Ilithyia) delayed the birth of Hercules by sitting at the door of the room with crossed legs and clasped hands until, deceived by a false report that Alcmena had been delivered, she relaxed her posture and so allowed the birth to take place. Compare Pausanias, ix. 11. 3 Antoninus

Sthenelus had daughters, Alcyone and Medusa, by Nicippe,¹ daughter of Pelops; and he had afterwards a son Eurystheus, who reigned also over Mycenae. For when Hercules was about to be born, Zeus declared among the gods that the descendant of Perseus then about to be born would reign over Mycenae, and Hera out of jealousy persuaded the Ilithyias to retard Alcmena's delivery,² and contrived that Eurystheus, son of Sthenelus, should be born a seven-month child.³

When Electryon reigned over Mycenae, the sons of Pterelaus came with some Taphians and claimed the kingdom of Mestor, their maternal grandfather,⁴ and as Electryon paid no heed to the claim,

Liberalis, *Transform.* 29, according to whom it was the Fates and Ilithyia who thus retarded the birth of Hercules. Among the Efiks and Ibibios, of Southern Nigeria, "the ancient custom still obtains that locks should be undone and knots untied in the house of a woman who is about to bear a babe, since all such are thought, by sympathetic magic, to retard delivery. A case was related of a jealous wife, who, on the advice of a witch doctor versed in the mysteries of her sex, hid a selection of padlocks beneath her garments, then went and sat down near the sick woman's door and surreptitiously turned the key in each. She had previously stolen an old waist-cloth from her rival, which she knotted so tightly over and over that it formed a ball, and, as an added precaution, she locked her fingers closely together and sat with crossed legs, exactly as did Juno Lucina of old when determined to prevent the birth of the infant Hercules" (D. Amaury Talbot, *Woman's Mysteries of a Primitive People, the Ibibios of Southern Nigeria* (London, etc. 1915), p. 22). See further *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, pp. 294 sqq.

³ Compare Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xix. 119; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 172 sqq., 192 sqq.

⁴ Taphius, the father of Pterelaus, was a son of Hippothoe, who was a daughter of Mestor. See above, ii. 4. 5. Thus Mestor was not the maternal grandfather, but the great-great-grandfather of the sons of Pterelaus. Who the maternal

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βόας· ἀμυνομένων δὲ τῶν Ἡλεκτρίονος παίδων, ἐκ προκλήσεως¹ ἀλλήλους ἀπέκτειναν. ἐσώθη δὲ τῶν Ἡλεκτρίονος παίδων Λικύμνιος ἔτι νέος ὑπάρχων, τῶν δὲ Πτερελάου Εὐήρης, ὃς καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐφύλασσε. τῶν δὲ Ταφίων οἱ διαφυγόντες ἀπέπλευσαν τὰς ἐλαθείσας βόας ἐλόντες, καὶ παρέθεντο τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ἡλείων Πολυξένῳ· Ἀμφιτρύων δὲ παρὰ Πολυξένου λυτρωσάμενος αὐτὰς ἤγαγεν εἰς Μυκήνας.² ὁ δὲ Ἡλεκτρίων τὸν τῶν παίδων θάνατον βουλόμενος ἐκδικῆσαι, παραδοὺς τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀμφιτρώωνι καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα Ἀλκμήνην, ἐξορκίσας ἵνα μέχρι τῆς ἐπανόδου παρθένον αὐτὴν φυλάξῃ, στρατεύειν ἐπὶ Τηλεβόας διανοεῖτο. ἀπολαμβάνοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τὰς βόας, μιᾶς ἐκθορούσης Ἀμφιτρώων ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἀφῆκεν ὃ μετὰ χεῖρας εἶχε ῥόπαλον, τὸ δὲ ἀποκρουσθὲν ἀπὸ τῶν κεράτων εἰς τὴν Ἡλεκτρίονος κεφαλὴν ἐλθὼν ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτόν. ὅθεν λαβὼν ταύτην τὴν πρόφασιν Σθένελος παντὸς Ἄργους

¹ προκλήσεως Gale: προβλήσεως A.

² Μυκήνας Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 932: Μυκῆνην RR^aB.

grandfather of the sons of Pterelaus was we do not know, since the name of their mother is not recorded. The words "their maternal grandfather" are probably a gloss which has crept into the text. See the Critical Note. Apart from the difficulty created by these words, it is hard to suppose that Electryon was still reigning over Mycenae at the time of this expedition of the sons of Pterelaus, since, being a son of Perseus, he was a brother of their great-great-grandfather Mestor.

¹ Compare Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 747-751, with the Scholiast on v. 747; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 932, whose account seems based on that of Apollodorus.

they drove away his kine; and when the sons of Electryon stood on their defence, they challenged and slew each other.¹ But of the sons of Electryon there survived Licymnius, who was still young; and of the sons of Pterelaus there survived Everes, who guarded the ships. Those of the Taphians who escaped sailed away, taking with them the cattle they had lifted, and entrusted them to Polyxenus, king of the Eleans; but Amphitryon ransomed them from Polyxenus and brought them to Mycenae. Wishing to avenge his sons' death, Electryon purposed to make war on the Teleboans, but first he committed the kingdom to Amphitryon along with his daughter Alcmena, binding him by oath to keep her a virgin until his return.² However, as he was receiving the cows back, one of them charged, and Amphitryon threw at her the club which he had in his hands. But the club rebounded from the cow's horns and striking Electryon's head killed him.³ Hence Sthenelus laid hold of this pretext to banish Amphitryon from

² Compare Hesiod, *Shield of Hercules*, 14 *sqq.*, where it is said that Amphitryon might not go in to his wife Alcmena until he had avenged the death of her brothers, the sons of Electryon, who had been slain in the fight with the Taphians. The tradition points to a custom which enjoined an avenger of blood to observe strict chastity until he had taken the life of his enemy.

³ A similar account of the death of Electryon is given by Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 932, who seems to follow Apollodorus. According to this version of the legend, the slaying of Electryon by Amphitryon was purely accidental. But according to Hesiod (*Shield of Hercules*, 11 *sq.*, 79 *sqq.*) the two men quarrelled over the cattle, and Amphitryon killed Electryon in hot blood. Compare the Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xiv. 323.

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ἐξέβαλεν Ἀμφιτρύωνα, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν Μυκη-
νῶν καὶ τῆς Τίρυνθος αὐτὸς κατέσχε· τὴν δὲ
Μίδειαν,¹ μεταπεμφάμενος τοὺς Πέλοπος παῖδας
Ἄτρεα καὶ Θυέστην, παρέθετο τούτοις.

Ἀμφιτρύων δὲ σὺν Ἀλκμήνῃ καὶ Λικυμνίῳ
παραγενόμενος ἐπὶ Θήβας ὑπὸ Κρέοντος ἠγνίσθη,
καὶ δίδωσι τὴν ἀδελφὴν Περιμήδην Λικυμνίῳ.
λεγοῦσης δὲ Ἀλκμήνης γαμηθήσεται αὐτῷ² τῶν
ἀδελφῶν αὐτῆς ἐκδικήσαντι τὸν θάνατον, ὑποσχό-
μενος ἐπὶ Τηλεβόας στρατεύει Ἀμφιτρύων, καὶ
παρακάλει συλλαβέσθαι Κρέοντα. ὁ δὲ ἔφη
στρατεύσειν, ἐὰν πρότερον ἐκείνος τὴν Καδμείαν³
τῆς ἀλώπεκος ἀπαλλάξῃ· ἔφθειρε γὰρ τὴν⁴ Καδ-
μείαν ἀλώπηξ θηρίου. ὑποστάντος δὲ ὁμως
εἰμαρμένον ἦν αὐτὴν μηδέ τινα καταλαβεῖν.
7 ἀδικουμένης δὲ τῆς χώρας, ἕνα τῶν ἀστῶν παῖδα
οἱ Θηβαῖοι κατὰ μῆνα προετίθεσαν αὐτῇ, πολλοὺς
ἀρπαξούσῃ,⁵ τοῦτ' εἰ μὴ γένοιτο. ἀπαλλαγεῖς

¹ Μίδειαν Bekker, Hercher: Μίδεαν Heyne, Westermann, Müller: μῆδειαν A. Both forms, Μίδεια and Μίδεα, are recognized by Strabo (viii. 6. 11, p. 373) and Stephanus Byzantius (s. v. Μίδεια), but Strabo preferred the form Μίδεα for the city in Argolis, and the form Μίδεια for the similarly named city in Boeotia. In the manuscripts of Pausanias the name is reported to occur in the forms Μιδεῖα, Μιδέα, Μῆδεια, Μηδεῖα, and Μηδέα, of which the forms Μιδεῖα, Μῆδεια, and Μηδεῖα appear to be the best attested. See Pausanias, ii. 16. 2, ii. 25. 9, vi. 20. 7, viii. 27. 1, with the critical commentaries of Schubart and Walz, of Hitzig and Blümner. The editors of Pausanias do not consistently adopt any one of these forms. For example, the latest editor (F. Spiro) adopts the form Μιδεῖα in one passage (ii. 16. 2), Μῆδεια in a second (ii. 25. 9), Μιδέα in a third (vi. 20. 7), and Μίδεα in a fourth (viii. 27. 1).

² αὐτῷ Wagner, following Eberhard and comparing Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xiv. 323; Hesiod, *Shield of Her-*

the whole of Argos, while he himself seized the throne of Mycenae and Tiryns; and he entrusted Midea to Atreus and Thyestes, the sons of Pelops, whom he had sent for.

Amphitryon went with Alcmena and Licymnius to Thebes and was purified by Creon¹ and gave his sister Perimede to Licymnius. And as Alcmena said she would marry him when he had avenged her brothers' death, Amphitryon engaged to do so, and undertook an expedition against the Teleboans, and invited Creon to assist him. Creon said he would join in the expedition if Amphitryon would first rid the Cadmea of the vixen; for a brute of a vixen was ravaging the Cadmea.² But though Amphitryon undertook the task, it was fated that nobody should catch her. As the country suffered thereby, the Thebans every month exposed a son of one of the citizens to the brute, which would have carried off many if that were not done. So Amphitryon

¹ That is, for the killing of Electryon. Compare Hesiod, *Shield of Hercules*, 79 sqq.; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 932; Euripides, *Hercules Furens*, 16 sq.

² The animal had its lair at Teumessus, and hence was known as the Teumessian fox. See Pausanias, ix. 19. 1; Antoninus Liberalis, *Transform.* 41; Apostolius, *Cent.* xvi. 42; Suidas, s.v. *Τευμησία*; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, i. 553 sqq. (who refers to Apollodorus as his authority); Ovid, *Metamorph.* vii. 762 sqq. By an easy application of the rationalistic instrument, which cuts so many mythological knots, the late Greek writer Palaephatus (*De Incredib.* 8) converted the ferocious animal into a gentleman (καλὸς κἀγαθὸς) named Fox, of a truculent disposition and predatory habits, who proved a thorn in the flesh to the Thebans, until Cephalus rid them of the nuisance by knocking him on the head.

cules, 14 sqq.: τῶ A, Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher. ³ τὴν Καδμείαν A: τοὺς Καδμείους Hercher.

⁴ τὴν A: γῆν Hercher. ⁵ ἀρπαξούση Palmer: ἀρπαξούση A.

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οὖν Ἀμφιτρύων εἰς Ἀθήνας πρὸς Κέφαλον τὸν
 Δημοιῶς, συνέπειθεν ἐπὶ μέρει τῶν ἀπὸ Τηλε-
 βοῶν λαφύρων ἄγειν ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν τὸν κύνα ὃν
 Πρόκρις ἤγαγεν ἐκ Κρήτης παρὰ Μίνωος λαβοῦ-
 σα· ἦν δὲ καὶ τούτῳ πεπρωμένον πᾶν, ὃ τι ἂν
 διώκη, λαμβάνειν. διωκομένης οὖν ὑπὸ τοῦ κυνὸς
 τῆς ἀλώπεκος, Ζεὺς ἀμφοτέρους λίθους ἐποίησεν.
 Ἀμφιτρύων δὲ ἔχων ἐκ μὲν Θορικοῦ τῆς Ἀττικῆς
 Κέφαλον συμμαχοῦντα, ἐκ δὲ Φωκέων Πανοπέα,
 ἐκ δὲ Ἑλλους¹ τῆς Ἀργείας Ἑλειον τὸν Περσέως,
 ἐκ δὲ Θηβῶν Κρέοντα, τὰς τῶν Ταφίων νήσους
 ἐπόρθει. ἄχρι μὲν οὖν ἕξῃ Πτερέλαος, οὐκ ἐδύ-
 νατο τὴν Τάφον ελεῖν· ὡς δὲ ἡ Πτερελάου θυγάτηρ
 Κομαιθὼ ἐρασθεῖσα Ἀμφιτρώωνος τὴν χρυσοῦν
 τρίχα τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐξείλετο,
 Πτερελάου τελευτήσαντος ἐχειρώσατο τὰς νήσους
 ἀπάσας. τὴν μὲν οὖν Κομαιθὼ κτείνει² Ἀμφι-
 τρώων καὶ τὴν λείαν ἔχων εἰς Θήβας ἔπλει, καὶ
 τὰς νήσους Ἐλείῳ καὶ Κεφάλῳ δίδωσι. κακεῖνοι
 πόλεις αὐτῶν ἐπωνύμους κτίσαντες κατώκησαν.

- 8 Πρὸ τοῦ δὲ Ἀμφιτρώωνα παραγενέσθαι εἰς
 Θήβας Ζεὺς, διὰ νυκτὸς ἐλθὼν καὶ τὴν μίαν
 τριπλασιάσας νύκτα,³ ὁμοίως Ἀμφιτρώωνι γενό-

¹ Ἑλλους Aegius: ἐλούσης A. ² κτείνει RR^a: κτείνας A.

³ τὴν μίαν τριπλασιάσας νύκτα MSS. and editions. The Vatican Epitome (E) reads as follows: τὴν μίαν νύκτα πενταπλασιάσας ἢ κατὰ τινὰς τριπλασιάσας, οἳ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τριέσπερον ἀξιοῦσι λέγεσθαι τὸν Ἡρακλέα: "having multiplied the single night fivefold or threefold, according to some, who on that account claim for Hercules the title of Triesperus (He of the Three Evenings)." The title of Triesperus is similarly explained by Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 33. The multiplication of the night fivefold appears to be mentioned by no other ancient writer. Compare R. Wagner, *Epitoma Vaticana*, p. 98.

betook him to Cephalus, son of Deioneus, at Athens, and persuaded him, in return for a share of the Teleboan spoils, to bring to the chase the dog which Procris had brought from Crete as a gift from Minos¹; for that dog was destined to catch whatever it pursued. So then, when the vixen was chased by the dog, Zeus turned both of them into stone. Supported by his allies, to wit, Cephalus from Thoricus in Attica, Panopeus from Phocis, Heleus, son of Perseus, from Helos in Argolis, and Creon from Thebes, Amphitryon ravaged the islands of the Taphians. Now, so long as Pterelaus lived, he could not take Taphos; but when Comaetho, daughter of Pterelaus, falling in love with Amphitryon, pulled out the golden hair from her father's head, Pterelaus died,² and Amphitryon subjugated all the islands. He slew Comaetho, and sailed with the booty to Thebes,³ and gave the islands to Heleus and Cephalus; and they founded cities named after themselves and dwelt in them.

But before Amphitryon reached Thebes, Zeus came by night and prolonging the one night threefold he assumed the likeness of Amphitryon and bedded

¹ As to Procris, see below, iii. 15. 1.

² Compare Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 932. For the similar story of Nisus and his daughter Megara, see below, iii. 15. 8.

³ In the sanctuary of Ismenian Apollo at Thebes, the historian Herodotus saw a tripod bearing an inscription in "Cadmean letters," which set forth that the vessel had been dedicated by Amphitryon from the spoils of the Teleboans. See Herodotus, v. 59. Among the booty was a famous goblet which Poseidon had given to his son Teleboes, and which Teleboes had given to Pterelaus. See Athenaeus, xi. 99, p. 498 c; Plautus, *Amphitryo*, 256 sq. For the expedition of Amphitryon against the Teleboans or Taphians, see also Strabo, x. 2. 20; Pausanias, i. 37. 6; Plautus, *Amphitryo*, 183-256.

μενος Ἀλκμήνῃ συνευνάσθη καὶ τὰ γενόμενα περὶ¹ Τηλεβοῶν διηγήσατο. Ἀμφιτρύων δὲ παραγενόμενος, ὡς οὐχ ἑώρα φιλοφρονουμένην πρὸς αὐτὸν τὴν γυναῖκα, ἐπυνθάνετο τὴν αἰτίαν· εἰπούσης δὲ ὅτι τῇ προτέρα νυκτὶ παραγενόμενος αὐτῇ συγκεκοίμηται, μανθάνει παρὰ Τειρεσίου τὴν γενομένην τοῦ Διὸς συνουσίαν. Ἀλκμήνῃ δὲ δύο ἐγέννησε παῖδας, Διὶ μὲν Ἡρακλέα, μιᾷ νυκτὶ πρεσβύτερον, Ἀμφιτρύωνι δὲ Ἴφικλέα. τοῦ δὲ παιδὸς ὄντος ὀκταμηνιαίου δύο δράκοντας ὑπερμεγέθεις Ἡρα ἐπὶ τὴν εὐνὴν ἔπεμψε, διαφθαρῆναι τὸ βρέφος θέλουσα. ἐπιβοωμένης δὲ Ἀλκμήνης Ἀμφιτρύωνα, Ἡρακλῆς διαναστὰς ἄγχων ἐκάτεραις ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτοὺς διέφθειρε. Φερεκύδης δὲ φησιν Ἀμφιτρύωνα, βουλόμενον μαθεῖν ὀπότερος ἦν τῶν παιδῶν ἐκείνου, τοὺς δράκοντας εἰς τὴν εὐνὴν ἐμβαλεῖν, καὶ τοῦ μὲν Ἴφικλέους φυγόντος τοῦ δὲ Ἡρακλέους ὑποστάντος μαθεῖν ὡς Ἴφικλῆς ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεγέννηται.

- 9 Ἐδιδάχθη δὲ² Ἡρακλῆς ἄρματηλατεῖν μὲν ὑπὸ Ἀμφιτρύωνος, παλαίειν δὲ ὑπὸ Αὐτολύκου, τοξεύειν δὲ ὑπὸ Εὐρύτου, ὀπλομαχεῖν δὲ ὑπὸ

¹ περὶ (compend.) E, Bekker, Hercher : παρὰ A.

² δὲ R : μὲν A.

¹ For the deception of Alcmena by Zeus and the birth of Hercules and Iphicles, see Hesiod, *Shield of Hercules*, 27-56; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 9; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xiv. 323, and *Od.* xi. 266; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 33; Hyginus, *Fab.* 29. The story was the subject of plays by Sophocles and Euripides which have perished (*Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck², pp. 156, 386 sqq.; *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, i. 76 sqq.); and it is the theme of a well-known comedy of Plautus, the *Amphitryo*, which is extant. In that play (Prologue, 112sqq.),

with Alcmena¹ and related what had happened concerning the Teleboans. But when Amphitryon arrived and saw that he was not welcomed by his wife, he inquired the cause; and when she told him that he had come the night before and slept with her, he learned from Tiresias how Zeus had enjoyed her. And Alcmena bore two sons, to wit, Hercules, whom she had by Zeus and who was the elder by one night, and Iphicles, whom she had by Amphitryon. When the child was eight months old, Hera desired the destruction of the babe and sent two huge serpents to the bed. Alcmena called Amphitryon to her help, but Hercules arose and killed the serpents by strangling them with both his hands.² However, Pherecydes says that it was Amphitryon who put the serpents in the bed, because he would know which of the two children was his, and that when Iphicles fled, and Hercules stood his ground, he knew that Iphicles was begotten of his body.

Hercules was taught to drive a chariot by Amphitryon, to wrestle by Autolycus, to shoot with the bow by Eurytus, to fence by Castor, and to play the

Plautus mentions the lengthening of the night in which Jupiter (Zeus) begat Hercules. The Scholiast on Homer (*Il.* xiv. 323) says that Zeus persuaded the Sun not to rise for three days; and the threefold night is mentioned also by Diodorus Siculus (iv. 9. 2). The whole story was told by Pherecydes, as we learn from the Scholiasts on Homer (*Il.* xiv. 323; *Od.* xi. 286); and it is likely that Apollodorus here follows him, for he refers to Pherecydes a few lines below.

² As to the infant Hercules and the serpents, compare Pindar, *Nem.* i. 33 (50) *sqq.*; Theocritus, xxiv.; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 10. 1; Pausanias, i. 24. 2; Plautus, *Amphitryo*, 1123 *sqq.*; Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 288 *sq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 30. According to Theocritus (xxiv. 1), Hercules was ten months old when he strangled the serpents.

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Κάστωρος, κιθαρωδεῖν δὲ ὑπὸ Λίνου. οὗτος δὲ ἦν ἀδελφὸς Ὀρφέως· ἀφικόμενος δὲ εἰς Θήβας καὶ Θηβαῖος γενόμενος ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους τῇ κιθάρα πληγεῖς ἀπέθανεν· ἐπιπλήξαντα γὰρ αὐτὸν ὀργισθεὶς ἀπέκτεινε. δίκην δὲ ἐπαγόντων τινῶν αὐτῷ φόνου, παρανέγνω νόμον Ῥαδαμάνθους λέγοντος, ὃς ἂν ἀμύνηται τὸν χειρῶν ἀδίκων κατάρξαντα,¹ ἀθῶον εἶναι, καὶ οὕτως ἀπελύθη.² δείσας δὲ Ἀμφιτρύων μὴ πάλιν τι ποιήσῃ τοιοῦτον, ἔπεμψεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὰ βουφόρβια. κακεῖ τρεφόμενος μεγέθει τε καὶ ῥώμῃ πάντων διήνεγκεν. ἦν δὲ καὶ θεωρηθεὶς φανερός³ ὅτι Διὸς παῖς ἦν· τετραπηχυαῖον μὲν γὰρ εἶχε τὸ σῶμα, πυρὸς δ' ἐξ ὀμμάτων ἔλαμπεν αἴγλην. οὐκ ἦστόχει δὲ οὔτε τοξεύων οὔτε ἀκοντίζων.

¹⁰ Ἐν δὲ τοῖς βουκολίοις ὑπάρχων ὀκτωκαιδεκαέτης τὸν Κιθαιρώνειον ἀνεῖλε λέοντα. οὗτος γὰρ ὀρμώμενος ἐκ τοῦ Κιθαιρώνος τὰς Ἀμφιτρύωνος ἔφθειρε βόας καὶ τὰς Θεσπίου.⁴ βασι-

¹ κατάρξαντα E: ἀρξαντα A. ² ἀπελύθη ERR^a: ἀπελάθη R.

³ φανερός R: φανερώς E: φοβερὸς A.

⁴ Θεσπίου Bekker, Hercher, Wagner: Θεστίου EA, Heyne, Westermann, Müller. This king's name is variously reported by the ancients in the forms Θεσπίος and Θεστίος. In favour of the form Θεσπίος, see below, ii. 7. 6; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 29. 2. In favour of the form Θεστίος, see below, ii. 4. 12, ii. 7. 8 (where Θεστίου occurs in the MSS.); Pausanias, iii. 19. 5, ix. 27. 6. When we consider the variation of the MSS. on this point, the extreme slightness of the difference (a single stroke of the pen) between the two forms, and the appropriateness of the form Θεσπίος for the name of a king of Thespiae, we may surmise that the true form is Θεσπίος, and that it should everywhere replace Θεστίος in our editions of Greek authors. There is at all events no doubt that Diodorus Siculus read the name in this form, for he speaks of Θεσπίος as βασιλεύων τῆς δμωνύμου χώρας.

lyre by Linus.¹ This Linus was a brother of Orpheus; he came to Thebes and became a Theban, but was killed by Hercules with a blow of the lyre; for being struck by him, Hercules flew into a rage and slew him.² When he was tried for murder, Hercules quoted a law of Rhadamanthys, who laid it down that whoever defends himself against a wrongful aggressor shall go free, and so he was acquitted. But fearing he might do the like again, Amphitryon sent him to the cattle farm; and there he was nurtured and outdid all in stature and strength. Even by the look of him it was plain that he was a son of Zeus; for his body measured four cubits,³ and he flashed a gleam of fire from his eyes; and he did not miss, neither with the bow nor with the javelin.

While he was with the herds and had reached his eighteenth year he slew the lion of Cithaeron, for that animal, sallying from Cithaeron, harried the kine of Amphitryon and of Thespius.⁴ Now

¹ As to the education of Hercules, see Theocritus, xxiv. 104 *sqq.*, according to whom Hercules learned wrestling not from Autolyceus but from Harpalyceus, son of Hermes.

² Compare Diodorus Siculus, iii. 67. 2; Pausanias, ix. 29. 9; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 213 *sq.*

³ Four cubits and one foot, according to the exact measurement of the historian Herodorus. See J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 210 *sq.*; *id. Schol. on Lycophron*, 662.

⁴ According to another account, the lion of Cithaeron was killed by Alceus (Pausanias, i. 41. 3 *sq.*). But J. Tzetzes (*Chiliades*, ii. 216 *sq.*) agrees with Apollodorus, whose account of Hercules he seems to follow.

Heyne, though he admits that he had not been consistent ("*Animo in gravioribus occupato non fui satis constans in hoc nomine*") deliberately preferred Θέσπιος to Θέσπιος: "*Verum tamen necesse est Thespii nomen, si quidem Thespiadae dictae sunt filiae.*" See his critical note on ii. 7. 8 (vol. i. p. 226).

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λεύς δὲ ἦν οὗτος Θεσπιῶν, πρὸς ὃν ἀφίκετο Ἡρακλῆς ἐλεῖν βουλόμενος τὸν λέοντα. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐξένισε πεντήκοντα ἡμέρας, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν ἐξιώντι νυκτὸς ἐκάστης μίαν συνεύναζε θυγατέρα (πεντήκοντα δὲ αὐτῷ ἦσαν ἐκ Μεγαμήδης γεγεννημένοι τῆς Ἀρνέου)· ἐσπούδαζε γὰρ πάσας ἐξ Ἡρακλέους τεκνοποιήσασθαι. Ἡρακλῆς δὲ μίαν νομίζων εἶναι τὴν αἰεὶ συνευναζομένην, συνῆλθε πάσαις. καὶ χειρωσάμενος τὸν λέοντα τὴν μὲν δορὰν ἠμφιέσατο, τῷ χάσματι δὲ ἐχρήσατο κόρυθι.

- 11 Ἀνακάμπτοντι δὲ αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τῆς θήρας συνήνησαν κήρυκες παρὰ Ἐργίνου πεμφθέντες, ἵνα παρὰ Θεβαίων τὸν δασμὸν λάβωσιν. ἐτέλουν δὲ Θεβαῖοι τὸν δασμὸν Ἐργίνῳ δι' αἰτίαν τήνδε. Κλύμενον τὸν Μινυῶν βασιλέα λίθῳ βαλὼν Μειοικέως ἠνίοχος, ὄνομα Περιήρης, ἐν Ὀρχηστῷ¹ Ποσειδῶνος τεμένει τιτρώσκει· ὁ δὲ κομισθεὶς εἰς Ὀρχομενὸν ἠμιθνῆς ἐπισκῆπτει τελευτῶν Ἐργίνῳ τῷ παιδὶ ἐκδικῆσαι τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ. στρατευσάμενος δὲ Ἐργίνος ἐπὶ Θήβας, κτείνας οὐκ ὀλίγους ἐσπέισατο μεθ' ὄρκων, ὅπως πέμπωσιν αὐτῷ Θεβαῖοι δασμὸν ἐπὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτη, κατὰ ἔτος ἑκατὸν βόας. ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὸν

¹ Ὀρχηστῷ Aegius: Ὀρχηστῷ A.

¹ As to Hercules and the daughters of Thespius, compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 29. 2 *sq.*; Pausanias, ix. 27. 6 *sq.*; Athenaeus, xiii. 4, p. 556 f; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 221 *sqq.* The father of the damsels is called Thestius by Pausanias and Athenaeus, who refers to Herodorus as his authority. See the Critical Note.

this Thespius was king of Thespieae, and Hercules went to him when he wished to catch the lion. The king entertained him for fifty days, and each night, as Hercules went forth to the hunt, Thespius bedded one of his daughters with him (fifty daughters having been borne to him by Megamede, daughter of Arneus); for he was anxious that all of them should have children by Hercules. Thus Hercules, though he thought that his bed-fellow was always the same, had intercourse with them all.¹ And having vanquished the lion, he dressed himself in the skin and wore the scalp² as a helmet.

As he was returning from the hunt, there met him heralds sent by Erginus to receive the tribute from the Thebans.³ Now the Thebans paid tribute to Erginus for the following reason. Clymenus, king of the Minyans, was wounded with a cast of a stone by a charioteer of Menoeceus, named Perieres, in a precinct of Poseidon at Onchestus; and being carried dying to Orchomenus, he with his last breath charged his son Erginus to avenge his death. So Erginus marched against Thebes, and after slaughtering not a few of the Thebans he concluded a treaty with them, confirmed by oaths, that they should send him tribute for twenty years, a hundred kine every year. Falling in with the heralds on their

² More exactly, "the gaping mouth." In Greek art Hercules is commonly represented wearing the lion's skin, often with the lion's scalp as a hood on his head. See, for example, A. Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, i. figs. 724, 726, 729, 730.

³ As to Hercules and Erginus, compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 10. 3-5; Pausanias, ix. 37. 2 sq.; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 226 sqq.

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δασμόν εἰς Θήβας τοὺς κήρυκας ἀπιόντας συντυ-
 χῶν Ἑρακλῆς ἐλωβήσατο· ἀποτεμῶν γὰρ αὐτῶν
 τὰ ὄτα καὶ τὰς ῥίνας, καὶ [διὰ σχοινίων]¹ τὰς χεῖ-
 ρας δήσας ἐκ τῶν τραχήλων, ἔφη τοῦτον Ἐργίῳ
 καὶ Μινύαις δασμόν κομίζειν. ἐφ' οἷς ἀγανακ-
 τῶν² ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ Θήβας. Ἑρακλῆς δὲ λα-
 βῶν ὄπλα παρ' Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ πολεμαρχῶν Ἐργίῳ
 μὲν ἔκτεινε, τοὺς δὲ Μινύας ἐτρέψατο καὶ τὸν
 δασμόν διπλοῦν ἠνάγκασε Θεβαίῳις φέρειν. συν-
 ἔβη δὲ κατὰ τὴν μάχην Ἀμφιτρύωνα γενναίως
 μαχόμενον τελευτήσαι. λαμβάνει δὲ Ἑρακλῆς
 παρὰ Κρέοντος ἀριστεῖον τὴν πρεσβυτάτην θυγα-
 τέρα Μεγάραν, ἐξ ἧς αὐτῷ παῖδες ἐγένοντο τρεῖς,
 Θερίμαχος Κρεοντιάδης Δηκόων. τὴν δὲ νεωτέ-
 ραν θυγατέρα Κρέων Ἰφικλεῖ³ δίδωσιν, ἤδη παῖδα
 Ἰόλαον ἔχοντι ἐξ Αὐτομεδούσης τῆς Ἀλκάθου.
 ἔγημε δὲ καὶ Ἀλκμήνην μετὰ τὸν Ἀμφιτρώωνος
 θάνατον Διὸς παῖς Ῥαδάμανθυς, κατῴκει δὲ ἐν
 Ὠκαλείαις⁴ τῆς Βοιωτίας πεφευγῶς.

¹ διὰ σχοινίων *ab inepto Graeculo apposita suspicor*, Heyne.
 The words are at least misplaced, if, as seems probable,
 ἀποτεμῶν is to be understood as applying to τὰς χεῖρας as well
 as to τὰ ὄτα καὶ τὰς ῥίνας.

² ἀγανακτῶν. Heyne proposed to insert ἐκεῖνος or Ἐργίῳ.
 The sense seems to require one or the other.

³ Ἰφικλεῖ Wagner: Ἰφίκλω A. For the form Ἰφικλῆς, see
 i. 8. 2, ii. 4. 8 (thrice), ii. 7. 3; and compare R. Wagner,
Epitome Vaticana, pp. 98 sq.

⁴ Ὠκαλείαις A. In Homer (*Il.* ii. 501), Strabo (*ix.* 2. 26,
 p. 410), and Stephanus Byzantius (*s.v.* Ὠκαλέα) the name
 occurs in the singular, Ὠκαλέα (Ὠκαλέη Homer).

¹ Compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 10. 6; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*,
 ii. 228. As to the sons of Hercules by Megara, compare
 below, ii. 7. 8. The ancients differed considerably as to the

way to Thebes to demand this tribute, Hercules outraged them; for he cut off their ears and noses and hands, and having fastened them [by ropes] from their necks, he told them to carry that tribute to Erginus and the Minyans. Indignant at this outrage, Erginus marched against Thebes. But Hercules, having received weapons from Athena and taken the command, killed Erginus, put the Minyans to flight, and compelled them to pay double the tribute to the Thebans. And it chanced that in the fight Amphitryon fell fighting bravely. And Hercules received from Creon his eldest daughter Megara as a prize of valour,¹ and by her he had three sons, Therimachus, Creontiades, and Deicoön. But Creon gave his younger daughter to Iphicles, who already had a son Iolaus by Automedusa, daughter of Alcathus. And Rhadamanthys, son of Zeus, married Alcmena after the death of Amphitryon, and dwelt as an exile at Ocaleae in Boeotia.²

number and names of the children whom Hercules had by Megara. According to Pindar (*Isthm.* iv. 63 sq.) there were eight of them. Euripides speaks of three (*Hercules Furens*, 995 sq.). See Scholiast on Pindar, *Isthm.* iv. 61 (104); Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 48 and 663; Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* xi. 269 (who agrees with Apollodorus and quotes Asclepiades as his authority); Hyginus, *Fab.* 31 and 32. The Thebans celebrated an annual festival, with sacrifices and games, in honour of the children. See Pindar, *Isthm.* iv. 61 (104) sqq., with the Scholiast.

² Compare Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 50, who says that Rhadamanthys fled from Crete because he had murdered his own brother. He agrees with Pausanias that the worthy couple took up their abode at Ocaleae (or Ocalea) in Boeotia. Their tombs were shown near Haliartus, in Boeotia. See Plutarch, *Lysander*, 28. The grave of Alcmena was excavated in antiquity, during the Spartan occupation of the Cadmea. It was found to contain a small bronze bracelet, two earthen-

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Προμαθῶν¹ δὲ παρ' Ἐυρύτου² τὴν τοξικὴν Ἡρακλῆς ἔλαβε παρὰ Ἐρμού μὲν ξίφος, παρ' Ἀπόλλωνος δὲ τόξα, παρὰ δὲ Ἡφαίστου θώρακα χρυσοῦν, παρὰ δὲ Ἀθηναῖς πέπλον· ῥόπαλον μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸς ἔτεμεν ἐκ Νεμέας.

- 12 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν πρὸς Μινύας μάχην συνέβη αὐτῷ κατὰ ζῆλον Ἡρας μανῆναι, καὶ τοὺς τε ἰδίους παῖδας, οὓς ἐκ Μεγάρων εἶχεν, εἰς πῦρ ἐμβαλεῖν καὶ τῶν Ἰφικλέους³ δύο· διὸ καταδικάσας ἑαυτοῦ φυγὴν καθαίρεται μὲν ὑπὸ Θεσπίου,⁴ παραγενόμενος δὲ εἰς Δελφοὺς πυνθάνεται τοῦ θεοῦ ποῦ κατοικήσει. ἡ δὲ Πυθία τότε πρῶτον Ἡρακλέα αὐτὸν προσηγόρευσε· τὸ δὲ πρῶην⁵ Ἀλκείδης

¹ προμαθῶν A, Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher: προσμαθῶν ER, Wagner.

² Ἐυρύτου Aegius, Commelinus, Gale, Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher: αὐτοῦ A, Wagner.

³ Ἰφικλέους E: Ἰφίκλου A.

⁴ Θεσπίου Bekker, Hercher, Wagner: Θεστίου EA, Heyne, Westermann, Müller. ⁵ πρῶην E: πρῶτον A.

ware jars, and a bronze tablet inscribed with ancient and unknown characters. See Plutarch, *De genio Socratis*, 5.

A different story of the marriage of Rhadamanthys and Alcmena was told by Pherecydes. According to him, when Alcmena died at a good old age, Zeus commanded Hermes to steal her body from the coffin in which the sons of Hercules were conveying it to the grave. Hermes executed the commission, adroitly substituting a stone for the corpse in the coffin. Feeling the coffin very heavy, the sons of Hercules set it down, and taking off the lid they discovered the fraud. They took out the stone and set it up in a sacred grove at Thebes, where was a shrine of Alcmena. Meantime Hermes had carried off the real Alcmena to the Islands of the Blest, where she was married to Rhadamanthys. See Antoninus Liberalis, *Transform.* 33. This quaint story is alluded to by Pausanias, who tells us (ix. 16. 7) that there was no tomb of Alcmena at Thebes, because at her death she had been turned to stone.

Having first learned from Eurytus the art of archery,¹ Hercules received a sword from Hermes, a bow and arrows from Apollo,² a golden breastplate from Hephaestus, and a robe from Athena; for he had himself cut a club at Nemea.

Now it came to pass that after the battle with the Minyans Hercules was driven mad through the jealousy of Hera and flung his own children, whom he had by Megara, and two children of Iphicles into the fire;³ wherefore he condemned himself to exile, and was purified by Thespius, and repairing to Delphi he inquired of the god where he should dwell.⁴ The Pythian priestess then first called him Hercules, for hitherto he was called Alcides.⁵

¹ See above ii. 4. 9. According to another account, Hercules learned archery from the exile Rhadamanthys (Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 50), and if we accept the MS. reading *αἰτοῦ* in the present passage (see Critical Note), this was the version of the story here followed by Apollodorus. But it seems more likely that *αἰτοῦ* is a scribe's mistake for *Εὐρύτου* than that Apollodorus should have contradicted himself flatly in two passages so near each other. The learned Tzetzes (*l.c.*) mentions no less than three different men—Teutarus, Eurytus, and Rhadamanthys—to whom the honour of having taught Hercules to shoot was variously assigned by tradition.

² As to the gifts of the gods to Hercules, see Diodorus Siculus, iv. 13. 3, who, besides the sword and bow given by Hermes and Apollo, mentions horses given by Poseidon.

³ Compare Euripides, *Hercules Furens*, 967 *sqq.*; Moschus, iv. 13 *sqq.*; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 11. 1 *sq.*; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 38; Nicolaus Damascenus, Frag. 20, in *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, ed. C. Müller, iii. 369; Hyginus, *Fab.* 32.

⁴ Compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 10. 7.

⁵ Hercules was called Alcides after his grandfather Alcaeus, the father of Amphitryon. See above, ii. 4. 5. But, according to another account, the hero was himself called Alcaeus before he received the name of Hercules from Apollo. See Sextus Empiricus, pp. 398 *sq.*, ed. Im. Bekker; Scholiast on Pindar, *Olymp.* vi. 68 (115)

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προσηγορεύετο. κατοικεῖν δὲ αὐτὸν εἶπεν ἐν Τίρυνθι, Εὐρυσθεὶ λατρεύοντα ἔτη δώδεκα, καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτασσομένους ἄθλους δέκα¹ ἐπιτελεῖν, καὶ οὕτως ἔφη, τῶν ἄθλων συντελεσθέντων, ἀθάνατον αὐτὸν ἔσεσθαι.

V. Τοῦτο ἀκούσας ὁ Ἡρακλῆς εἰς Τίρυνθα ἦλθε, καὶ τὸ προσταττόμενον ὑπὸ Εὐρυσθέως ἐτέλει. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἐπέταξεν αὐτῷ τοῦ Νεμέου λέοντος τὴν δορὰν κομίζειν· τοῦτο δὲ ζῶον ἦν ἄτρωτον, ἐκ Τυφῶνος γεγεννημένον.² πορευόμενος οὖν ἐπὶ τὸν λέοντα ἦλθεν εἰς Κλεωνάς, καὶ ξενίζεται παρὰ ἀνδρὶ χερνήτη Μολόρχῳ. καὶ θύειν ἱερείου θέλοντι εἰς ἡμέραν ἔφη τηρεῖν τριακοστήν, καὶ ἂν μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς θήρας σῶος ἐπανέλθῃ, Διὶ σωτήρι θύειν, ἐὰν δὲ ἀποθάνῃ, τότε ὡς³ ἥρωι ἐναγίζειν.

¹ δέκα Bekker, Hercher, Wagner : δώδεκα EA.

² γεγεννημένον ER^a : γεγεννημένον A.

³ τότε ὡς Aegius : τῷ τέως A.

¹ For the labours of Hercules, see Sophocles, *Trachiniae*, 1091 *sqq.*; Euripides, *Hercules Furens*, 359 *sqq.*, 1270 *sqq.*; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 10 *sqq.*; Pausanias, v. 10. 9, v. 26. 7; Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, vi. 208 *sqq.*; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, 229 *sqq.*; Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 287 *sqq.*; Ovid, *Metamorph.* ix. 182 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 30.

² As to the Nemean lion, compare Hesiod, *Theog.* 326 *sqq.*; Bacchylides, *Epinic.* viii. 6 *sqq.*; Sophocles, *Trachiniae*, 1091 *sqq.*; Theocritus, xxv. 162 *sqq.*; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 11. 3 *sq.*; Eratosthenes, *Cataster.* 12; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 232 *sq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 30. According to Hesiod, the Nemean lion was begotten by Orthus, the hound of Geryon, upon the monster Echidna. Hyginus says that the lion was bred by the Moon.

³ As to Hercules and Molorchus, compare Tibullus, iv. 1. 12 *sq.*; Virgil, *Georg.* iii. 19, with Servius's note; Martial, iv. 64. 30, ix. 43. 13; Statius, *Sylv.* iii. 1. 28.

⁴ The Greeks had two distinct words for sacrificing, according as the sacrifice was offered to a god or to a hero, that is, to a worshipful dead man; the former sacrifice was expressed by the verb θύειν, the latter by the verb ἐναγίζειν.

And she told him to dwell in Tiryns, serving Eurystheus for twelve years and to perform the ten labours imposed on him, and so, she said, when the tasks were accomplished, he would be immortal.¹

V. When Hercules heard that, he went to Tiryns and did as he was bid by Eurystheus. First, Eurystheus ordered him to bring the skin of the Nemean lion;² now that was an invulnerable beast begotten by Typhon. On his way to attack the lion he came to Cleonae and lodged at the house of a day-labourer, Molorchus;³ and when his host would have offered a victim in sacrifice, Hercules told him to wait for thirty days, and then, if he had returned safe from the hunt, to sacrifice to Saviour Zeus, but if he were dead, to sacrifice to him as to a hero.⁴ And having

The verbal distinction can hardly be preserved in English, except by a periphrasis. For the distinction between the two, see Pausanias, ii. 10. 1, ii. 11. 7, iii. 19. 3; and for more instances of *ἐναγίσειν* in this sense, see Pausanias, iii. 1. 8, vi. 21. 11, vii. 17. 8, vii. 19. 10, vii. 20. 9, viii. 14. 10 and 11, viii. 41. 1, ix. 5. 14, ix. 18. 3 and 4, ix. 38. 5, x. 24. 6; *Inscriptiones Graecae Megaridis, Oropiae, Boeotiae*, ed. G. Dittenberger, p. 32, No. 53. For instances of the antithesis between *θύειν* and *ἐναγίσειν*, see Herodotus, ii. 44; Plutarch, *De Herodoti malignitate*, 13; Ptolemaeus Hephaest., *Nov. Hist.* iii. (*Mythographi Graeci*, ed. A. Westermann, p. 186); Pollux, viii. 91; Scholiast on Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 274. The corresponding nouns *θυσίαι* and *ἐναγίσματα* are similarly opposed to each other. See Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, 58. Another word which is used only of sacrificing to heroes or the dead is *ἐντέμνειν*. See, for example, Thucydides, v. 11, *ὡς ἤρωϊ τε ἐντέμνουσι* (of the sacrifices offered at Amphipolis to Brasidas). Sometimes the verbs *ἐναγίσειν* and *ἐντέμνειν* are coupled in this sense. See Philostratus, *Heroica*, xx. 27 and 28. For more evidence as to the use of these words, see Fr. Pfister, *Der Reliquienkult im Altertum* (Giessen, 1909-1912), pp. 466 sqq. Compare P. Foucart, *Le culte des héros chez les Grecs* (Paris, 1918), pp. 96, 98 (from the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, vol. xlii).

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εἰς δὲ τὴν Νεμέαν ἀφικόμενος καὶ τὸν λέοντα
 μαστεύσας ἐτόξευσε τὸ πρῶτον· ὡς δὲ ἔμαθεν
 ἄτρωτον ὄντα, ἀνατεινόμενος τὸ ρόπαλον ἐδίωκε.
 συμφυγόντος δὲ εἰς ἀμφίστομον¹ σπήλαιον αὐτοῦ
 τὴν ἐτέραν ἐνφοκοδόμησεν² εἴσοδον, διὰ δὲ τῆς
 ἐτέρας ἐπεισῆλθε τῷ θηρίῳ, καὶ περιθίεις τὴν
 χεῖρα τῷ τραχήλῳ κατέσχευεν ἄγχων ἕως ἔπνιξε,
 καὶ θέμενος ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων ἐκόμιζεν εἰς Κλεωνάς.³
 καταλαβὼν δὲ τὸν Μόλορχον ἐν τῇ τελευταία
 τῶν ἡμερῶν ὡς νεκρῷ μέλλοντα τὸ ἱερεῖον ἐναγί-
 ζειν, σωτῆρι θύσας Διὶ ἤγεν εἰς Μυκῆνας τὸν
 λέοντα. Εὐρυσθεὺς δὲ καταπλαγεῖς⁴ αὐτοῦ τὴν
 ἀνδρείαν ἀπέειπε τὸ λοιπὸν⁵ αὐτῷ εἰς τὴν πόλιν
 εἰσιέναι, δεικνύειν δὲ πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐκέλευε τοὺς
 ἄθλους. φασὶ δὲ ὅτι δείσας καὶ πίθον ἑαυτῷ
 χαλκοῦν εἰσκρυβῆναι ὑπὸ γῆν⁶ κατεσκευάσε, καὶ
 πέμπων κήρυκα Κοπρέα Πέλοπος τοῦ Ἥλειου
 ἐπέταπτε τοὺς ἄθλους. οὗτος δὲ Ἴφιτον κτείνας,
 φυγὼν εἰς Μυκῆνας καὶ τυχὼν παρ' Εὐρυσθέως
 καθαρσίῳν ἐκεῖ κατῴκει.

- 2 Δεύτερον δὲ ἄθλον ἐπέταξεν αὐτῷ τὴν Λερναίαν
 ὕδραν κτείνειν· αὕτη δὲ ἐν τῷ τῆς Λέρνης ἔλει
 ἐκτραφεῖσα ἐξέβαινεν εἰς τὸ πεδίον καὶ τά τε

¹ <τὸ> ἀμφίστομον Wagner, comparing Diodorus Siculus,
 iv. 11. 3 sq. ² ἐνφοκοδόμησεν E: ἀνφοκοδόμησεν A.

³ Κλεωνάς Hercher, Wagner (comparing Pediasmus, *De
 Herculis laboribus*, 1): Μυκῆνας A.

⁴ καταπλαγεῖς E: καταλαβὼν A.

⁵ ἀπέειπε τὸ λοιπὸν Bekker, Hercher, Wagner: ἀπέπατο
 λοιπὸν EA. ⁶ γῆν E: γῆς A.

¹ Compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 12. 1, who however places
 this incident after the adventure with the Erymanthian boar.

² As to the herald Copreus, compare Homer, *Il.* xv. 639 sq.,
 with the note of the Scholiast.

come to Nemea and tracked the lion, he first shot an arrow at him, but when he perceived that the beast was invulnerable, he heaved up his club and made after him. And when the lion took refuge in a cave with two mouths, Hercules built up the one entrance and came in upon the beast through the other, and putting his arm round its neck held it tight till he had choked it; so laying it on his shoulders he carried it to Cleonae. And finding Molorchus on the last of the *thirty* days about to sacrifice the victim to him as to a dead man, he sacrificed to Saviour Zeus and brought the lion to Mycenae. Amazed at his manhood, Eurystheus forbade him thenceforth to enter the city, but ordered him to exhibit the fruits of his labours before the gates. They say, too, that in his fear he had a bronze jar made for himself to hide in under the earth,¹ and that he sent his commands for the labours through a herald, Copreus,² son of Pelops the Elean. This Copreus had killed Iphitus and fled to Mycenae, where he was purified by Eurystheus and took up his abode.

As a second labour he ordered him to kill the Lernaean hydra.³ That creature, bred in the swamp of Lerna, used to go forth into the plain and ravage

³ Compare Euripides, *Hercules Furens*, 419 *sqq.*; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 11. 5 *sq.*; Pausanias, ii. 37. 4, v. 5. 10, v. 17. 11; Zenobius, *Cent.* vi. 26; Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, vi. 212 *sqq.*; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 237 *sqq.*; Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 299 *sq.*; Ovid, *Metamorph.* ix. 69 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 30. Diodorus and Ovid multiply the hydra's heads to a hundred; the sceptical Pausanias (ii. 37. 4) would reduce them to one. Both Diodorus and Pausanias, together with Zenobius and Hyginus, mention that Hercules poisoned his arrows with the gall of the hydra. The account which Zenobius gives of the hydra is clearly based on that of Apollodorus, though as usual he does not name his authority.

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βουσκήματα καὶ τὴν χώραν διέφθειρεν. εἶχε δὲ ἡ ὕδρα ὑπερμέγεθες σῶμα, κεφαλὰς ἔχον ἑνέα, τὰς μὲν ὀκτώ θηητάς, τὴν δὲ μέσσην ἀθάνατον. ἐπιβὰς οὖν ἄρματος, ἡμιοχούντος Ἰολάου, παρεγένετο εἰς τὴν Λέρνην, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἵππους ἔστησε, τὴν δὲ ὕδραν εὐρῶν ἔν τιμι λόφῳ¹ παρὰ τὰς πηγὰς τῆς Ἀμμώνης, ὅπου ὁ φωλεὸς αὐτῆς ὑπῆρχε, βύλλων βέλεσι πεπυρωμένοις ἠνάγκασεν ἐξελθεῖν, ἐκβαίνουσιν δὲ αὐτὴν κρατήσας κατεῖχεν. ἡ δὲ θατέρῳ² τῶν ποδῶν ἐνείχετο³ περιπλακείσα. τῷ ῥοπάλῳ δὲ τὰς κεφαλὰς κόπτων οὐδὲν ἀνύειν ἠδύνατο·⁴ μίᾳ γὰρ κοπτομένης κεφαλῆς δύο ἀνεφύοντο. ἐπεβοήθει δὲ καρκίνος τῇ ὕδρᾳ ὑπερμεγέθης, δάκνων τὸν πόδα. διὸ τοῦτον ἀποκτείνας ἐπεκαλέσατο καὶ αὐτὸς βοηθὸν τὸν Ἰόλαον, ὃς μέρος τι καταπρήσας τῆς ἐγγύς ὕλης τοῖς δαλοῖς ἐπικαίων τὰς ἀνατολὰς τῶν κεφαλῶν ἐκώλυεν ἀνιέναι. καὶ⁵ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον τῶν ἀναφυομένων κεφαλῶν περιγεγόμενος, τὴν ἀθάνατον ἀποκόψας κατώρυξε καὶ βαρεῖαν ἐπέθηκε πέτραν, παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν φέρουσαν διὰ Λέρνης εἰς Ἐλαιούντα·⁶ τὸ δὲ σῶμα τῆς ὕδρας ἀνασχίσας τῇ χολῇ τοὺς ὀιστοὺς ἔβαψεν. Εὐρυσθεὺς δὲ ἔφη μὴ δεῖν καταριθμῆσαι τοῦτον⁷ ἐν τοῖς δέκα⁸ τὸν ἄθλον· οὐ γὰρ μόνος ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ Ἰολάου τῆς ὕδρας περιεγένετο.

¹ λόφῳ ΕΑ : τόπῳ L, V (first hand, in margin).

² θατέρῳ Ε : θάττον Α.

³ ἐνείχετο Ε : ἠνείχετο Α.

⁴ ἠδύνατο Ε, Zenobius, *Cent.* vi. 26 : ἐδύνατο Α.

⁵ καὶ Ε, Zenobius, *Cent.* vi. 26 : κατὰ Α.

⁶ Ἐλαιούντα, L. Ross, *Reisen und Reiserouten durch Griechenland*, i. (Berlin, 1841), p. 156 note : ἐλεούντα ΕΑ.

both the cattle and the country. Now the hydra had a huge body, with nine heads, eight mortal, but the middle one immortal. So mounting a chariot driven by Iolaus, he came to Lerna, and having halted his horses, he discovered the hydra on a hill beside the springs of the Amymone, where was its den. By pelting it with fiery shafts he forced it to come out, and in the act of doing so he seized and held it fast. But the hydra wound itself about one of his feet and clung to him. Nor could he effect anything by smashing its heads with his club, for as fast as one head was smashed there grew up two. A huge crab also came to the help of the hydra by biting his foot.¹ So he killed it, and in his turn called for help on Iolaus who, by setting fire to a piece of the neighbouring wood and burning the roots of the heads with the brands, prevented them from sprouting. Having thus got the better of the sprouting heads, he chopped off the immortal head, and buried it, and put a heavy rock on it, beside the road that leads through Lerna to Elaeus. But the body of the hydra he slit up and dipped his arrows in the gall. However, Eurystheus said that this labour should not be reckoned among the ten because he had not got the better of the hydra by himself, but with the help of Iolaus.

¹ For this service the crab was promoted by Hera, the foe of Hercules, to the rank of a constellation in the sky. See Eratosthenes, *Cataster*. 11 (who quotes as his authority the *Heraclia* of Panyasis); Hyginus, *Astronomica*, ii. 23.

⁷ τοῦτον Ε, Pediasmus, *De Herculis laboribus*, 2 (τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦτον): omitted in A.

⁸ δέκα Bekker, Hercher, Wagner: δώδεκα ΕΑ, Pediasmus, *De Herculis laboribus*, 2.

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- 3 Τρίτον ἄθλον ἐπέταξεν αὐτῷ τὴν Κερυνίτιν¹ ἔλαφον εἰς Μυκῆνας ἔμπνου ἐνεγκεῖν. ἦν δὲ ἡ ἔλαφος ἐν Οἰνόῃ, χρυσόκερως, Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερά· διὸ καὶ βουλόμενος αὐτὴν Ἡρακλῆς μῆτε ἀνελεῖν μῆτε τρῶσαι, συνεδίωξεν ὄλον ἐνιαυτόν. ἐπεὶ δὲ κάμνον τὸ θηρίον τῇ διώξει συνέφυγεν εἰς ὄρος τὸ λεγόμενον Ἀρτεμίσιον, κάκειθεν ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Λάδωνα, τοῦτον διαβαίνειν μέλλουσαν τοξεύσας συνέλαβε, καὶ θέμενος ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων διὰ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας ἠπείγετο. μετ' Ἀπόλλωνος δὲ Ἀρτεμις συντυχοῦσα ἀφῆρείτο, καὶ τὸ ἱερόν ζῶον αὐτῆς κτείνοντα² κατεμέμφετο. ὁ δὲ ὑποτιμησάμενος τὴν ἀνάγκην, καὶ τὸν αἴτιον εἰπὼν Εὐρυσθέα γεγονέναι, πρᾶύνας τὴν ὀργὴν τῆς θεοῦ τὸ θηρίον ἐκόμισεν ἔμπνου εἰς Μυκῆνας.
- 4 Τέταρτον ἄθλον ἐπέταξεν αὐτῷ τὸν Ἐρυμάνθιον κάπρον ζῶντα κομίζειν· τοῦτο δὲ τὸ θηρίον ἠδίκηκε τὴν Ψωφίδα, ὀρμώμενον ἐξ ὄρους ὃ καλοῦσιν Ἐρύμανθον. διερχόμενος οὖν Φολόην ἐπιζενοῦται Κενταύρω Φόλῳ, Σειληνοῦ καὶ νύμφης

¹ Κερυνίτιν Heyne : κερνήτιν E : κερνήτην A.

² κτείνοντα Wagner : κτείναντα EA.

¹ Compare Pindar, *Olymp.* iii. 28 (50) *sqq.*; Euripides, *Hercules Furens*, 375 *sqq.*; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 13. 1; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 265 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 30. Pindar says that in his quest of the hind with the golden horns Hercules had seen "the land at the back of the cold north wind." Hence, as the reindeer is said to be the only species of deer of which the female has antlers, Sir William Ridgeway argues ingeniously that the hind with the golden horns was no other than the reindeer. See his *Early Age of Greece* i. (Cambridge, 1901), pp. 360 *sqq.* Later Greek tradition, as we see from Apollodorus, did not place the native land of the

As a third labour he ordered him to bring the Cerynitian hind alive to Mycenae.¹ Now the hind was at Oenoe; it had golden horns and was sacred to Artemis; so wishing neither to kill nor wound it, Hercules hunted it a whole year. But when, weary with the chase, the beast took refuge on the mountain called Artemisius, and thence passed to the river Ladon, Hercules shot it just as it was about to cross the stream, and catching it put it on his shoulders and hastened through Arcadia. But Artemis with Apollo met him, and would have wrested the hind from him, and rebuked him for attempting to kill her sacred animal.² Howbeit, by pleading necessity and laying the blame on Eurystheus, he appeased the anger of the goddess and carried the beast alive to Mycenae.

As a fourth labour he ordered him to bring the Erymanthian boar alive;³ now that animal ravaged Psophis, sallying from a mountain which they call Erymanthus. So passing through Pholoe he was entertained by the centaur Pholus, a son of Silenus by a

hind so far away. Oenoe was a place in Argolis. Mount Artemisius is the range which divides Argolis from the plain of Mantinea. The Ladon is the most beautiful river of Arcadia, if not of Greece. The river Cerynites, from which the hind took its name, is a river which rises in Arcadia and flows through Achaia into the sea. The modern name of the river is *Bouphousia*. See Pausanias, vii. 25. 5, with my note.

² The hind is said to have borne the inscription, "Taygete dedicated (me) to Artemis." See Pindar, *Olymp.* iii. 29 (53) *sq.*, with the Scholiast.

³ As to the Erymanthian boar and the centaurs, see Sophocles, *Trachiniae*, 1095 *sqq.*; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 12; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 268 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 30. The boar's tusks were said to be preserved in a sanctuary of Apollo at Cumae in Campania (Pausanias, viii. 24. 5).

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μελίας παιδί. οὗτος Ἡρακλεῖ μὲν ὅπτα παρείχε τὰ κρέα, αὐτὸς δὲ ὠμοῖς ἐχρήτο. αἰτοῦντος δὲ οἶνον Ἡρακλέους, ἔφη δεδοικέναι τὸν κοινὸν τῶν Κενταύρων ἀνοῖξαι πίθον· θαρρεῖν δὲ παρακελευσάμενος Ἡρακλῆς αὐτὸν ἤνοιξε, καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ τῆς ὄσμῆς¹ αἰσθόμενοι παρήσαν οἱ Κένταυροι, πέτραις ὠπλισμένοι καὶ ἐλάταις, ἐπὶ τὸ τοῦ Φόλου σπήλαιον. τοὺς μὲν οὖν πρώτους τολμήσαντας εἶσω παρελθεῖν Ἄγχιον καὶ Ἄγριον Ἡρακλῆς ἐτρέψατο βάλλων δαλοῖς, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐτόξευσε διώκων ἄχρι τῆς Μαλέας. ἐκείθεν δὲ πρὸς Χείρωνα συνέφυγον, ὃς ἐξελαθεὶς ὑπὸ Λαπιθῶν ὄρους Πηλίου παρὰ Μαλέαν κατώκησε. τούτῳ περιπεπτωκότας τοὺς Κενταύρους τόξεύων ἴησι βέλος ὃ Ἡρακλῆς, τὸ δὲ ἐνεχθὲν Ἐλάτου διὰ τοῦ βραχίονος τῷ γόνατι τοῦ Χείρωνος ἐμπήγνυται. ἀνιαθεὶς δὲ Ἡρακλῆς προσδραμὼν τό τε βέλος ἐξεῖλκυσε, καὶ δόντος Χείρωνος φάρμακον ἐπέθηκεν. ἀνιάτον δὲ ἔχων τὸ ἔλκος εἰς τὸ σπήλαιον ἀπαλλάσσεται.² κάκει τελευτήσαι βουλόμενος, καὶ μὴ δυνάμενος ἐπεὶπερ ἀθάνατος ἦν, ἀντιδόντος Διὶ Προμηθέως αὐτὸν³ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ γενησόμενον ἀθάνατον, οὕτως ἀπέθανεν. οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ τῶν Κενταύρων φεύγουσιν ἄλλος ἄλλαχῆ, καὶ τινὲς μὲν παρεγένοντο εἰς ὄρος Μαλέαν, Εὐρυτιῶν δὲ εἰς Φολόην, Νέσσος δὲ ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Εὐήνον. τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ὑποδεξάμενος Ποσει-

¹ τῆς ὄσμῆς E: διὰ τῆς ὄσμῆς A.

² ἀπαλλάσσεται Scaliger: ἀλλάσσεται EA.

³ αὐτὸν Wagner: τὸν EA; Προμηθέα τὸν Hemsterhuis on Lucian, *Dialog. Mort.* 26.

Melian nymph.¹ He set roast meat before Hercules, while he himself ate his meat raw. When Hercules called for wine, he said he feared to open the jar which belonged to the centaurs in common.² But Hercules, bidding him be of good courage, opened it, and not long afterwards, scenting the smell, the centaurs arrived at the cave of Pholus, armed with rocks and firs. The first who dared to enter, Anchius and Agrius, were repelled by Hercules with a shower of brands, and the rest of them he shot and pursued as far as Malea. Thence they took refuge with Chiron, who, driven by the Lapiths from Mount Pelion, took up his abode at Malea. As the centaurs cowered about Chiron, Hercules shot an arrow at them, which, passing through the arm of Elatus, stuck in the knee of Chiron. Distressed at this, Hercules ran up to him, drew out the shaft, and applied a medicine which Chiron gave him. But the hurt proving incurable, Chiron retired to the cave and there he wished to die, but he could not, for he was immortal. However, Prometheus offered himself to Zeus to be immortal in his stead, and so Chiron died. The rest of the centaurs fled in different directions, and some came to Mount Malea, and Eurytion to Pholoe, and Nessus to the river Evenus. The rest of them Poseidon received at Eleusis and

¹ As to these nymphs, see Hesiod, *Theog.* 187. The name perhaps means an ash-tree nymph (from *μελία*, an ash-tree), as Dryad means an oak-tree nymph (from *δρῦς*, an oak-tree).

² Compare J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 271; Theocritus, vii. 149 *sq.* The jar had been presented by Dionysus to a centaur with orders not to open it till Hercules came (Diodorus Siculus, iv. 12. 3).

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δῶν εἰς Ἐλευσίνα ὄρει κατεκάλυψεν. Φόλος δὲ¹ ἐλκύσας ἐκ νεκροῦ τὸ βέλος ἐθαύμαζεν, εἰ τοὺς τηλικούτους τὸ μικρὸν διέφθειρε· τὸ δὲ τῆς χειρὸς ὀλισθήσαν ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν πόδα καὶ παραχρῆμα ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτόν. ἐπανελθὼν δὲ εἰς Φολόην Ἡρακλῆς καὶ Φόλον τελευτήσαντα θεασάμενος, θάψας αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ κάπρου θήραν παραγίνεται, καὶ διώξας αὐτὸν ἐκ τινος λόχμης μετὰ κραυγῆς, εἰς χιόνα πολλὴν παρειμένον εἰσωθήσας² ἐμβροχίσας τε ἐκόμισεν εἰς Μυκήνας.

5 Πέμπτον ἐπέταξεν αὐτῷ ἄθλον τῶν Αὐγείου βοσκημάτων ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ μόνον ἐκφορῆσαι τὴν ὄνθον. ἦν δὲ ὁ Αὐγείας βασιλεὺς Ἡλίδος, ὡς μὲν τινες εἶπον, παῖς Ἡλίου, ὡς δέ τινες, Ποσειδῶνος, ὡς δὲ ἔνιοι, Φόρβαντος, πολλὰς δὲ εἶχε βοσκημάτων ποιμένας. τούτῳ προσελθὼν Ἡρακλῆς, οὐ δηλώσας τὴν Εὐρυσθέως ἐπιταγήν, ἔφασκε μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ τὴν ὄνθον ἐκφορῆσειν, εἰ δώσει τὴν δεκάτην αὐτῷ τῶν βοσκημάτων. Αὐγείας δὲ ἀπιστῶν ὑπισχνεῖται. μαρτυράμενος³ δὲ Ἡρακλῆς τὸν Αὐγείου παῖδα Φυλέα, τῆς τε αὐλῆς τὸν θεμέλιον διεῖλε καὶ τὸν Ἀλφειὸν καὶ τὸν Πηνειὸν

¹ Φόλος δὲ . . . θάψας αὐτόν. This passage has been emended by Wagner from the Vatican Epitome (E). In the MSS. of Apollodorus (A) it runs as follows: ἐπανελθὼν δὲ εἰς Φολόην Ἡρακλῆς καὶ Φόλον τελευτῶντα θεασάμενος μετὰ καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν, ἐλκύσας ἐκ νεκροῦ τὸ βέλος ἐθαύμαζεν, εἰ τοὺς τηλικούτους τὸ μικρὸν διέφθειρε· τὸ δὲ τῆς χειρὸς ὀλισθήσαν ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν πόδα καὶ παραχρῆμα ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτόν. θάψας δὲ Φόλον Ἡρακλῆς.

² εἰσωθήσας E: omitted in A. Compare Wagner, *Epitome Vaticana*, pp. 100 sq.; and for the late form of the aorist (εἰσωθήσας for εἰσώσας), see Veitch, *Greek Verbs* (Oxford, 1879), p. 715.

hid them in a mountain. But Pholus, drawing the arrow from a corpse, wondered that so little a thing could kill such big fellows; howbeit, it slipped from his hand and lighting on his foot killed him on the spot.¹ So when Hercules returned to Pholoe, he beheld Pholus dead; and he buried him and proceeded to the boar-hunt. And when he had chased the boar with shouts from a certain thicket, he drove the exhausted animal into deep snow, trapped it, and brought it to Mycenae.

The fifth labour he laid on him was to carry out the dung of the cattle of Augeas in a single day.² Now Augeas was king of Elis; some say that he was a son of the Sun, others that he was a son of Poseidon, and others that he was a son of Phorbias; and he had many herds of cattle. Hercules accosted him, and without revealing the command of Eurystheus, said that he would carry out the dung in one day, if Augeas would give him the tithe of the cattle. Augeas was incredulous, but promised. Having taken Augeas's son Phyleus to witness, Hercules made a breach in the foundations of the cattle-yard, and then, diverting the courses of the Alpheus and Peneus,

¹ Compare Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 294.

² As to Augeas and his cattle-stalls, see Theocritus, xxv. 7 *sqq.*; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 13. 3; Pausanias, v. 1. 9 *sq.*; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 278 *sqq.* (who seems to follow Apollodorus); Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* ii. 629, xi. 700; Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 172; Hyginus, *Fab.* 30. According to the rationalistic Pausanias, the name of the father of Augeas was Eleus (*Eleios*), which was popularly corrupted into *Helios*, "Sun"; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 300.

³ μαρτυρούμενος E, Pediasmus, *De Herculis laboribus*, 5: μαρτυρούμενος A.

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σύεγγυς ρέοντας παροχετεύσας ἐπήγαγεν, ἔκρουν δι' ἄλλης ἐξόδου ποιήσας. μαθὼν δὲ Αὐγείας ὅτι κατ' ἐπιταγὴν Εὐρυσθέως τοῦτο ἐπιτετέλεσται, τὸν μισθὸν οὐκ ἀπεδίδου, προσέτι δ' ἠρνείτο καὶ μισθὸν ὑποσχέσθαι δώσειν, καὶ κρίνεσθαι περὶ τούτου ἔτοιμος ἔλεγεν εἶναι. καθεζομένων δὲ τῶν δικαστῶν κληθεὶς ὁ Φυλεὺς ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους τοῦ πατρὸς κατεμαρτύρησεν, εἰπὼν ὁμολογήσαι μισθὸν δώσειν αὐτῷ. ὀργισθεὶς δὲ Αὐγείας, πρὶν τὴν ψῆφον ἐνεχθῆναι, τὸν τε Φυλέα καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα βαδίζειν ἐξ Ἡλιδος ἐκέλευσε. Φυλεὺς μὲν οὖν εἰς Δουλίχιον ἦλθε κάκει κατόκει, Ἡρακλῆς δὲ εἰς Ὀλενον πρὸς Δεξαμενὸν ἦκε, καὶ κατέλαβε τοῦτον μέλλοντα δι' ἀνάγκην μνηστεύειν Εὐρυτίῳ Κενταύρῳ Μνησιμάχην τὴν θυγατέρα· ὑφ' οὗ παρακληθεὶς βοηθεῖν ἐλθόντα ἐπὶ τὴν νύμφην Εὐρυτίωνα ἀπέκτεινεν. Εὐρυσθεὺς δὲ οὐδὲ τοῦτον ἐν τοῖς δέκα¹ προσεδέξατο τὸν ἄθλον, λέγων ἐπὶ μισθῷ πεπρᾶχθαι.²

- 6 Ἐκτον ἐπέταξεν ἄθλον αὐτῷ τὰς Στυμφαλίδας ὄρνιθας ἐκδιῶξαι. ἦν δὲ ἐν Στυμφάλῳ πόλει τῆς Ἀρκαδίας Στυμφαλὶς λεγομένη λίμνη, πολλῇ συνηρεφῆς ὕλη· εἰς ταύτην ὄρνεις συνέφυγον

¹ δέκα Bekker, Hercher, Wagner : δώδεκα EA, Peditasimus, *De Herculis laboribus*, 5.

² πεπρᾶχθαι E, Wagner. The MSS. appear to read πεπραχέναι, and so Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker and Hercher.

¹ Compare Homer, *Il.* ii. 629, with the Scholiast ; Pausanias, v. i. 10, v. 3. 1 and 3.

² Compare Bacchylides, referred to by the Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* xi. 295 ; Bacchylides, ed. R. C. Jebb, p. 430 ; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 33. 1 ; Pausanias, vii. 18. 1 ; Hyginus, *Fab.* 33.

which flowed near each other, he turned them into the yard, having first made an outlet for the water through another opening. When Augeas learned that this had been accomplished at the command of Eurystheus, he would not pay the reward; nay more, he denied that he had promised to pay it, and on that point he professed himself ready to submit to arbitration. The arbitrators having taken their seats, Phyleus was called by Hercules and bore witness against his father, affirming that he had agreed to give him a reward. In a rage Augeas, before the voting took place, ordered both Phyleus and Hercules to pack out of Elis. So Phyleus went to Dulichium and dwelt there,¹ and Hercules repaired to Dexamenus at Olenus.² He found Dexamenus on the point of betrothing perforce his daughter Mnesimache to the centaur Eurytion, and, being called upon by him for help, he slew Eurytion when that centaur came to fetch his bride. But Eurystheus would not admit this labour either among the ten, alleging that it had been performed for hire.

The sixth labour he enjoined on him was to chase away the Stymphalian birds.³ Now at the city of Stymphalus in Arcadia was the lake called Stymphalian, embosomed in a deep wood. To it countless

³ As to the Stymphalian birds, see Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* ii. 1052-1057, with the Scholiast on 1054; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 13. 2; Strabo, viii. 6. 8, p. 371; Pausanias, viii. 22. 4; Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, vi. 227 sqq.; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 291 sq.; Hyginus, *Fab.* 20 and 30; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 300. These fabulous birds were said to shoot their feathers like arrows. Compare D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson, *Glossary of Greek Birds*, p. 162. From the Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius (*l.c.*) we learn that the use of a brazen rattle to frighten the birds was mentioned both by Pherecydes and Hellanicus.

ἄπλετοι, τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν λύκων ἀρπαγὴν δεδοικυῖαι. ἀμηχανοῦντος οὖν Ἑρακλέους πῶς ἐκ τῆς ὕλης τὰς ὄρνιθας ἐκβάλῃ, χάλκεα κρόταλα δίδωσιν αὐτῷ Ἀθηναῖα παρὰ Ἡφαίστου λαβοῦσα. ταῦτα κρούων ἐπὶ¹ τινοσ ὄρους τῇ λίμνῃ παρακειμένου² τὰς ὄρνιθας ἐφόβει· αἱ δὲ τὸν δούπον οὐχ ὑπομένουσαι μετὰ δέους ἀνίπταντο, καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον Ἑρακλῆς ἐτόξευσεν αὐτάς.

- 7 "Ἐβδομον ἐπέταξεν ἄθλον τὸν Κρήτα ἀγαγεῖν ταῦρον. τοῦτον Ἀκουσίλαος μὲν εἶναί φησι τὸν διαπορθμεύσαντα Εὐρώπην Δίῃ, τινὲς δὲ τὸν ὑπὸ Ποσειδῶνος ἀναδοθέντα ἐκ θαλάσσης, ὅτε καταθύσειν Ποσειδῶνι Μίνως εἶπε τὸ φανὲν ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης. καὶ φασὶ θεασάμενον αὐτὸν τοῦ ταύρου τὸ κάλλος τοῦτον μὲν εἰς τὰ βουκόλια ἀποπέμψαι,³ θῦσαι δὲ ἄλλον Ποσειδῶνι· ἐφ' οἷς ὀργισθέντα τὸν θεὸν ἀγριῶσαι τὸν ταῦρον. ἐπὶ τοῦτον παραγενόμενος εἰς Κρήτην Ἑρακλῆς, ἐπειδὴ συλλαβεῖν⁴ ἀξιούντι Μίνως εἶπεν αὐτῷ λαμβάνειν διαγωνισαμένῳ, λαβὼν καὶ⁵ πρὸς Εὐρυσθέα διακομίσας ἔδειξε, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν εἶασεν ἄνετον· ὁ δὲ πλανηθεὶς εἰς⁶ Σπάρτην τε καὶ Ἀρκαδίαν ἄπασαν, καὶ διαβὰς τὸν Ἰσθμόν, εἰς

¹ ἐπὶ E, Pediasmus, *De Herculis laboribus*, 6: ὑπὸ A.

² παρακειμένου E, Pediasmus, *De Herculis laboribus*, 6: περικειμένου A.

³ ἀποπέμψαι E: ἀποπέμπειν A. ⁴ συλλαβεῖν E: λαβεῖν A.

⁵ λαβὼν καὶ E: καὶ λαβὼν A.

⁶ εἰς E, but apparently absent in A: ἀνὰ Heyne, who, however, would prefer to omit Σπάρτην τε καὶ Ἀρκαδίαν ἄπασαν as an interpolation.

¹ In no other ancient account of the Stymphalian birds, so far as I know, are wolves mentioned. There is perhaps

birds had flocked for refuge, fearing to be preyed upon by the wolves.¹ So when Hercules was at a loss how to drive the birds from the wood, Athena gave him brazen castanets, which she had received from Hephaestus. By clashing these on a certain mountain that overhung the lake, he scared the birds. They could not abide the sound, but fluttered up in a fright, and in that way Hercules shot them.

The seventh labour he enjoined on him was to bring the Cretan Bull.² Acusilaus says that this was the bull that ferried across Europa for Zeus; but some say it was the bull that Poseidon sent up from the sea when Minos promised to sacrifice to Poseidon what should appear out of the sea. And they say that when he saw the beauty of the bull he sent it away to the herds and sacrificed another to Poseidon; at which the god was angry and made the bull savage. To attack this bull Hercules came to Crete, and when, in reply to his request for aid, Minos told him to fight and catch the bull for himself, he caught it and brought it to Eurystheus, and having shown it to him he let it afterwards go free. But the bull roamed to Sparta and all Arcadia, and traversing the

a reminiscence of an ancient legend in the name of the Wolf's Ravine, which is still given to the deep glen, between immense pine-covered slopes, through which the road runs south-westward from Stymphalus to Orchomenus. The glen forms a conspicuous feature in the landscape to anyone seated on the site of the ancient city and looking across the clear shallow water of the lake to the high mountains that bound the valley on the south. See my commentary on Pausanias, vol. iv. p. 269.

² As to the Cretan bull see Diodorus Siculus, iv. 13. 4; Pausanias, i. 27. 9 *sq.*, v. 10. 9; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 293-298 (who seems to follow Apollodorus); Hyginus, *Fab.* 30.

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Μαραθῶνα τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἀφικόμενος τοὺς ἐγχω-
ρίους διελυμαίνεται.

8 Ὀγδοὺν ἄθλον ἐπέταξεν αὐτῷ τὰς Διομήδους
τοῦ Θρακῆς ἵππους εἰς Μυκήνας κομίζειν ἣν δὲ
οὗτος Ἄρεος καὶ Κυρήνης, βασιλεὺς Βιστόνων
ἔθνους Θρακίου καὶ μαχιμωτάτου, εἶχε δὲ ἀνθρω-
ποφάγους ἵππους. πλεύσας οὖν μετὰ τῶν ἐκου-
σίως συνεπομένων καὶ βιασάμενος τοὺς ἐπὶ ταῖς
φάτναις τῶν ἵππων ὑπάρχοντας ἤγαγεν ἐπὶ τὴν
θάλασσαν. τῶν δὲ Βιστόνων σὺν ὅπλοις ἐπι-
βοηθούντων τὰς μὲν ἵππους παρέδωκεν Ἀβδήρῳ¹
φυλάσσειν οὗτος δὲ ἦν Ἑρμοῦ παῖς, Λοκρὸς ἐξ
Ὀποῦντος, Ἡρακλέους ἐρώμενος, ὃν αἱ ἵπποι
διέφθειραν ἐπισπασάμεναι.² πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Βί-
στονας διαγωνισάμενος καὶ Διομήδην ἀποκτείνας
τοὺς λοιποὺς ἠνάγκασε³ φεύγειν, καὶ κτίσας
πόλιν Ἀβδηρα⁴ παρὰ τὸν τάφον τοῦ διαφθα-

¹ Ἀβδήρῳ, E: αὐδήρῳ or ἀνδήρῳ A, Pediasmus, *De Herculis laboribus*, 8.

² For ἐπισπασάμεναι we should perhaps read διασπασάμεναι, "by tearing him in pieces." The mares were man-eating.

³ ἠνάγκασε E, Pediasmus, *De Herculis laboribus*, 8: ἠνάγκασε A.

⁴ Ἀβδηρα E, Wagner: ἀνδηρον A: Ἀβδηρον Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher.

¹ As to the man-eating mares of Diomedes, see Diodorus Siculus, iv. 15. 3 sq.; Philostratus, *Imagines*, ii. 25; Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, vi. 245 sqq.; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 299-308 (who seems to follow Apollodorus, except that he speaks of the animals in the masculine as horses, not mares); Strabo, vii. p. 331, frags. 44 and 47, ed. A. Meineke; Stephanus Byzantius, s.v. Ἀβδηρα; Hyginus, *Fab.* 30 (who gives the names of four horses, not mares). According to Diodorus Siculus (*l.c.*), Hercules killed the Thracian king Diomedes himself by exposing him to his own mares, which devoured

Isthmus arrived at Marathon in Attica and harried the inhabitants.

The eighth labour he enjoined on him was to bring the mares of Diomedes the Thracian to Mycenae.¹ Now this Diomedes was a son of Ares and Cyrene, and he was king of the Bistones, a very war-like Thracian people, and he owned man-eating mares. So Hercules sailed with a band of volunteers, and having overpowered the grooms who were in charge of the mangers, he drove the mares to the sea. When the Bistones in arms came to the rescue, he committed the mares to the guardianship of Abderus, who was a son of Hermes, a native of Opus in Locris, and a minion of Hercules; but the mares killed him by dragging him after them. But Hercules fought against the Bistones, slew Diomedes and compelled the rest to flee. And he founded a city Abdera beside the grave of Abderus who had been done to death,²

him. Further, the historian tells us that when Hercules brought the mares to Eurystheus, the king dedicated them to Hera, and that their descendants existed down to the time of Alexander the Great.

² Compare Strabo, vii. p. 531, frags. 44 and 47, ed. A. Meineke; Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Ἀβδῆρα; Philostratus, *Imagines*, ii. 25. From Philostratus we learn that athletic games were celebrated in honour of Abderus. They comprised boxing, wrestling, the pancratium, and all the other usual contests, with the exception of horse-racing—no doubt because Abderus was said to have been killed by horses. We may compare the rule which excluded horses from the Arician grove, because horses were said to have killed Hippolytus, with whom Virbius, the traditionary founder of the sanctuary, was identified. See Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 761-780; Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 265 *sq.* When we remember that the Thracian king Lycurgus is said to have been killed by horses in order to restore the fertility of the land (see Apollodorus, iii. 5. 1), we may conjecture that the tradition

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ρέντος Ἀβδήρου, τὰς¹ ἵππους κομίσας Εὐρυσθεὶ ἔδωκε. μεθέντος δὲ αὐτὰς Εὐρυσθέως, εἰς τὸ λεγόμενον ὄρος Ὀλυμπον ἔλθοῦσαι πρὸς τῶν θηρίων ἀπώλοντο.

- 9 Ἐνατον ἄθλον Ἡρακλεῖ ἐπέταξε ζωστήρα κομίζειν τὸν Ἴππολύτης. αὕτη δὲ ἐβασίλευεν Ἀμαζόνων, αἱ κατόκουν περὶ τὸν Θερμώδοντα ποταμόν, ἔθνος μέγα τὰ κατὰ πόλεμον ἤσκουν γὰρ ἀνδρίαν, καὶ εἴ ποτε μιγείσαι γεννήσειαν, τὰ θήλεα ἔτρεφον, καὶ τοὺς μὲν δεξιούς μαστοὺς ἐξέθλιβον, ἵνα μὴ κωλύονται ἀκοντίζειν, τοὺς δὲ ἀριστεροὺς εἶων, ἵνα τρέφοιεν. εἶχε δὲ Ἴππολύτης τὸν Ἄρεος ζωστήρα, σύμβολον τοῦ πρωτεύειν ἀπασῶν. ἐπὶ τούτου τὸν ζωστήρα Ἡρακλῆς ἐπέμπετο, λαβεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπιθυμούσης τῆς Εὐρυσθέως θυγατρὸς Ἀδμήτης. παραλαβὼν οὖν ἐθελοντὰς συμμάχους ἐν μιᾷ νηὶ ἔπλει,² καὶ προσίσχει νήσῳ Πάρῳ, ἣν³ κατόκουν οἱ Μίνωος υἱοὶ Εὐρυνέδων Χρύσης Νηφαλίῳ Φιλόλαος. ἀποβάντων⁴ δὲ δύο τῶν ἐν <τῇ>⁵ νηὶ συνέβη τελευτῆσαι ὑπὸ τῶν Μίνωος υἱῶν ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀγανακτῶν

¹ τὰς ER: τοὺς A. ² πλεῖ E. ³ ἦν Faber: καὶ A.

⁴ ἀποβάντων Heyne: ἀπὸ πάντων A. ⁵ τῇ added by Bekker.

of the man-eating mares of Diomedes, another Thracian king who is said to have been killed by horses, points to a custom of human sacrifice performed by means of horses, whether the victim was trampled to death by their hoofs or tied to their tails and rent asunder. If the sacrifice was offered, as the legend of Lycurgus suggests, for the sake of fertilizing the ground, the reason for thus tearing the victim to pieces may have been to scatter the precious life-giving fragments as quickly as possible over the barren earth. *Attis, Osiris*³, ii. 97 sqq. The games at

and bringing the mares he gave them to Eurystheus. But Eurystheus let them go, and they came to Mount Olympus, as it is called, and there they were destroyed by the wild beasts.

The ninth labour he enjoined on Hercules was to bring the belt of Hippolyte.¹ She was queen of the Amazons, who dwelt about the river Thermodon, a people great in war; for they cultivated the manly virtues, and if ever they gave birth to children through intercourse with the other sex, they reared the females; and they pinched off the right breasts that they might not be trammelled by them in throwing the javelin, but they kept the left breasts, that they might suckle. Now Hippolyte had the belt of Ares in token of her superiority to all the rest. Hercules was sent to fetch this belt because Admete, daughter of Eurystheus, desired to get it. So taking with him a band of volunteer comrades in a single ship he set sail and put in to the island of Paros, which was inhabited by the sons of Minos,² to wit, Eurymedon, Chryses, Nephalion, and Philolaus. But it chanced that two of those in the ship landed and were killed by the sons of Minos. Indignant at this, Hercules Abdera are alluded to by the poet Machon, quoted by Athenæus, viii. 41, p. 349 B.

¹ As to the expedition of Hercules to fetch the belt of the Amazon, see Euripides, *Hercules Furens*, 408 *sqq.*; Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* ii. 777 *sqq.*, 966 *sqq.*, with the Scholia on *vv.* 778, 780; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 16; Pausanias, v. 10. 9; Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, vi. 240 *sqq.*; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 309 *sqq.*; *id.* *Schol. on Lycophron*, 1327 (who follows Apollodorus and cites him by name); Hyginus, *Fab.* 30.

² According to Diodorus Siculus (v. 79. 2), Rhadamanthys bestowed the island of Paros on his son Alcaeus. Combined with the evidence of Apollodorus, the tradition points to a Cretan colony in Paros.]

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Ἡρακλῆς τούτους μὲν παραχρῆμα ἀπέκτεινε, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς κατακλείσας ἐπολιόρκει, ἕως ἐπιπρεσβευσάμενοι παρεκάλουν ἀντὶ τῶν ἀναιρεθέντων δύο λαβεῖν, οἷς ἂν αὐτὸς θελήσειεν. ὁ δὲ λύσας τὴν πολιορκίαν, καὶ τοὺς Ἀνδρόγεω τοῦ Μίνωος υἱοὺς ἀνελόμενος Ἀλκαῖον καὶ Σθένελον, ἦκεν εἰς Μυσίαν πρὸς Λύκον τὸν Δασκύλου, καὶ ξενισθεὶς ὑπὸ¹ . . . τοῦ Βεβρύκων βασιλέως συμβαλόντων, βοηθῶν Λύκῳ πολλοὺς ἀπέκτεινε, μεθ' ὧν καὶ τὸν βασιλέα Μύγδονα, ἀδελφὸν Ἀμύκου. καὶ τῆς² Βεβρύκων πολλὴν³ ἀποτεμόμενος γῆν ἔδωκε Λύκῳ· ὁ δὲ πᾶσαν ἐκείνην ἐκάλεσεν Ἡράκλειαν.

Καταπλεύσαντος δὲ εἰς τὸν ἐν Θεμισκύρα λιμένα, παραγενομένης εἰς⁴ αὐτὸν Ἴππολύτης καὶ τίνος ἦκοι χάριν πυθομένης, καὶ δώσειν τὸν ζωστήρα ὑποσχομένης,⁵ Ἡρα μίᾳ τῶν Ἀμαζόνων εἰκασθεῖσα τὸ πλῆθος ἐπεφοίτα, λέγουσα ὅτι⁶ τὴν βασιλίδα ἀφαρπάζουσιν⁷ οἱ προσελθόντες ξένοι. αἱ δὲ μεθ' ὄπλων ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν κατέθεον σὺν ἵπποις.⁸ ὡς δὲ εἶδεν αὐτὰς καθωπλισμένας Ἡρακλῆς, νομίσας ἐκ δόλου τοῦτο γενέσθαι, τὴν μὲν Ἴππολύτην κτείνας τὸν ζωστήρα ἀφαιρεῖται, πρὸς δὲ τὰς λοιπὰς ἀγωνισάμενος ἀποπλεῖ, καὶ προσίσχει Τροία.

Συνεβεβήκει δὲ τότε κατὰ μῆνιν Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ποσειδῶνος ἀτυχεῖν τὴν πόλιν. Ἀπόλλων

¹ The passage is corrupt and defective. Heyne proposed to correct and supply it as follows: καὶ ξενισθεὶς ὑπ' <αὐτοῦ, > τοῦ Βεβρύκων βασιλέως εἰσβαλόντος <εἰς τὴν γῆν, > βοηθῶν. Sommer conjectured ὑπ' <αὐτοῦ, τούτου δὲ καὶ > τοῦ Βεβρύκων βασιλέως συμβαλόντων.

² τῆς Wagner: τὴν A. ³ πολλὴν Heyne: πόλιν A.

killed the sons of Minos on the spot and besieged the rest closely, till they sent envoys to request that in the room of the murdered men he would take two, whom he pleased. So he raised the siege, and taking on board the sons of Androgeus, son of Minos, to wit, Alcaeus and Sthenelus, he came to Mysia, to the court of Lycus, son of Dascylus, and was entertained by him; and in a battle between him and the king of the Bebryces Hercules sided with Lycus and slew many, amongst others King Mygdon, brother of Amycus. And he took much land from the Bebryces and gave it to Lycus, who called it all Heraclea.

Having put in at the harbour of Themiscyra, he received a visit from Hippolyte, who inquired why he was come, and promised to give him the belt. But Hera in the likeness of an Amazon went up and down the multitude saying that the strangers who had arrived were carrying off the queen. So the Amazons in arms charged on horseback down on the ship. But when Hercules saw them in arms, he suspected treachery, and killing Hippolyte stripped her of her belt. And after fighting the rest he sailed away and touched at Troy.

But it chanced that the city was then in distress consequently on the wrath of Apollo and Poseidon. For

⁴ εἰς E, Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 1327: ὡς A.

⁵ ὑποσχομένης Pediasmus (*De Herculis laboribus*, 9), Hercher, Wagner: ὑπισχνουμένης EA.

⁶ ὄτι E, absent apparently in A.

⁷ ἀφ' ἀρκάζουσιν ER: ἀρκάζουσιν A.

⁸ ὄν Ἰπποῖσι omitted by Hercher.

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γὰρ καὶ Ποσειδῶν τὴν Λαομέδοντος ὕβριν πειράσαι θέλοντες, εἰκασθέντες ἀνθρώποις ὑπέσχοντο ἐπὶ μισθῷ τειχεῖν τὸ Πέργαμον. τοῖς δὲ τειχίσασι τὸν μισθὸν οὐκ ἀπέδιδου. διὰ τοῦτο Ἄπόλλων μὲν λοιμὸν ἔπεμψε, Ποσειδῶν δὲ κήτος ἀναφερόμενον ὑπὸ πλημμυρίδος, ὃ τοὺς ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ συνήρπαζεν ἀνθρώπους. χρησμῶν δὲ λεγόντων ἀπαλλαγὴν ἔσεσθαι τῶν συμφορῶν, ἐὰν προθῆ¹ Λαομέδων Ἥσιόνην τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ τῷ κήτει βορὰν, οὗτος² προύθηκε ταῖς πλησίον τῆς θαλάσσης πέτραις προσαρτήσας. ταύτην

¹ προθῆ E: προσθῆ A.

² τῷ κήτει βορὰν, οὗτος E: βορὰν κήτει, ὃ δὲ A.

¹ Compare Homer, *Il.* vii. 452 sq., xxi. 441–457. According to the former of these passages, the walls of Troy were built by Poseidon and Apollo jointly for king Laomedon. But according to the latter passage the walls were built by Poseidon alone, and while he thus toiled as a mason, Apollo served as a herdsman, tending the king's cattle in the wooded glens of Ida. Their period of service lasted for a year, and at the end of it the faithless king not only dismissed the two deities without the stipulated wages which they had honestly earned, but threatened that, if they did not take themselves off, he would tie Apollo hand and foot and sell him for a slave in the islands, not however before he had lopped off the ears of both of them with a knife. Thus insulted as well as robbed, the two gods retired with wrath and indignation at their hearts. This strange tale, told by Homer, is alluded to by Pindar (*Olymp.* viii. 30 (40) sqq.), who adds to it the detail that the two gods took the hero Aeacus with them to aid them in the work of fortification; and the Scholiast on Pindar (pp. 194 sq. ed. Boeckh) explains that, as Troy was fated to be captured, it was necessary that in building the walls the immortals should be assisted by a mortal, else the city would have been impregnable. The sarcastic Lucian tells us (*De sacrificiis*, 4) that both Apollo and Poseidon laboured as bricklayers at the walls of Troy, and that the sum of which the king cheated them was more than thirty

desiring to put the wantonness of Laomedon to the proof, Apollo and Poseidon assumed the likeness of men and undertook to fortify Pergamum for wages. But when they had fortified it, he would not pay them their wages.¹ Therefore Apollo sent a pestilence, and Poseidon a sea monster, which, carried up by a flood, snatched away the people of the plain. But as oracles foretold deliverance from these calamities if Laomedon would expose his daughter Hesione to be devoured by the sea monster, he exposed her by fastening her to the rocks near the sea.²

Trojan drachmas. The fraud is alluded to by Virgil (*Georg.* i. 502) and Horace (*Odes*, iii. 3. 21 *sq.*). Compare Hyginus, *Fab.* 89; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xi. 194 *sqq.*; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 157; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 43 *sq.*, 138 (First Vatican Mythographer, 136; Second Vatican Mythographer, 193). Homer does not explain why Apollo and Poseidon took service with Laomedon, but his Scholiast (on *Il.* xxi. 444), in agreement with Tzetzes (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 34), says that their service was a punishment inflicted on them by Zeus for a conspiracy into which some of the gods had entered for the purpose of putting him, the supreme god, in bonds. The conspiracy is mentioned by Homer (*Il.* i. 399 *sqq.*), who names Poseidon, Hera, and Athena, but not Apollo, among the conspirators; their nefarious design was defeated by the intervention of Thetis and the hundred-handed giant Briareus. We have already heard of Apollo serving a man in the capacity of neatherd as a punishment for murder perpetrated by the deity (see above, i. 9. 15, with the note). These backstair chronicles of Olympus shed a curious light on the early Greek conception of divinity.

² For the story of the rescue of Hesione by Hercules, see Diodorus Siculus, iv. 42; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xx. 146; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 34; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xi. 211 *sqq.*; Valerius Flaccus, *Argon.* ii. 451 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 89; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 157; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 44 (First Vatican Mythographer, 136). A curious variant

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ἰδὼν ἐκκειμένην Ἡρακλῆς ὑπέσχετο σώσειν,¹ εἰ τὰς ἵππους παρὰ Λαομέδοντος λήψεται ἄς Ζεὺς ποιήνῃ τῆς Γανυμήδους ἀρπαγῆς ἔδωκε. δώσειν δὲ Λαομέδοντος εἰπόντος, κτείνας τὸ κῆτος Ἡσιόνην ἔσωσε. μὴ βουλομένου δὲ τὸν μισθὸν ἀποδοῦναι, πολεμήσειν Τροίᾳ² ἀπειλήσας ἀνήχθη.

Καὶ προσίσχει Αἴνω, ἔνθα ξενίζεται ὑπὸ Πόλτνος. ἀποπλέων δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ἡϊόνος τῆς Αἰνίας Σαρπηδόνα, Ποσειδῶνος μὲν υἱὸν ἀδελφὸν δὲ Πόλτμος, ὑβριστὴν ὄντα τοξεύσας ἀπέκτεινε. καὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς Θάσον καὶ χειρωσάμενος τοὺς ἐνοικούντας Θράκας ἔδωκε τοῖς Ἀνδρόγεω παισὶ κατοικεῖν. ἐκ Θάσου δὲ ὄρμηθεις ἐπὶ Τωρώνῃ Πολύγονον καὶ Τηλέγονον, τοὺς Πρωτέως τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος υἱούς, παλαίειν προκαλουμένους κατὰ τὴν πάλην ἀπέκτεινε. κομίσας δὲ τὸν ζωστήρα εἰς Μυκῆνας ἔδωκεν Εὐρυσθεῖ.

¹ σώσειν E: σώσειν αὐτὴν A.

² Τροίᾳ E: Τροίαν A.

of the story is told, without mention of Hesione, by the Second Vatican Mythographer (*Fab.* 193, vol. i. p. 138, ed. G. H. Bode). Tzetzes says that Hercules, in full armour, leaped into the jaws of the sea-monster, and was in its belly for three days hewing and hacking it, and that at the end of the three days he came forth without any hair on his head. The Scholiast on Homer (*l.c.*) tells the tale similarly, and refers to Hellanicus as his authority. The story of Hercules and Hesione corresponds closely to that of Perseus and Andromeda (see Apollodorus, ii. 4. 3). Both tales may have originated in a custom of sacrificing maidens to be the brides of the Sea. Compare *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, ii. 150 *sqq.*

¹ The horses were given by Zeus to Tros, the father of Ganymede. See Homer, *Il.* v. 265 *sqq.*; *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, 210 *sq.*; Pausanias, v. 24. 5. According to

Seeing her exposed, Hercules promised to save her on condition of receiving from Laomedon the mares which Zeus had given in compensation for the rape of Ganymede.¹ On Laomedon's saying that he would give them, Hercules killed the monster and saved Hesione. But when Laomedon would not give the stipulated reward,² Hercules put to sea after threatening to make war on Troy.³

And he touched at Aenus, where he was entertained by Poltys. And as he was sailing away he shot and killed on the Aenian beach a lewd fellow, Sarpedon, son of Poseidon and brother of Poltys. And having come to Thasos and subjugated the Thracians who dwelt in the island, he gave it to the sons of Androgeus to dwell in. From Thasos he proceeded to Torone, and there, being challenged to wrestle by Polygonus and Telegonus, sons of Proteus, son of Poseidon, he killed them in the wrestling match.⁴ And having brought the belt to Mycenae he gave it to Eurystheus.

another account, which had the support of a Cyclic poet, the compensation given to the bereaved father took the shape, not of horses, but of a golden vine wrought by Hephaestus. See Scholiast on Euripides, *Orestes*. 1391. As the duty of Ganymede was to pour the red nectar from a golden bowl in heaven (*Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, 206), there would be a certain suitability in the bestowal of a golden vine to replace him in his earthly home.

¹ As to the refusal of Laomedon to give the horses to Hercules, see Homer, *Il.* v. 638-651, xxi. 441-457; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xi. 213 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 69. Laomedon twice broke his word, first to Poseidon and Apollo and afterwards to Hercules. Hence Ovid speaks of "the twice-perjured walls of Troy" (*Metamorph.* xi. 215).

² As to the siege and capture of Troy by Hercules, see below, ii. 6. 4.

⁴ Compare J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 320 *sq.*

APOLLODORUS

10 Δέκατον ἐπετάγη¹ ἄθλον τὰς Γηρυόου βόας² ἐξ Ἐρυθείας κομίζειν. Ἐρύθεια δὲ ἦν Ὀκεανοῦ πλησίον κειμένη νῆσος, ἣ νῦν Γάδαιρα καλεῖται. ταύτην κατῴκει Γηρυόνης Χρυσάορος καὶ Καλλιρρόης τῆς Ὀκεανοῦ, τριῶν ἔχων ἀνδρῶν συμφυῆς σῶμα, συνηγμένον³ εἰς ἓν κατὰ τὴν γαστέρα, ἐσχισμένον δὲ⁴ εἰς τρεῖς ἀπὸ λαγόνων τε καὶ μηρῶν. εἶχε δὲ φοινικᾶς βόας, ὧν ἦν βουκόλος Εὐρυτίων, φύλαξ δὲ Ὀρθος⁵ ὁ κύων δικέφαλος ἐξ Ἐχίδνης καὶ Τυφῶνος γεγεννημένος.⁶ πορευόμενος οὖν ἐπὶ τὰς Γηρυόου βόας διὰ τῆς Εὐρώπης, ἄγρια πολλὰ <ζῶα> ἀνελὼν⁷ Λιβύης ἐπέβαινε,⁸ καὶ παρελθὼν Ταρτησσὸν ἔστησε σημεῖα τῆς πορείας ἐπὶ τῶν ὄρων Εὐρώπης καὶ Λιβύης

¹ ἐπετάγη E: δὲ ἐτάγη A. ² βόας E: βοῦς A.

³ συνηγμένον μὲν Bekker. ⁴ δὲ Heyne: τε A.

⁵ Ὀρθος Pediasmus, *De Herculis laboribus*, 10: Ὀρθος A. See exegetical note on this passage.

⁶ γεγεννημένος BC.

⁷ πόλλα <ζῶα> ἀνελὼν Wagner (comparing Diodorus Siculus, iv. 17. 3): πόλλα παρελθὼν A.

⁸ ἐπέβη Scholiast on Plato, *Timaeus*, p. 24 E, Hercher.

¹ As to Hercules and the cattle of Geryon, see Hesiod, *Theog.* 287–294, 979–983; Pindar, *Frag.* 169 (151), ed. Sandys; Herodotus, iv. 8; Plato, *Gorgias*, 39, p. 484 B; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 17 sq.; Pausanias, iii. 18. 13, iv. 36. 3; Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, vi. 249 sqq.; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 322–352 (who seems to follow Apollodorus); Scholiast on Plato, *Timaeus*, p. 24 E; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* iv. 120; Solinus, xxiii. 12; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 300.

² Compare Herodotus, iv. 8; Strabo, iii. 2. 11, p. 148, iii. 5 4, p. 169; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* iv. 120; Solinus, xxiii. 12. Gadir is Cadiz. According to Pliny (*l.c.*), the name is derived from a Punic word *gadīr*, meaning “hedge.” Compare Dionysius, *Perieg.* 453 sqq. The same word *agadir* is still

As a tenth labour he was ordered to fetch the kine of Geryon from Erythia.¹ Now Erythia was an island near the ocean; it is now called Gadira.² This island was inhabited by Geryon, son of Chrysaor by Callirrhoe, daughter of Ocean. He had the body of three men grown together and joined in one at the waist, but parted in three from the flanks and thighs.³ He owned red kine, of which Eurytion was the herdsman and Orthus,⁴ the two-headed hound, begotten by Typhon on Echidna, was the watch-dog. So journeying through Europe to fetch the kine of Geryon he destroyed many wild beasts and set foot in Libya,⁵ and proceeding to Tartessus he erected as tokens of his journey two pillars over against each

used in the south of Morocco in the sense of "fortified house," and many places in that country bear the name. Amongst them the port of Agadir is the best known. See E. Doutté, *En tribu* (Paris, 1914), pp. 50 sq. The other name of the island is given by Solinus (*l.c.*) in the form Erythrea, and by Mela (iii. 47) in the form Eythria.

² As to the triple form of Geryon, compare Hesiod, *Theog.* 287; Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, 870; Euripides, *Hercules Furens*, 423 sq.; Scholiast on Plato, *Timaeus*, p. 24 E; Pausanias, v. 19. 1; Lucian, *Toxaris*, 62; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 652; Lucretius, v. 28; Horace, *Odes*, ii. 14. 7 sq.; Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 289; Ovid, *Metamorph.* ix. 184 sq.; Hyginus, *Fab.* 30 and 151.

⁴ The watchdog's name is variously given as Orthus (*Orthos*) and Orthrus (*Orthros*). See Hesiod, *Theog.* 293 (where *Orthos* seems to be the better reading); Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Post-homerica*, vi. 253 (*Orthros*); Scholiast on Pindar, *Isthm.* i. 13 (15) (*Orthos*); Scholiast on Plato, *Timaeus*, p. 24 E (*Orthros*, so Stallbaum); J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 333 (*Orthros*); Pediasmus, *De Herculis laboribus*, 10 (*Orthos*); Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 300 (*Orthrus*).

⁵ Compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 17. 3 sq., who says that Hercules completely cleared Crete of wild beasts, and that he subdued many of the wild beasts in the deserts of Libya and rendered the land fertile and prosperous.

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ἀντιστοιχοῦς δύο στήλας. θερόμενος¹ δὲ ὑπὸ Ἡλίου κατὰ τὴν πορείαν, τὸ τόξον ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν ἐνέτεινεν· ὁ δὲ τὴν ἀνδρείαν αὐτοῦ θαυμάσας χρύσειον ἔδωκε δέπας, ἐν ᾧ τὸν Ὠκεανὸν διεπέρασε. καὶ παραγεγόμενος εἰς Ἐρύθειαν ἐν ὄρει Ἄβαντι αὐλίζεται. αἰσθόμενος δὲ ὁ κύων ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὤρμα· ὁ δὲ καὶ τοῦτον τῷ ῥοπάλῳ παίει,

¹ θερόμενος R, Pediasmus, *De Herculis laboribus*, 10: θερμαινόμενος A.

¹ The opinions of the ancients were much divided on the subject of the Pillars of Hercules. See Strabo, iii. 5. 5, pp. 169–172. The usual opinion apparently identified them with the rock of Calpe (Gibraltar) and the rock of Abyla, Abila, or Abylica (Ceuta) on the northern and southern sides of the straits. See Strabo, iii. 5. 5, p. 170; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 649; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* iii. 4; Mela, i. 27, ii. 95; Martianus Capella, vi. 624. Further, it seems to have been commonly supposed that before the time of Hercules the two continents were here joined by an isthmus, and that the hero cut through the isthmus and so created the straits. See Diodorus Siculus, iv. 18. 5; Seneca, *Hercules furens*, 235 sqq.; *id. Hercules Octaeus*, 1240; Pliny, *l.c.*; Mela, i. 27; Martianus Capella, vi. 625. Some people, however, on the contrary, thought that the straits were formerly wider, and that Hercules narrowed them to prevent the monsters of the Atlantic ocean from bursting into the Mediterranean (Diodorus Siculus, *l.c.*). An entirely different opinion identified the Pillars of Hercules with two brazen pillars in the sanctuary of Hercules at Gadira (Cadiz), on which was engraved an inscription recording the cost of building the temple. See Strabo, iii. 5. 5, p. 170; compare Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* ii. 242, who speaks of “the columns of Hercules consecrated at Gadira.” For other references to the Pillars of Hercules, see Pindar, *Olymp.* iii. 43 sq., *Nem.* iii. 21, *Isthm.* iv. 11 sq.; Athenaeus, vii. 98, p. 315 CD; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 339 (who here calls the pillars Alybe and Abinna); Scholiast on Plato, *Timaeus*, p. 24 E; Dionysius, *Orbis Descriptio*, 64–68, with the commentary of Eustathius (*Geographi Graeci*

other at the boundaries of Europe and Libya.¹ But being heated by the Sun on his journey, he bent his bow at the god, who in admiration of his hardihood, gave him a golden goblet in which he crossed the ocean.² And having reached Erythia he lodged on Mount Abas. However the dog, perceiving him, rushed at him; but he smote it with his club, and

Minores, ed. C. Müller, ii. pp. 107, 228). According to Eustathius (*l.c.*), Calpe was the name given to the rock of Gibraltar by the barbarians, but its Greek name was Alybe; and the rock of Ceuta was called Abenna by the barbarians but by the Greeks Cyngetica, that is, the Hunter's Rock. He tells us further that the pillars were formerly named the Pillars of Cronus, and afterwards the Pillars of Briareus.

² Apollodorus seems to be here following Pherecydes, as we learn from a passage which Athenaeus (xi. 39, p. 470 c d) quotes from the third book of Pherecydes as follows: "And Hercules drew his bow at him as if he would shoot, and the Sun bade him give over; so Hercules feared and gave over. And in return the Sun bestowed on him the golden goblet which carried him with his horses, when he set, through the Ocean all night to the east, where the Sun rises. Then Hercules journeyed in that goblet to Erythia. And when he was on the open sea, Ocean, to make trial of him, caused the goblet to heave wildly on the waves. Hercules was about to shoot him with an arrow; and the Ocean was afraid, and bade him give over." Stesichorus described the Sun embarking in a golden goblet that he might cross the ocean in the darkness of night and come to his mother, his wedded wife, and children dear. See Athenaeus, xi. 38, p. 468 e; compare *id.* xi. 16, p. 781 d. The voyage of Hercules in the golden goblet was also related by the early poets Pisander and Panyasis in the poems, both called *Heraclia*, which they devoted to the exploits of the great hero. See Athenaeus, xi. 38, p. 469 d; compare Macrobius, *Saturn.*, v. 21. 16 and 19. Another poet, Mimnermus, supposed that at night the weary Sun slept in a golden bed, which floated across the sea to Ethiopia, where a chariot with fresh horses stood ready for him to mount and resume his daily journey across the sky. See Athenaeus, xi. 39, p. 470 a.

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καὶ τὸν βουκόλον Εὐρυτίωνα τῷ κυνὶ βοηθοῦντα ἀπέκτεινε. Μενόιτης δὲ ἐκεῖ τὰς "Αἰδου βόας βόσκων Γηρυόνη τὸ γεγονός ἀπήγγειλεν. ὁ δὲ καταλαβὼν Ἡρακλέα παρὰ ποταμὸν Ἀνθεμόντα τὰς βόας ἀπάγοντα, συστησάμενος μάχην τοξευθεὶς ἀπέθανεν. Ἡρακλῆς δὲ ἐνθήμενος τὰς βόας εἰς τὸ δέπας καὶ διαπλεύσας εἰς Ταρτησσὸν Ἠλίῳ πάλιν ἀπέδωκε τὸ δέπας.

Διελθὼν δὲ Ἀβδηρίαν¹ εἰς Λιγυστίην² ἦλθεν, ἐν ἣ τὰς βόας ἀφηροῦντο Ἰαλεβίων³ τε καὶ Δέρκυνος οἱ Ποσειδῶνος υἱοί, οὓς κτείνας διὰ Τυρρηνίας ἤει. ἀπὸ Ῥηγίου δὲ εἰς ἀπορρήγνυσι ταῦρος,

¹ Ἀβδηρίαν Heyne: αὐδηρίαν or ἀνδηρίαν A: Ἰβηρίαν Gale.

² Λυγιστίην Gale (compare Diodorus Siculus iv. 19. 4, ἐποίησατο τὴν πορείαν διὰ τῆς Λιγυστικῆς): Λιγύην Heyne, conjecturing Λίγυας: Λιβύην A, J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 340.

³ Ἰαλεβίων R: ἀλεβίων A.

¹ Compare Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 652, who probably follows Apollodorus.

² Abderia, the territory of Abdera, a Phoenician city of southern Spain, not to be confused with the better known Abdera in Thrace. See Strabo, iii. 4. 3, p. 157; Stephanus Byzantius, s.v. Ἀβδηρα.

³ Apollodorus has much abridged a famous adventure of Hercules in Liguria. Passing through the country with the herds of Geryon, he was attacked by a great multitude of the warlike natives, who tried to rob him of the cattle. For a time he repelled them with his bow, but his supply of arrows running short he was reduced to great straits; for the ground, being soft earth, afforded no stones to be used as missiles. So he prayed to his father Zeus, and the god in pity rained down stones from the sky; and by picking them up and hurling them at his foes, the hero was able to turn the tables on them. The place where this adventure took place was said to be a plain between Marseilles and the Rhone, which was called the Stony Plain on account of the vast quantity of stones, about as large as a man's hand,

when the herdsman Eurytion came to the help of the dog, Hercules killed him also. But Menoetes, who was there pasturing the kine of Hades, reported to Geryon what had occurred, and he, coming up with Hercules beside the river Anthemus,¹ as he was driving away the kine, joined battle with him and was shot dead. And Hercules, embarking the kine in the goblet and sailing across to Tartessus, gave back the goblet to the Sun.

And passing through Abderia² he came to Liguria,³ where Ialebion and Dercynus, sons of Poseidon, attempted to rob him of the kine, but he killed them⁴ and went on his way through Tyrrhenia. But at Rhegium a bull broke away⁵

which were scattered thickly over it. In his play *Prometheus Unbound*, Aeschylus introduced this story in the form of a prediction put in the mouth of Prometheus and addressed to his deliverer Hercules. See Strabo, iv. 1. 7, pp. 182 *sq.*; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiq. Rom.* i. 41; Eustathius, *Commentary on Dionysius Periegetes*, 76 (*Geographi Graeci Minores*, ed. C. Müller, ii. 231); Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 6; *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck², pp. 66 *sq.* The Stony Plain is now called the Plaine de la Crau. It "attracts the attention of all travellers between Arles and Marseilles, since it is intersected by the railway that joins those two cities. It forms a wide level area, extending for many square miles, which is covered with round rolled stones from the size of a pebble to that of a man's head. These are supposed to have been brought down from the Alps by the Durance at some early period, when this plain was submerged and formed the bed of what was then a bay of the Mediterranean at the mouth of that river and the Rhone" (H. F. Tozer, *Selections from Strabo*, p. 117).

⁴ Compare J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 340 *sqq.*, who calls the victims Dercynus and Alebion.

⁵ The author clearly derives the name of Rhegium from this incident (*Ῥήγιον* from *ἀπορρήγνυσι*). The story of the escape of the bull, or heifer, and the pursuit of it by Hercules was told by Hellanicus. See Dionysius Halicarnasensis,

καὶ ταχέως εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἔμπεσὼν καὶ διανη-
 ξάμενος <εἰς> Σικελίαν, καὶ τὴν πλησίον χώραν
 διελθὼν [τὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνου κληθεῖσαν Ἰταλίαν
 (Τυρρηνοὶ γὰρ ἰταλὸν τὸν ταῦρον ἐκάλεσαν),]¹
 ἦλθεν εἰς πεδῖον Ἐρυκος, ὃς ἐβασίλευεν Ἐλύμων.
 Ἐρυξ δὲ ἦν Ποσειδῶνος παῖς, ὃς τὸν ταῦρον ταῖς
 ἰδίαις συγκατέμιξεν ἀγέλαις. παραθέμενος οὖν
 τὰς βόας Ἡρακλῆς Ἡφαίστῳ ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ
 ζήτησιν ἠπέιγετο· εὐρῶν δὲ ἐν ταῖς τοῦ Ἐρυκος
 ἀγέλαις, λέγοντος οὐ δώσειν ἂν μὴ παλαίσας
 αὐτοῦ περιγένηται, τρεῖς περιγεγόμενος κατὰ τὴν
 πάλην ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ τὸν ταῦρον λαβὼν μετὰ τῶν
 ἄλλων ἐπὶ τὸν Ἴόνιον ἤλαυνε πόντον. ὥς δὲ
 ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τοὺς μυχοὺς τοῦ πόντου, ταῖς βουσὶν
 οἰστρον ἐνέβαλεν ἢ Ἡρα, καὶ σχίζονται κατὰ
 τὰς τῆς Θράκης ὑπωρείας· ὁ δὲ διώξας τὰς μὲν
 συλλαβὼν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἤγαγεν, αἱ δὲ
 ἀπολειφθεῖσαι τὸ λοιπὸν ἦσαν ἄγριαι. μόλις δὲ
 τῶν βοῶν συνελθουσῶν Στρυμόνα μεμψάμενος
 τὸν ποταμόν, πάλαι τὸ ρεῖθρον πλωτὸν ὄν ἐμ-
 πλήσας πέτραις ἄπλωτον ἐποίησε, καὶ τὰς βόας

¹ τὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνου . . . ἐκάλεσαν omitted by Wagner. Heyne proposed to omit these words, together with the preceding καὶ τὴν πλησίον χώραν διελθὼν, and he is followed by Hercher.

Antiq. Rom. i. 35. 2. It is somewhat singular that Apollodorus passes so lightly over the exploits of Hercules in Italy, and in particular that he says nothing about those adventures of his at Rome, to which the Romans attached much significance. For the Italian adventures of the hero, and his sojourn in Rome, see Diodorus Siculus, iv. 20-22; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiq. Rom.* i. 34 sq., 38-44; Propertius, iv. 9; Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 201 sqq.; Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 543 sqq. On the popularity of the worship of Hercules in Italy, see

and hastily plunging into the sea swam across to Sicily, and having passed through the neighbouring country since called Italy after it, for the Tyrrhenians called the bull *italus*,¹ came to the plain of Eryx, who reigned over the Elymi.² Now Eryx was a son of Poseidon, and he mingled the bull with his own herds. So Hercules entrusted the kine to Hephaestus and hurried away in search of the bull. He found it in the herds of Eryx, and when the king refused to surrender it unless Hercules should beat him in a wrestling bout, Hercules beat him thrice, killed him in the wrestling, and taking the bull drove it with the rest of the herd to the Ionian Sea. But when he came to the creeks of the sea, Hera afflicted the cows with a gadfly, and they dispersed among the skirts of the mountains of Thrace. Hercules went in pursuit, and having caught some, drove them to the Hellespont; but the remainder were thenceforth wild.³ Having with difficulty collected the cows, Hercules blamed the river Strymon, and whereas it had been navigable before, he made it unnavigable by filling it with rocks; and he

Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiq. Rom.* i. 40. 6, who says: "And in many other parts of Italy (besides Rome) precincts are consecrated to the god, and altars are set up both in cities and beside roads; and hardly will you find a place in Italy where the god is not honoured."

¹ Some of the ancients supposed that the name of Italy was derived from the Latin *vitulus*, "a calf." See Varro, *Rerum Rusticarum*, ii. 1. 9; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiq. Rom.* i. 35. 2; compare Aulus Gellius, xi. 1. 2.

² As to Hercules and Eryx, see Diodorus Siculus, iv. 23. 2; Pausanias, iii. 16. 4 *sq.*, iv. 36. 4; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 346 *sqq.*; *id. Schol. on Lycophron*, 866; Virgil, *Aen.* v. 410 *sqq.*; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* i. 570.

³ The story was apparently told to account for the origin of wild cattle in Thrace.

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Εὐρυσθεὶ κομίσας δέδωκεν. ὁ δὲ αὐτὰς κατέ-
θυσεν Ἡρα.

- 11 Τελεσθέντων δὲ τῶν ἄθλων ἐν μηνὶ καὶ ἔτεσιν ὀκτώ, μὴ προσδεξάμενος Εὐρυσθεὺς τὸν τε τῶν τοῦ Αὐγείου βοσκημάτων καὶ τὸν τῆς ὕδρας, ἐνδέ-

¹ This period for the completion of the labours of Hercules is mentioned also by the Scholiast on Homer (*Il.* viii. 368) and Tzetzes (*Chiliades*, ii. 353 sq.), both of whom, however, may have had the present passage of Apollodorus before them. It is possible that the period refers to the eight years' cycle, which figured prominently in the religious calendar of the ancient Greeks; for example, the Pythian games were originally held at intervals of eight years. See Geminus, *Element. Astron.* viii. 25 sqq. ed. C. Manitius; Censorinus, *De die natali*, 18. It is to be remembered that the period of service performed by Hercules for Eurystheus was an expiation for the murder of his children (see Apollodorus, ii. 4. 12). Now Cadmus is said to have served Ares for eight years as an expiation for the slaughter of the dragon, the offspring of Ares (see Apollodorus, iii. 4. 2). But in those days, we are told, the "eternal year" comprised eight common years (Apollodorus, *l.c.*). Now Apollo served Admetus for a year as an expiation for the slaughter of the Cyclopes (Apollodorus, iii. 10. 4); but according to Servius (on Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 761), the period of Apollo's service was not one but nine years. In making this statement Servius, or his authority, probably had before him a Greek author, who mentioned an *ἐννεατηρῆς* as the period of Apollo's service. But though *ἐννεατηρῆς* means literally "nine years," the period, in consequence of the Greek mode of reckoning, was actually equivalent to eight years (compare Celsus, *De die natali*, 18. 4, "*Octaeteris facta, quae tunc enneateris vocitata, quia primus ejus annus nono quoque anno redibat*"). These legends about the servitude of Cadmus, Apollo, and Hercules for eight years, render it probable that in ancient times Greek homicides were banished for eight years, and had during that time to do penance by serving a foreigner. Now this period of eight years was called a "great year" (Censorinus, *De die natali*, 18. 5), and the period of banishment for a homicide was regularly a

conveyed the kine and gave them to Eurystheus, who sacrificed them to Hera.

When the labours had been performed in eight years and a month,¹ Eurystheus ordered Hercules, as an eleventh labour, to fetch golden apples from the

year. See Apollodorus, ii. 8. 3; Euripides, *Hippolytus*, 34-37, *id. Orestes*, 1643-1645; Nicolaus Damascenus, *Frag.* 20 (*Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, ed. C. Müller, iii. 369); Hesychius, *s.v.* ἀπειαντισμός; Suidas, *s.v.* ἀπειαντισμα. Hence it seems probable that, though in later times the period of a homicide's banishment was a single ordinary year, it may formerly have been a "great year," or period of eight ordinary years. It deserves to be noted that any god who had forsworn himself by the Styx had to expiate his fault by silence and fasting for a full year, after which he was banished the company of the gods for nine years (Hesiod, *Theog.* 793-804); and further that any man who partook of human flesh in the rites of Lycaean Zeus was supposed to be turned into a wolf for nine years. See Pausanias, viii. 2; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* viii. 81; Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, xviii. 17. These notions point to a nine years' period of expiation, which may have been observed in some places instead of the eight years' period. In the present passage of Apollodorus, the addition of a month to the eight years' period creates a difficulty which I am unable to explain. Ancient mathematicians defined a "great year" as the period at the end of which the sun, moon, and planets again occupy the same positions relatively to each other which they occupied at the beginning; but on the length of the period opinions were much divided. See Cicero, *De natura deorum*, ii. 20. 51 *sq.* Different, apparently, from the "great year" was the "revolving" (*vertens*) or "mundane" (*mundanus*) year, which was the period at the end of which, not only the sun, moon, and planets, but also the so-called fixed stars again occupy the positions relatively to each other which they occupied at the beginning; for the ancients recognized that the so-called fixed stars do move, though their motion is imperceptible to our senses. The length of a "revolving" or "mundane" year was calculated by ancient physicists at fifteen thousand years. See Cicero, *Somnium Scipionis*, 7, with the commentary of Macrobius, ii. 11.

APOLLODORUS

κατον ἐπέταξεν ἄθλον παρ' Ἑσπερίδων χρύσεια μῆλα κομίζειν.¹ ταῦτα δὲ ἦν, οὐχ ὡς τινες εἶπον ἐν Λιβύῃ, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἄτλαντος ἐν Ἑσπεροβόροις· ἃ Διὶ <Γῆ> γήμαντι Ἦραν² ἔδωρήσατο. ἐφύλασσε δὲ αὐτὰ δράκων ἀθάνατος, Τυφῶνος καὶ Ἐχίδνης, κεφαλὰς ἔχων ἑκατόν· ἐχρήτο δὲ φωναῖς παντοίαις καὶ ποικίλαις. μετὰ τούτου δὲ Ἑσπερίδες ἐφύλαττον, Αἴγλη Ἐρύθεια Ἑσπερία Ἀρέθουσα.³ πορευόμενος οὖν ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Ἐχέδωρον ἦκε. Κύκνος δὲ Ἄρεος καὶ Πυρρήνης εἰς μονομαχίαν αὐτὸν προεκαλεῖτο. Ἄρεος δὲ τούτου ἐκδικούντος καὶ συνιστάντος μονομαχίαν, βληθεὶς κεραυνὸς μέσος ἀμφοτέρων διαλύει τὴν

¹ κομίζειν Aegius: κομίσων R.A.

² Διὶ <Γῆ> γήμαντι Ἦραν Valckenar (comparing Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 1396): Διὶ γήμαντι Ἦρα A.

³ Ἑσπερία Ἀρέθουσα Gale, Aegius: ἑστία ἐρέθουσα A.

¹ As to the apples of the Hesperides, see Hesiod, *Theog.* 215 sq.; Euripides, *Hercules Furens*, 394 sqq.; Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 1396 sqq., with the Scholiast on 1396; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 26; Pausanias, v. 11. 6, v. 18. 4, vi. 19. 8; Eratosthenes, *Cataster.* 3; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 355 sqq.; Ovid, *Metamorph.* iv. 637 sqq., ix. 190; Hyginus, *Fab.* 30; *id.* *Astronom.* ii. 3; *Scholia in Caesaris Germanici Aratea*, pp. 382 sq., in Martianus Capella, ed. Fr. Eyssenhardt; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 13 sq., 130 (First Vatican Mythographer, 38; Second Vatican Mythographer, 161). From the Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius (*l.c.*) we learn that the story of Hercules and the apples of the Hesperides was told by Pherecydes in the second book of his work on the marriage of Hera. The close resemblance which the Scholiast's narrative bears to that of Apollodorus seems to show that here, as in many other places, our author followed Pherecydes. The account given by Pherecydes of the origin of the golden apples is as follows. When Zeus married Hera, the gods brought presents to the bride. Among the rest, Earth brought golden apples, which Hera so much admired that she ordered them to be planted in the garden

Hesperides,¹ for he did not acknowledge the labour of the cattle of Augeas nor that of the hydra. These apples were not, as some have said, in Libya, but on Atlas among the Hyperboreans.² They were presented by Earth to Zeus after his marriage with Hera, and guarded by an immortal dragon with a hundred heads, offspring of Typhon and Echidna, which spoke with many and divers sorts of voices. With it the Hesperides also were on guard, to wit, Aegle, Erythia, Hesperia, and Arethusa. So journeying he came to the river Echedorus. And Cynus, son of Ares and Pyrene, challenged him to single combat. Ares championed the cause of Cynus and marshalled the combat, but a thunderbolt was hurled between the two and parted the combatants.³ And going on

of the gods beside Mount Atlas. But, as the daughters of Atlas used to pilfer the golden fruit, she set a huge serpent to guard the tree. Such is the story told, on the authority of Pherecydes, by Eratosthenes, Hyginus (*Astronom.* ii. 3), and the Scholiast on the *Aratea* of Germanicus.

² Here Apollodorus departs from the usual version, which placed the gardens of the Hesperides in the far west, not the far north. We have seen that Hercules is said to have gone to the far north to fetch the hind with the golden horns (see above, ii. 5. 3 note); also he is reported to have brought from the land of the Hyperboreans the olive spray which was to form the victor's crown at the Olympic games. See Pindar, *Olymp.* iii. 11 (20) *sqq.*; Pausanias, v. 7. 7, compare *id.* v. 15. 3.

³ Compare Hyginus, *Fab.* 31, who describes the intervention of Mars (Ares) on the side of his son Cynus, and the fall of the thunderbolt which parted the combatants; yet he says that Hercules killed Cynus. This combat, which, according to Apollodorus, ended indecisively, was supposed to have been fought in Macedonia, for the Echedorus was a Macedonian river (Herodotus, vii. 124, 127). Accordingly we must distinguish this contest from another and more famous fight which Hercules fought with another son of Ares, also called Cynus, near Pagasae in Thessaly. See Apollodorus, ii. 7. 7, with the note. Apparently Hyginus confused the two combats.

APOLLODORUS

μάχην. βαδίζων δὲ δι' Ἰλλυριῶν, καὶ σπεύδων¹ ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Ἡριδανόν, ἦκε πρὸς νύμφας Διὸς καὶ Θέμιδος. αὐται μηνύουσιν αὐτῷ Νηρέα. συλλαβὸν δὲ αὐτὸν κοιμώμενον καὶ παντοίας ἐναλλάσσοντα μορφὰς ἔδησε, καὶ οὐκ ἔλυσε πρὶν ἢ μαθεῖν παρ' αὐτοῦ ποῦ τυγχάνοιεν τὰ μῆλα καὶ αἱ Ἑσπερίδες. μαθὼν δὲ Λιβύην διεξῆει. ταύτης ἐβασίλευε παῖς Ποσειδῶνος Ἄνταϊος, ὃς τοὺς ξένους ἀναγκάζων παλαίειν ἀνήρει. τούτῳ παλαίειν ἀναγκαζόμενος Ἡρακλῆς ἀράμενος ἄμμασι² μετέωρον κλάσας ἀπέκτεινε· ψάλλοντα γὰρ γῆς ἰσχυρότερον³ συνέβαινε⁴ γίνεσθαι, διὸ καὶ Γῆς τινες ἔφασαν τοῦτον εἶναι παῖδα.

Μετὰ Λιβύην δὲ Αἴγυπτον διεξῆει.⁵ ταύτης

¹ σπεύδων Aegius : φεύγων A.

² ἄμμασι R, Scholiast on Plato, *Laws*, vii. p. 796 A : ἄμμασι A.

³ ἰσχυρότερον R : ἰσχυρότατον A.

⁴ συνέβαινε R, Scholiast on Plato, *Laws*, vii. p. 796 A : συνέβη A.

⁵ διεξῆει Fuber : ἐξηει A.

¹ The meeting of Hercules with the nymphs, and his struggle with Nereus, are related also by the Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 1396, citing as his authority Pherecydes, whom Apollodorus also probably follows. The transformations of the reluctant sea-god Nereus in his encounter with Hercules are like those of the reluctant sea-god Proteus in his encounter with Menelaus (Homer, *Od.* iv. 354-570), and those of the reluctant sea-goddess Thetis with her lover Peleus (see below, iii. 13. 5).

² As to Hercules and Antaeus, see Pindar, *Isthm.* iv. 52 (87) *sqq.*, with the Scholiast on 52 (87) and 54 (92); Diodorus Siculus, iv. 17. 4; Pausanias, ix. 11. 6; Philostratus, *Imagines*, ii. 21; Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, vi. 285 *sqq.*; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 363 *sqq.*; Scholiast on Plato, *Laws*, vii. p. 796 A (whose account agrees almost verbally with that of Apollodorus); Ovid, *Ibis*, 393-395,

foot through Illyria and hastening to the river Eridanus he came to the nymphs, the daughters of Zeus and Themis. They revealed Nereus to him, and Hercules seized him while he slept, and though the god turned himself into all kinds of shapes, the hero bound him and did not release him till he had learned from him where were the apples and the Hesperides.¹ Being informed, he traversed Libya. That country was then ruled by Antaeus, son of Poseidon,² who used to kill strangers by forcing them to wrestle. Being forced to wrestle with him, Hercules hugged him, lifted him aloft,³ broke and killed him; for when he touched earth so it was that he waxed stronger, wherefore some said that he was a son of Earth.

After Libya he traversed Egypt. That country with the Scholia; Hyginus, *Fab.* 31; Lucan, *Pharsal.* iv. 588-655; Juvenal, *Sat.* iii. 89; Statius, *Theb.* vi. 893 sqq.; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* vi. 869 (894); *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 19, 131 (First Vatican Mythographer, 55; Second Vatican Mythographer, 164). According to Pindar, the truculent giant used to roof the temple of his sire Poseidon with the skulls of his victims. The fable of his regaining strength through contact with his mother Earth is dwelt on by Lucan with his usual tedious prolixity. It is briefly alluded to by Ovid, Juvenal, and Statius. Antaeus is said to have reigned in western Morocco, on the Atlantic coast. Here a hillock was pointed out as his tomb, and the natives believed that the removal of soil from the hillock would be immediately followed by rain, which would not cease till the earth was replaced. See Mela, iii. 106. Sertorius is said to have excavated the supposed tomb and to have found a skeleton sixty cubits long. See Plutarch, *Sertorius*, 9; Strabo, xvii. 3. 8, p. 829.

³ More literally, "lifted him aloft with hugs." For this technical term (*ἄμμι*) applied to a wrestler's hug, see Plutarch, *Fabius Maximus*, 23, and *Alcibiades*, 2.

APOLLODORUS

ἐβασίλευε Βούσιρις Ποσειδῶνος παῖς καὶ Λυσια-
νάσσης τῆς Ἐπάφου. οὗτος τοὺς ξένους ἔθνευ
ἐπὶ βωμῷ Διὸς κατὰ τι λόγιον· ἐννέα γὰρ ἔτη
ἀφορία τὴν Αἴγυπτον κατέλαβε, Φρασίος¹ δὲ
ἐλθὼν ἐκ Κύπρου, μάντις τὴν ἐπιστήμην, ἔφη

¹ φράσιος A, Heyne, Westermann, Müller: φράγιος E:
Ὠράσιος Aegius, Bekker, Hercher. Compare Ovid, *Ars
Amat.* i. 649 sq. (*Thrasius*); Hyginus, *Fab.* 56 (*Thasius*).

¹ For Hercules and Busiris, see Diodorus Siculus, iv. 18. 1, iv. 27. 2 sq.; Plutarch, *Parallela*, 38; Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 1396; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, ii. 367 sq.; Ovid, *Metamorph.* ix. 182 sq.; *id.*, *Ars Amat.* i. 647-652; Scholia on Ovid, *Ibis*, 397 (p. 72, ed. R. Ellis); Hyginus, *Fab.* 31 and 56; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 300 and *Georg.* iii. 5; Philargyrius, on Virgil, *Georg.* iii. 5; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* xii. 155. Ovid, with his Scholiasts, Hyginus and Philargyrius, like Apollodorus, allege a nine or eight years' dearth or drought as the cause of the human sacrifices instituted by Busiris. Their account may be derived from Pherecydes, who is the authority cited by the Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius (*l.c.*). Hyginus (*Fab.* 56) adds that the seer Phrasius, who advised the sacrifice, was a brother of Pygmalion. Herodotus, without mentioning Busiris, scouts the story on the ground that human sacrifices were utterly alien to the spirit of Egyptian religion (Herodotus, ii. 45). Isocrates also discredited the tradition, in so far as it relates to Hercules, because Hercules was four generations younger, and Busiris more than two hundred years older, than Perseus. See Isocrates, *Busiris*, 15. Yet there are grounds for thinking that the Greek tradition was substantially correct. For Manetho, our highest ancient authority, definitely affirmed that in the city of Ilithyia it was customary to burn alive "Typhonian men" and to scatter their ashes by means of winnowing fans (Plutarch, *Isis et Osiris*, 73). These "Typhonian men" were red-haired, because Typhon, the Egyptian embodiment of evil, was also red-haired (Plutarch, *Isis et Osiris*, 30 and 33). But red-haired men would commonly be foreigners, in contrast to the black-haired natives of Egypt; and it was just foreigners who, according to Greek tradition,

was then ruled by Busiris,¹ a son of Poseidon by Lysianassa, daughter of Epaphus. This Busiris used to sacrifice strangers on an altar of Zeus in accordance with a certain oracle. For Egypt was visited with dearth for nine years, and Phrasius, a learned seer who had come from Cyprus, said that the dearth

were chosen as victims. Diodorus Siculus points this out (i. 88. 5) in confirmation of the Greek tradition, and he tells us that the red-haired men were sacrificed at the grave of Osiris, though this statement may be an inference from his etymology of the name Busiris, which he explains to mean "grave of Osiris." The etymology is correct, Busiris being a Greek rendering of the Egyptian *bu-As-iri*, "place of Osiris." See A. Wiedemann, *Herodots Zweites Buch* (Leipzig, 1890), p. 213. Porphyry informs us, on the authority of Manetho, that the Egyptian custom of sacrificing human beings at the City of the Sun was suppressed by Amosis (Amasis), who ordered waxen effigies to be substituted for the victims. He adds that the human victims used to be examined just like calves for the sacrifice, and that they were sealed in token of their fitness for the altar. See Porphyry, *De abstinentia*, iii. 35. Sextus Empiricus even speaks of human sacrifices in Egypt as if they were practised down to his own time, which was about 200 A. D. See Sextus Empiricus, p. 173, ed. Bekker. Seleucus wrote a special treatise on human sacrifices in Egypt (Athenaeus, iv. 72, p. 172 D). In view of these facts, the Greek tradition that the sacrifices were offered in order to restore the fertility of the land or to procure rain after a long drought, and that on one occasion the king himself was the victim, may be not without significance. For kings or chiefs have been often sacrificed under similar circumstances (see Apollodorus, iii. 5. 1; *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, 3rd ed. ii. 97 sq.; *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, i. 344 sq., 352 sq.); and in ancient Egypt the rulers are definitely said to have been held responsible for the failure of the crops (Ammianus Marcellinus, xxviii. 5. 14); hence it would not be surprising if in extreme cases they were put to death. Busiris was the theme of a Satyric play by Euripides. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck², pp. 452 sq.

APOLLODORUS

τὴν ἀφορίαν¹ παύσασθαι ἐὰν ξένον ἄνδρα τῷ Διὶ σφάξωσι κατ' ἔτος. Βούσιρις δὲ ἐκείνον πρῶτον σφάξας τὸν μάντιν τοὺς κατιόντας ξένους ἔσφαξε. συλληφθεῖς οὖν καὶ Ἡρακλῆς τοῖς βωμοῖς προσεφέρετο τὰ δὲ δεσμὰ διαρρήξας τὸν τε Βούσιριν καὶ τὸν ἐκείνου παῖδα Ἀμφιδάμαντα ἀπέκτεινε.

Διεξιὼν δὲ Ἀσίαν² Θερμυδραῖς, Λινδίων³ λιμένι, προσίσχει. καὶ βοηλάτου τινὸς λύσας τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ταύρων ἀπὸ τῆς ἀμάξης εὐωχεῖτο θύσας. ὁ δὲ βοηλάτης βοηθεῖν ἑαυτῷ μὴ δυνάμενος στὰς ἐπὶ τινος ὄρους κατηγάτο. διὸ καὶ νῦν, ἐπειδὰν θύωσιν Ἡρακλεῖ, μετὰ καταρῶν τοῦτο πράττουσι.

¹ We should perhaps read τὴν ἀφορίαν ἂν παύσασθαι.

² ἄσιαν ER: ἄσιας A.

³ λινδίων ER: λωδίων A.

¹ The Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius (*Argon.* iv. 1396) calls him Iphidamas, and adds "the herald Chalbes and the attendants" to the list of those slain by Hercules.

² Thermydra is the form of the name given by Stephanus Byzantius (*s.v.*). In his account of this incident Tzetzes calls the harbour Thermydron (*Chiliades*, ii. 385). Lindus was one of the chief cities of Rhodes.

³ Compare Conon, *Narrat.* 11; Philostratus, *Imagines*, ii. 24; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 385 *sqq.*; Lactantius, *Divin. Inst.* i. 21. According to all these writers except Tzetzes (who clearly follows Apollodorus), Hercules's victim in this affair was not a waggoner, but a ploughman engaged in the act of ploughing; Philostratus names him Thiodamus, and adds: "Hence a ploughing ox is sacrificed to Hercules, and they begin the sacrifice with curses such as, I suppose, the husbandman then made use of; and Hercules is pleased and blesses the Lindians in return for their curses." According to Lactantius, it was a pair of oxen that was sacrificed, and the altar at which the sacrifice took place bore the name of *bouzygos*, that is, "yoke of oxen." Hence it seems probable

would cease if they slaughtered a stranger man in honour of Zeus every year. Busiris began by slaughtering the seer himself and continued to slaughter the strangers who landed. So Hercules also was seized and haled to the altars, but he burst his bonds and slew both Busiris and his son Amphidamas.¹

And traversing Asia he put in to Thermydrae, the harbour of the Lindians.² And having loosed one of the bullocks from the cart of a cowherd, he sacrificed it and feasted. But the cowherd, unable to protect himself, stood on a certain mountain and cursed. Wherefore to this day, when they sacrifice to Hercules, they do it with curses.³

that the sacrifice which the story purported to explain was offered at the time of ploughing in order to ensure a blessing on the ploughman's labours. This is confirmed by the ritual of the sacred ploughing observed at Eleusis, where members of the old priestly family of the *Bouzygai* or Ox-yokers uttered many curses as they guided the plough down the furrows of the Rarian Plain. See *Etymologicum Magnum*, s.v. *Bouzygia*, p. 206, lines 47 sqq.; *Anecdota Graeca*, ed. Im. Bekker, i. 221; Hesychius, s.v. *Bouzygēs*; *Paroemiographi Graeci*, ed. E. L. Leutsch und F. G. Schneidewin, i. 388; Scholiast on Sophocles, *Antigone*, 255; Plutarch, *Praecepta Conjugalia*, 42. Compare J. Toepffer, *Attische Genealogie* (Berlin, 1889), pp. 136 sq.; *The Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, i. 108 sq. The Greeks seem to have deemed curses of special efficacy to promote the fertility of the ground; for we are told that when a Greek sowed cummin he was expected to utter imprecations or the crop would not turn out well. See Theophrastus, *Historia plantarum*, vii. 3. 3, ix. 8. 8; Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.* vii. 2. 3; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xix. 120. Roman writers mention a like custom observed by the sowers of rue and basil. See Palladius, *De re rustica*, iv. 9; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xix. 120. As to the beneficent effect of curses, when properly directed, see further *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, i. 278 sqq.

APOLLODORUS

Παριῶν δὲ Ἀραβίαν Ἡμαθίωνα κτείνει παῖδα
 Τιθωνοῦ. καὶ διὰ τῆς Λιβύης πορευθεὶς ἐπὶ τὴν
 ἕξω θάλασσαν παρ' Ἡλίου¹ τὸ δέπας παραλαμ-
 βάνει.² καὶ περαιωθεὶς ἐπὶ τὴν ἠπειρον τὴν
 ἀντικρὺ κατετόξευσεν ἐπὶ τοῦ Καυκάσου τὸν
 ἐσθίοντα τὸ τοῦ Προμηθέως ἦπαρ αἰτόν, ὄντα
 Ἐχίδνης καὶ Τυφῶνος· καὶ τὸν Προμηθεά ἔλυσεν,
 δεσμὸν ἐλόμενος τὸν τῆς ἐλαίας, καὶ παρέσχε

¹ παρ' Ἡλίου C. Robert, *De Apollodori Bibliotheca*, pp. 47 sq. (comparing Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 1396): καταπλεῖ οὗ A.

² παραλαμβάνει Frazer: καταλαμβάνει MSS., Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Wagner: λαμβάνει Hercher. The verb καταλαμβάνειν means to seize or catch, generally with the implication of force or violence. It cannot mean to receive peaceably as a favour, which is the sense required in the present passage. Thus the scribes have twice blundered over the preposition παρὰ in this sentence (καταπλεῖ, καταλαμβάνει).

¹ Compare J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 369 sq., who as usual follows Apollodorus. According to Diodorus Siculus (iv. 27.3), after Hercules had slain Busiris, he ascended the Nile to Ethiopia and there slew Emathion, king of Ethiopia.

² As to Hercules and Prometheus, see Diodorus Siculus, iv. 15.2; Pausanias, v. 11.6; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 370 sq.; Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* ii. 1248, iv. 1396; Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 15; *id. Fab.* 31, 54, and 144; Servius, on Virgil, *Ecl.* vi. 42. The Scholiast on Apollonius (ii. 1248) agrees with Apollodorus as to the parentage of the eagle which preyed on Prometheus, and he cites as his authority Pherecydes; hence we may surmise that Apollodorus is following the same author in the present passage. The time during which Prometheus suffered on the Caucasus was said by Aeschylus to be thirty thousand years (Hyginus, *Astron.* ii. 15); but Hyginus, though he reports this in one passage, elsewhere reduces the term of suffering to thirty years (*Fab.* 54 and 144).

³ The reference seems to be to the crown of olive which Hercules brought from the land of the Hyperboreans and

And passing by Arabia he slew Emathion, son of Tithonus,¹ and journeying through Libya to the outer sea he received the goblet from the Sun. And having crossed to the opposite mainland he shot on the Caucasus the eagle, offspring of Echidna and Typhon, that was devouring the liver of Prometheus, and he released Prometheus,² after choosing for himself the bond of olive,³ and to Zeus he presented

instituted as the badge of victory in the Olympic games. See Pindar, *Olymp.* iii. 11 (20) *seq.*; Pausanias, v. 7. 7. The ancients had a curious notion that the custom of wearing crowns or garlands on the head and rings on the fingers was a memorial of the shackles once worn for their sake by their great benefactor Prometheus among the rocks and snows of the Caucasus. In order that the will of Zeus, who had sworn never to release Prometheus, might not be frustrated by the entire liberation of his prisoner from his chains, Prometheus on obtaining his freedom was ordered to wear on his finger a ring made out of his iron fetters and of the rock to which he had been chained; hence, in memory of their saviour's sufferings, men have worn rings ever since. The practice of wearing crowns or garlands was explained by some people in the same way. See Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 15; Servius, on Virgil, *Ecl.* vi. 42; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxvii. 2; Isidore, *Origines*, xix. 32. 1. According to one version of the legend, the crown which the sufferer on regaining his liberty was doomed to wear was a crown of willow; and the Carians, who used to crown their brows with branches of willow, explained that they did so in imitation of Prometheus. See Athenaeus, xv. 11-13, pp. 671 E-673 B. In the present passage of Apollodorus, if the text is correct, Hercules, as the deliverer of Prometheus, is obliged to bind himself vicariously for the prisoner whom he has released; and he chooses to do so with his favourite olive. Similarly he has to find a substitute to die instead of Prometheus, and he discovers the substitute in Chiron. As to the substitution of Chiron for Prometheus, see Apollodorus, ii. 5. 4. It is remarkable that, though Prometheus was supposed to have attained to immortality and to be the great benefactor, and even the creator, of mankind, he appears not to have been worshipped by the Greeks; Lucian says that nowhere were temples of Prometheus to be seen (*Prometheus*, 14).

APOLLODORUS

τῷ Διὶ Χείρωνα θνήσκειν ἀθάνατον¹ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ θέλοντα.

Ὡς δὲ ἦκεν εἰς Ἑπεριόρουσιν πρὸς Ἄτλαντα, εἰπόντος Προμηθέως τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὰ μῆλα μὴ πορεύεσθαι, διαδεξάμενον δὲ Ἄτλαντος τὸν πόλον ἀποστέλλειν ἐκείνον, πεισθεὶς διεδέξατο. Ἄτλας δὲ δρεψάμενος² παρ' Ἑσπερίδων τρία μῆλα ἦκε πρὸς Ἡρακλέα. καὶ μὴ βουλόμενος τὸν πόλον ἔχειν³ . . . καὶ σπεῖραν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς θέλειν ποιήσασθαι. τοῦτο ἀκούσας Ἄτλας, ἐπὶ γῆς καταθεὶς τὰ μῆλα τὸν πόλον διεδέξατο. καὶ οὕτως ἀνελόμενος αὐτὰ Ἡρακλῆς ἀπηλλάττετο. ἔνιοι δὲ φασιν οὐ παρὰ Ἄτλαντος αὐτὰ λαβεῖν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν δρέψασθαι τὰ μῆλα, κτείναντα τὸν φρουροῦντα ὄφιν. κομίσας δὲ τὰ μῆλα Εὐρυσθεῖ ἔδωκεν. ὁ δὲ λαβὼν Ἡρακλεῖ

¹ ἀθάνατον A, but wanting in E and omitted by Wagner. Gale proposed to read Χείρωνα ἀθάνατον <όντα> θνήσκειν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ θέλοντα. Retaining the MS. order of the words we might read θνήσκειν ἀθάνατον <όντα> ἀντ' αὐτοῦ θέλοντα. The accumulation of participles (όντα—θέλοντα) is awkward but quite in the manner of Apollodorus.

² For δρεψάμενος we should perhaps read δεξάμενος. For δρέπτεσθαι means "to pluck from a tree," not "to receive from a person." The verb is used correctly by Apollodorus a few lines below.

³ Gale pointed out that there is here a gap in the text of Apollodorus, which can be supplied from the following passage of a scholium on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 1396: τὰ μὲν μῆλα αὐτός φησιν ἀποῖσειν Εὐρυσθεῖ, τὸν δ' οὐρανὸν ἐκέλευσεν ἐκείνον ἀνεχεῖν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ. ὁ δὲ Ἡρακλῆς ὑποσχόμενος, δόλφ ἀντεπέθηκεν αὐτὸν τῷ Ἄτλαντι. ἦν γὰρ εἰπὼν αὐτῷ ὁ Προμηθεὺς ὑποθέμενος, κελεύειν δεξασθαι τὸν οὐρανόν,

Chiron, who, though immortal, consented to die in his stead.

Now Prometheus had told Hercules not to go himself after the apples but to send Atlas, first relieving him of the burden of the sphere; so when he was come to Atlas in the land of the Hyperboreans, he took the advice and relieved Atlas. But when Atlas had received three apples from the Hesperides, he came to Hercules, and not wishing to support the sphere <he said that he would himself carry the apples to Eurystheus, and bade Hercules hold up the sky in his stead. Hercules promised to do so, but succeeded by craft in putting it on Atlas instead. For at the advice of Prometheus he begged Atlas to hold up the sky till he should>¹ put a pad on his head. When Atlas heard that, he laid the apples down on the ground and took the sphere from Hercules. And so Hercules picked up the apples and departed. But some say that he did not get them from Atlas, but that he plucked the apples himself after killing the guardian snake. And having brought the apples he gave them to Eurystheus. But he, on receiving

¹ The passage in angular brackets is wanting in the manuscripts of Apollodorus, but is restored from the Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius (*Argon.* iv. 1396), who quotes as his authority Pherecydes, the writer here seemingly followed by Apollodorus. See the Critical Note. The story of the contest of wits between Hercules and Atlas is represented in one of the extant metopes of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, which were seen and described by Pausanias (v. 10. 9). See my note on Pausanias (vol. iii. pp. 524 sq.).

ἕως οὗ σπεῖραν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ποιήσεται. In this passage I read ἀνέχειν and σπεῖραν for ἔχειν and πήραν, which appear to be the readings of the MSS. In the parallel passage of Pausanias (v. 11. 5) we read of οὐρανὸν καὶ γῆν Ἀτλας ἀνέχων.

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ἔδωρήσατο· παρ' οὐ λαβοῦσα Ἀθηνᾶ πάλιν αὐτὰ ἀπεκόμισεν· ὅσιον γὰρ οὐκ ἦν αὐτὰ τεθῆναι· που.
 12 Δωδέκατον ἄθλον ἐπετάγη Κέρβερον ἐξ' Αἰδου κομίζειν. εἶχε δὲ οὗτος τρεῖς μὲν κυνῶν κεφαλάς, τὴν δὲ οὐρὰν δράκοντος, κατὰ δὲ τοῦ νώτου παντοίων εἶχεν ὄφρων κεφαλάς. μέλλων οὖν ἐπὶ τοῦτον ἀπιέναι ἦλθε πρὸς Εὐμόλπον εἰς Ἐλευσίνα, βουλόμενος μνηθῆναι [ἦν δὲ οὐκ ἐξὸν ξένοις τότε μνεῖσθαι, ἐπειδὴ περ θετὸς¹ Πυλίου παῖς γενόμενος ἐμνεῖτο]. μὴ δυνάμενος δὲ ἰδεῖν τὰ μυστήρια ἐπέειπερ οὐκ ἦν ἠγνισμένος τὸν Κενταύρων² φόνον, ἀγνισθεῖς ὑπὸ Εὐμόλπου τότε ἐμνήθη. καὶ παραγενόμενος ἐπὶ Ταίναρον τῆς Λακωνικῆς, οὐ

¹ θετὸς R: θέστιος A.

² κενταύρων E, Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* viii. 368: κενταύρου A.

¹ As to Hercules and Cerberus, see Homer, *Il.* viii. 366 *sqq.*, *Od.* xi. 623 *sqq.*; Bacchylides, *Epinic.* v. 56 *sqq.*; Euripides, *Hercules furens*, 23 *sqq.*, 1277 *sqq.*; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 25. 1, iv. 26. 1; Pausanias, ii. 31. 6, ii. 35. 10, iii. 18. 13, iii. 25. 5 *sq.*, v. 26. 7, ix. 34. 5; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 388-405 (who seems to follow Apollodorus); Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* viii. 368; Ovid, *Metamorph.* vii. 410 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 31; Seneca, *Agamemnon*, 859 *sqq.*, *Hercules furens*, 50 *sqq.*; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 20 (First Vatican Mythographer, 57). Ancient writers differ as to the number of Cerberus's heads. Hesiod assigned him fifty (*Theog.* 311 *sq.*); Pindar raised the number to a hundred (Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* viii. 368), a liberal estimate which was accepted by Tzetzes in one place (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 699) and by Horace in another (*Odes*, ii. 13. 34). Others reduced the number to three. See Sophocles, *Trachinias*, 1098; Euripides, *Hercules furens*, 24 and 1277; Pausanias, iii. 25. 6; Horace, *Odes*, ii. 19. 29 *sqq.*, iii. 11. 17 *sqq.*; Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 483, *Aen.* vi. 417 *sqq.*; Ovid, *Metamorph.* iv. 451 *sq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 151; Seneca, *Agamemnon*, 62, *Hercules furens*, 783 *sq.* Apollodorus apparently seeks to reconcile

them, bestowed them on Hercules, from whom Athena got them and conveyed them back again; for it was not lawful that they should be laid down anywhere.

A twelfth labour imposed on Hercules was to bring Cerberus from Hades.¹ Now this Cerberus had three heads of dogs, the tail of a dragon, and on his back the heads of all sorts of snakes. When Hercules was about to depart to fetch him, he went to Eumolpus at Eleusis, wishing to be initiated. However it was not then lawful for foreigners to be initiated: since he proposed to be initiated as the adoptive son of Pylius. But not being able to see the mysteries because he had not been cleansed of the slaughter of the centaurs, he was cleansed by Eumolpus and then initiated.² And having come to Taenarum in Laconia,

these contradictions, and he is followed as usual by Tzetzes (*Chiliades*, ii. 390 *sqq.*), who, however, at the same time speaks of Cerberus as fifty-headed. The whole of the present passage of Apollodorus, from the description of Cerberus down to Hercules's slaughter of one of the kine of Hades, is quoted, with a few small variations, by a Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* viii. 368. See Dindorf's edition of the Scholia, vol. i. p. 287. The quotation is omitted by Bekker in his edition of the Scholia (p. 233).

² As to the initiation of Hercules at Eleusis, compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 25. 1; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 394. According to Diodorus, the rites were performed on this occasion by Musaeus, son of Orpheus. Elsewhere (iv. 14. 3) the same writer says that Demeter instituted the lesser Eleusinian mysteries in honour of Hercules for the purpose of purifying him after his slaughter of the centaurs. The statement that Pylius acted as adoptive father to Hercules at his initiation is repeated by Plutarch (*Theseus*, 33), who mentions that before Castor and Pollux were initiated at Athens they were in like manner adopted by Aphidnus. Herodotus says (viii. 65) that any Greek who pleased might be initiated at Eleusis. The initiation of Hercules is represented in ancient reliefs. See A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, i. 425 *sqq.*

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τῆς "Αιδου¹ καταβάσεως τὸ στόμιόν ἐστι, διὰ τούτου κατῆι.² ὀπηνίκα δὲ εἶδον αὐτὸν αἱ ψυχαί, χωρὶς Μελεάγρου καὶ Μεδούσης τῆς Γοργόνας ἔφυγον. ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν Γοργόνα τὸ ξίφος ὡς ζῶσαν ἔλκει, καὶ παρὰ Ἑρμοῦ μαυθάνει ὅτι κενὸν εἰδωλὸν ἐστι. πλησίον δὲ τῶν "Αιδου πυλῶν γενόμενος Θησέα εὔρε καὶ Πειρίθουν τὸν Περσεφόνης μνηστευόμενον γάμον καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δεθέντα. θεασάμενοι δὲ Ἡρακλέα τὰς χεῖρας ὠρεγον ὡς ἀναστησόμενοι διὰ τῆς ἐκείνου βίας. ὁ δὲ Θησέα μὲν λαβόμενος τῆς χειρὸς ἤγειρε, Πειρίθουν δὲ ἀναστήσαι βουλόμενος τῆς γῆς

¹ τῆς "Αιδου καταβάσεως: EA, Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* viii. 368: τῆς εἰς "Αιδου καταβάσεως Heyne (conjecture), Westermann, Hercher, Wagner.

² κατῆι Scholiast on Homer, viii. 368, Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher: ἀπῆι A: ἐπῆι E, Wagner.

¹ Compare Euripides, *Hercules furens*, 23 *sqq.*; Pausanias, xxv. 5; Seneca, *Hercules furens*, 807 *sqq.* Sophocles seems to have written a Satyric drama on the descent of Hercules into the infernal regions at Taenarum. See *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. i. pp. 167 *sq.* According to another account, Hercules descended, not at Taenarum but at the Acherusian Chersonese, near Heraclea Pontica on the Black Sea. The marks of the descent were there pointed out to a great depth. See Xenophon, *Anabasis*, vi. 2. 2.

² So Bacchylides (*Epinic.* v. 71 *sqq.*) represents Hercules in Hades drawing his bow against the ghost of Meleager in shining armour, who reminds the hero that there is nothing to fear from the souls of the dead; so, too, Virgil (*Aen.* vi. 290 *sqq.*) describes Aeneas in Hades drawing his sword on the Gorgons and Harpies, till the Sibyl tells him that they are mere flitting empty shades. Apollodorus more correctly speaks of the ghost of only one Gorgon (Medusa), because of the three Gorgons she alone was mortal. See Apollodorus, ii. 4. 2. Compare Homer, *Od.* xi. 634 *sq.*

³ On Theseus and Pirithous in hell, see Apollodorus,

where is the mouth of the descent to Hades, he descended through it.¹ But when the souls saw him, they fled, save Meleager and the Gorgon Medusa. And Hercules drew his sword against the Gorgon, as if she were alive, but he learned from Hermes that she was an empty phantom.² And being come near to the gates of Hades he found Theseus and Pirithous,³ him who wooed Persephone in wedlock and was therefore bound fast. And when they beheld Hercules, they stretched out their hands as if they should be raised from the dead by his might. And Theseus, indeed, he took by the hand and raised up, but when he would have brought up

Epitome, i. 23 sq.; Homer, *Od.* xi. 631; Euripides, *Hercules furens*, 619; Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 101 sqq., with the Scholiast on 101; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 26. 1, iv. 63. 4 sq.; Pausanias, i. 17. 4, ix. 31. 5, x. 29. 9; Apostolius, *Cent.* iii. 36; Suidas, s.v. *Ἄλκυονες*; Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Knights*, 1368; Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 392 sqq., 617 sq.; Horace, *Odes*, iii. 4. 79 sq., iv. 7. 27 sq.; Hyginus, *Fab.* 79; Aulus Gellius, x. 16. 13; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 617; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i: p. 18 (First Vatican Mythographer, 48). The general opinion seems to have been that Hercules rescued Theseus, but that he could not save Pirithous. Others, however, alleged that he brought up both from the dead (Hyginus, *l.c.*); others again affirmed that he brought up neither (Diodorus Siculus, iv. 63. 5). A dull rationalistic version of the romantic story converted Hades into a king of the Molossians or Thesprotians, named Aidoneus, who had a wife Persephone, a daughter Cora, and a dog Cerberus, which he set to worry his daughter's suitors, promising to give her in marriage to him who could master the ferocious animal. Discovering that Theseus and Pirithous were come not to woo but to steal his daughter, he arrested them. The dog made short work of Pirithous, but Theseus was kept in durance till the king consented to release him at the intercession of Hercules. See Plutarch, *Theseus*, 31. 4 and 35. 1 sq.; Aelian, *Var. Hist.* iv. 5; Pausanias, i. 17. 4, i. 18. 4, ii. 22. 6, iii. 18. 5; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 406 sqq.

κινουμένης ἀφῆκεν. ἀπεκύλισε δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἄσκα-
λάφου πέτρον. βουλόμενος δὲ αἷμα ταῖς ψυχαῖς
παρασχέσθαι, μίαν τῶν Ἄιδου βοῶν ἀπέσφαξεν.
ὁ δὲ νέμων αὐτὰς Μενoitης ὁ Κευθωνύμου¹ προ-
καλεσάμενος² εἰς πάλην Ἑρακλέα, ληφθεὶς
μέσος³ καὶ τὰς πλευρὰς κατεαγείς⁴ ὑπὸ Περσε-
φόνης παρητήθη. αἰτοῦντος δὲ αὐτοῦ Πλούτωνα
τὸν Κέρβερον, ἐπέταξεν ὁ Πλούτων ἄγειν χωρὶς
ᾧν εἶχεν ὄπλων κρατοῦντα. ὁ δὲ εὐρὼν αὐτὸν
ἐπὶ ταῖς πύλαις τοῦ Ἀχέροντος, τῷ τε θώρακι
συμπεφραγμένος καὶ τῇ λεοντῇ συσκευασθεὶς,
περιβαλὼν τῇ κεφαλῇ τὰς χεῖρας οὐκ ἀνῆκε⁵
κρατῶν καὶ ἄγχων τὸ θηρίον, ἕως ἔπεισε, καίπερ
δακνόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν οὐρὰν δράκοντος.
συλλαβὼν οὖν αὐτὸν ἤκε διὰ Τροιζῆνος ποιησά-
μενος τὴν ἀνάβασιν. Ἄσκάλαφον μὲν οὖν
Δημήτηρ ἐποίησεν ὄνον,⁶ Ἑρακλῆς δὲ Εὐρυσθεὶ
δείξας τὸν Κέρβερον πάλιν ἐκόμισεν εἰς Ἄιδου.

VI. Μετὰ δὲ τοὺς ἄθλους Ἑρακλῆς ἀφικόμενος
εἰς Θήβας Μεγάραν μὲν ἔδωκεν Ἰολάφω, αὐτὸς δὲ
γῆμαι θέλων ἐπυνθάνετο Εὐρυτον Οἰχαλίας
δυνάστην ἄθλον προτεθεικέναι⁷ τὸν Ἰόλης τῆς
θυγατρὸς γάμον τῷ νικήσαντι τοξικῇ⁸ αὐτὸν τε

¹ Κευθωνύμου Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 397, Aegius: κυθωνύμου E.

² προκαλεσάμενος Faber: προσκαλεσάμενος EA.

³ μέσος Faber: μέσον EA. ⁴ κατεαγείς E: κατεδάξας A.

⁵ οὐκ ἀνῆκε . . . δράκοντος E: οὐκ ἀνῆκε, καίπερ δακνόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν οὐρὰν δράκοντος, κρατῶν ἐκ τοῦ τραχήλου καὶ ἄγχων τὸ θηρίον ἔπεισε A. ⁶ ὄνον Aegius: ὄνον EA.

⁷ προτεθεικέναι E: προτεθῆναι RR^aB: προτεθειναι C.

⁸ τοξικῇ E: τοξικὴν A.

¹ See Apollodorus, i. 5. 3.

² Compare J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 396 sqq., who calls the herdsman Menoetius.

Pirithous, the earth quaked and he let go. And he rolled away also the stone of Ascalaphus.¹ And wishing to provide the souls with blood, he slaughtered one of the kine of Hades. But Menoetes, son of Ceuthonymus, who tended the kine, challenged Hercules to wrestle, and, being seized round the middle, had his ribs broken; ² howbeit, he was let off at the request of Persephone. When Hercules asked Pluto for Cerberus, Pluto ordered him to take the animal provided he mastered him without the use of the weapons which he carried. Hercules found him at the gates of Acheron, and, cased in his cuirass and covered by the lion's skin, he flung his arms round the head of the brute, and though the dragon in its tail bit him, he never relaxed his grip and pressure till it yielded.³ So he carried it off and ascended through Troezen.⁴ But Demeter turned Ascalaphus into a short-eared owl,⁵ and Hercules, after showing Cerberus to Eurystheus, carried him back to Hades.

VI. After his labours Hercules went to Thebes and gave Megara to Iolaus,⁶ and, wishing himself to wed, he ascertained that Eurytus, prince of Oechalia, had proposed the hand of his daughter Iole as a prize to him who should vanquish himself and his

¹ Literally, "till he persuaded (it)."

² Compare Pausanias, ii. 31. 2. According to others, the ascent of Hercules with Cerberus took place at Hermione (Pausanias, ii. 35. 10) or on Mount Laphystius in Boeotia (Pausanias, ix. 34. 5).

³ Compare Ovid, *Metamorph.* v. 538 *sqq.* As to the short-eared owl (*ἄτρος*), see D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson, *Glossary of Greek Birds*, pp. 200 *sq.*

⁴ With this and what follows down to the adventure with Syleus, compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 31 (who seems to be following the same authority as Apollodorus); J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 412-435.

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καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτῷ ὑπάρχοντας. ἀφικόμενος οὖν εἰς Οἰχαλίαν καὶ τῇ τοξικῇ κρείττων αὐτῶν γενόμενος οὐκ ἔτυχε τοῦ γάμου, Ἴφίτου μὲν τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου τῶν παίδων λέγοντος διδόναι τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ τὴν Ἴολην, Εὐρύτου δὲ καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀπαγορευόντων καὶ δεδοικέναι λεγόντων μὴ τεκνοποιησάμενος τὰ γεννηθησόμενα¹ πάλιν² ἀποκτείνῃ. μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ κλαπείσων ἐξ Εὐβοίας ὑπὸ Αὐτολύκου βοῶν, Εὐρυτος μὲν ἐνόμιζεν ὑφ' Ἡρακλέους γεγονέναι τοῦτο, Ἴφίτος δὲ ἀπιστῶν ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς Ἡρακλέα, καὶ συντυχὼν ἤκουσι ἐκ Φερῶν² αὐτῷ, σεσωκότι τὴν ἀποθανοῦσαν Ἀλκηστιν Ἀδμήτῳ, παρακαλεῖ συζητῆσαι τὰς βόας. Ἡρακλῆς δὲ ὑπισχνεῖται καὶ ξενίζει μὲν αὐτόν, μανεῖς δὲ αὐθις ἀπὸ τῶν Τιρυνθίων ἔρριψεν αὐτὸν τειχῶν. καθαρθῆναι δὲ θέλων τὸν φόνον ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς Νηλέα Πυλίων ἦν οὗτος δυνάστης. ἀπωσαμένου δὲ Νηλέως αὐτὸν διὰ τὴν πρὸς Εὐρυτον φιλίαν, εἰς Ἀμύκλας παραγενόμενος ὑπὸ Δηιφόβου τοῦ Ἴππολύτου καθαίρεται. κατασχεθεὶς δὲ δεινῇ νόσῳ διὰ τὸν Ἴφίτου φόνον, εἰς Δελφοὺς παραγενόμενος ἀπαλ-

¹ γεννηθησόμενα E: γενησόμενα R: γεννησόμενα A.

² Φερῶν R: φορῶν A.

¹ Compare Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* v. 392; Sophocles, *Trachiniae*, 260 *sqq.*, with the Scholiast on 266; Scholiast on Euripides, *Hippolytus*, 545.

² As he had killed the children he had by Megara. See Apollodorus, ii. 4. 12.

³ The story is told somewhat differently by Homer (*Od.* xxi. 23-30). According to him, Iphitus had lost twelve mares (not oxen) and came in search of them to Hercules, who murdered him in his house and kept the mares. A

sons in archery.¹ So he came to Oechalia, and though he proved himself better than them at archery, yet he did not get the bride; for while Iphitus, the elder of Eurytus's sons, said that Iole should be given to Hercules, Eurytus and the others refused, and said they feared that, if he got children, he would again kill his offspring.² Not long after, some cattle were stolen from Euboea by Autolycus, and Eurytus supposed that it was done by Hercules; but Iphitus did not believe it and went to Hercules. And meeting him, as he came from Pherae after saving the dead Alcestis for Admetus, he invited him to seek the kine with him. Hercules promised to do so and entertained him; but going mad again he threw him from the walls of Tiryns.³ Wishing to be purified of the murder he repaired to Neleus, who was prince of the Pylians. And when Neleus rejected his request on the score of his friendship with Eurytus, he went to Amyclae and was purified by Deiphobus, son of Hippolytus.⁴ But being afflicted with a dire disease on account of the murder of Iphitus he went to Delphi and inquired

Scholiast on Homer (*Od.* xxi. 22) says that the mares had been stolen by Autolycus and sold by him to Hercules. Another Scholiast on the same passage of Homer, who refers to Pherecydes as his authority, says that Hercules treacherously lured Iphitus to the top of the wall, then hurled him down. As to the quest of the mares and the murder of Iphitus, see also Sophocles, *Trachiniae*, 270-273; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 31. 2 *sq.* (who says that Hercules himself stole the mares out of spite at Eurytus); J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 417-423; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* v. 392. Apollodorus seems to be the only writer who substitutes cattle for mares in this story.

⁴ Compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 31. 4 *sq.*; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* v. 392.

λαγὴν ἐπυνθάνετο τῆς νόσου. μὴ χρησμοδόουσης δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς Πυθίας τὸν τε ναὸν συλᾶν ἤθελε, καὶ τὸν τρίποδα βαστάσας κατασκευάζειν¹ μαντεῖον ἴδιον. μαχομένου δὲ αὐτῷ Ἀπόλλωνος, ὁ Ζεὺς ἴησι μέσον αὐτῶν κεραυνόν. καὶ τοῦτον διαλυθέντων τὸν τρόπον, λαμβάνει χρησμὸν Ἡρακλῆς, ὃς ἔλεγεν ἀπαλλαγὴν αὐτῷ τῆς νόσου ἔσεσθαι πραθέντι καὶ τρία ἔτη λατρεύσαντι καὶ δόντι
 3 ποιηὴν τοῦ φόνου τὴν τιμὴν Εὐρύτῳ. τοῦ δὲ χρησμοῦ δοθέντος Ἑρμῆς Ἡρακλέα πιπράσκει· καὶ αὐτὸν ὠνεῖται Ὀμφάλη Ἰαρδάνου,² βασιλεύουσα Λυδῶν, ἣ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τελευτῶν ὁ γῆμας Τμῶλος κατέλιπε. τὴν μὲν οὖν τιμὴν κομισθεῖσαν Εὐρυτος οὐ προσεδέξατο, Ἡρακλῆς δὲ Ὀμφάλη δουλεύων τοὺς μὲν περὶ τὴν Ἔφεσον Κέρκωπας συλλαβῶν ἔδησε, Συλέα δὲ ἐν

¹ κατασκευάζειν E: κατασκευάζει A.

² ἰαρδάνου R (second hand), Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 430: ἰορδάνου EA. The MSS. of Pausanias similarly vary between the forms ἰαρδάνου and ἰορδάνου as the name of a river in Elis. See Pausanias vi. 21. 6, with the critical notes of Schubart and Walz, of Hitzig and Blümner.

¹ As to the attempt of Hercules to carry off the tripod, see Plutarch, *De EI apud Delphos*, 6; *id. De sera numinis vindicta*, 12 (who says that Hercules carried it off to Pheneus); Pausanias, iii. 21. 8, viii. 37. 1, x. 13. 7 *sq.*; Scholiast on Pindar, *Olymp.* ix. 29 (43); Cicero, *De natura deorum*, iii. 16. 42; Hyginus, *Fab.* 32; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 300. The subject was often represented in ancient art; for example, it was sculptured in the gable of the Treasury of the Siphnians at Delphi; the principal pieces of the sculpture were discovered by the French in their excavation of the sanctuary. See É. Bourguet, *Les ruines de Delphes* (Paris, 1914), pp. 76 *sqq.*, and my commentary on Pausanias, vol. v. pp. 274 *sq.*

² As to Hercules and Omphale, see Sophocles, *Trachiniae*, 247 *sqq.*; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 31. 5-8; Lucian, *Dialog.*

how he might be rid of the disease. As the Pythian priestess answered him not by oracles, he was fain to plunder the temple, and, carrying off the tripod, to institute an oracle of his own. But Apollo fought him,¹ and Zeus threw a thunderbolt between them. When they had thus been parted, Hercules received an oracle, which declared that the remedy for his disease was for him to be sold, and to serve for three years, and to pay compensation for the murder to Eurytus. After the delivery of the oracle, Hermes sold Hercules, and he was bought by Omphale,² daughter of Iardanes, queen of Lydia, to whom at his death her husband Tmolus had bequeathed the government. Eurytus did not accept the compensation when it was presented to him, but Hercules served Omphale as a slave, and in the course of his servitude he seized and bound the Cercopes at Ephesus;³ and as for Syleus in Aulis, who compelled

deorum. xiii. 2; Plutarch, *Quaestiones Graecae*, 45; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 425 *sqq.*; Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* xxi. 22; Joannes Lydus, *De magistratibus*, iii. 64; Ovid, *Heroides*, ix. 55 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 32; Seneca, *Hercules Oetaeus*, 371 *sqq.*; Statius, *Theb.* x. 646-649. According to Pherecydes, cited by the Scholiast on Homer (*l.c.*), Hermes sold Hercules to Omphale for three talents. The sum obtained by his sale was to be paid as compensation to the sons of the murdered Iphitus, according to Diodorus (*l.c.*). The period of his servitude, according to Sophocles (*Trachiniae*, 252 *sq.*), was only one year; but Herodorus, cited by the Scholiast on Sophocles (*Trach.* 253), says that it was three years, which agrees with the statement of Apollodorus.

³ As to the Cercopes, see Diodorus Siculus, iv. 31. 7; Nonnus, in *Mythographi Graeci*, ed. A. Westermann, *Appendix Narrationum*, 39, p. 375; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 431, v. 73 *sqq.*; Zenobius, *Cent.* v. 10; Apostolius, *Cent.* xi. 19. These malefactors were two in number. Hercules is said to have carried them hanging with their heads downward from

Αὐλίδι¹ τοὺς παριόντας ξένους σκάπτειν ἀναγκάζοντα, σὺν ταῖς ῥίζαις τὰς ἀμπέλους καύσας² μετὰ τῆς θυγατρὸς Ξενοδόκης³ ἀπέκτεινε. καὶ προσσχὼν νῆσφ Δολίχῃ, τὸ Ἰκάρου σῶμα ἰδὼν τοῖς αἰγιαλοῖς προσφερόμενον ἔθαψε, καὶ τὴν νῆσον ἀντὶ Δολίχης Ἰκαρίαν ἐκάλεσεν. ἀντὶ τούτου Δαίδαλος ἐν Πίσῃ εἰκόνα παραπλησίαν κατεσκεύασεν Ἑρακλεῖ· ἦν νυκτὸς ἀγνοήσας Ἑρακλῆς λίθω βαλὼν ὡς ἔμπνου ἐπληξε. καθ' ὃν δὲ χρόνον ἐλάτρευε παρ' Ὀμφάλῃ, λέγεται τὸν ἐπὶ Κόλχους πλοῦν γενέσθαι καὶ τὴν τοῦ Καλυδωνίου κάπρου

¹ ἐν Αὐλίδι EA, Müller, Bekker, Wagner: ἐν Λυδίᾳ Pierson, Westermann: τὸν Λύδιον Gale: ἐν αὐλῶνι or ἐν ἀμπελῶνι Heyne (conjecture): ἐν Φύλλιδι Hercher. But Heyne's conjecture ἐν ἀμπελῶνι may be right; for a place Aulis in Lydia is otherwise unknown, and the mention of the vineyards seems essential to the sense. Compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 31. 7, Συλέα δὲ τοὺς παριόντας ξένους συναρπάζοντα καὶ τοὺς ἀμπελῶνας σκάπτειν ἀναγκάζοντα; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 432 sq., Συλέα καὶ τὸν Λύδιον, βιάζοντα τοὺς ξένους || τοὺς ἀμπελῶνας αὐτῶν σκάπτειν δουλείας τρόφῳ. Tzetzes appears to have made two men out of Syleus the Lydian: his version favours Gale's conjecture in the present passage of Apollodorus. The passage should perhaps be rewritten as follows: Συλέα δὲ τὸν Λύδιον τοὺς παριόντας ξένους <τοὺς ἀμπελῶνας> σκάπτειν ἀναγκάζοντα, σὺν ταῖς ῥίζαις τὰς ἀμπέλους ἀνασπᾶσας κτλ. See the next note.

² καύσας E: σκάψας A: σπᾶσας Meineke. We should perhaps read ἀνασπᾶσας, comparing Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 435, καὶ προβελύμνους ἀνασπᾶ καὶ τούτου τὰς ἀμπέλους. The uprooted vines are shown at the feet of Hercules and Syleus in a vase-painting. See W. H. Roscher, *Lexikon d. griech. u. röm. Myth.* iii. 1622.

³ Ξενοδόκης EC: Ξενοδίκης R^AB, Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 434.

a pole. They are so represented in Greek art. See W. H. Roscher, *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, ii. 1166 sqq. The name Cercopes seems to mean "tailed men," (from κέρκος, "tail"). One story concerning them was that they were

passing strangers to dig, Hercules killed him with his daughter Xenodice, after burning the vines with the roots.¹ And having put in to the island of Doliche, he saw the body of Icarus washed ashore and buried it, and he called the island Icaria instead of Doliche. In return Daedalus made a portrait statue of Hercules at Pisa, which Hercules mistook at night for living and threw a stone and hit it. And during the time of his servitude with Omphale it is said that the voyage to Colchis² and the hunt of the Calydonian deceitful men whom Zeus punished by turning them into apes, and that the islands of Ischia and Procida, off the Bay of Naples, were called Pithecusae ("Ape Islands") after them. See Harpocration, *s.v.* Κέρκωψ; Eustathius, on Homer, *Od.* xix. 247, p. 1864; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xiv. 88 *sqq.* According to Pherecydes, the Cercopes were turned into stone. See Scholiast on Lucian, *Alexander*, 4, p. 181, ed. H. Rabe. The story of Hercules and the Cercopes has been interpreted as a reminiscence of Phoenician traders bringing apes to Greek markets. See O. Keller, *Thiere des classischen Alterthums* (Innsbruck, 1887), p. 1. The interpretation may perhaps be supported by an Assyrian bas-relief which represents a Herculean male figure carrying an ape on his head and leading another ape by a leash, the animals being apparently brought as tribute to a king. See O. Keller, *op. cit.*, p. 11, fig. 2; Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, ii. 547, fig. 254.

¹ Compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 31. 7; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 432 *sq.*; Conon, *Narrat.* 17. Euripides wrote a satyric play on the subject. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck³, pp. 575 *sqq.*. The legend may be based on a custom practised by vine-dressers on passing strangers. See W. Mannhardt, *Mythologische Forschungen*, pp. 12, 53 *sq.*, who, for the rough jests of vine-dressers in antiquity, refers to Horace, *Sat.* i. 8. 28 *sqq.*; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 26. 66. (249).

² That is, the voyage of the Argo. See above, i. 9. 16 *sqq.* As to the hunt of the Calydonian boar, see above, i. 8. 2 *sqq.* As to the clearance of the Isthmus by Theseus, see below, iii. 16, and the *Epitome*, i. 1 *sqq.*

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θήραν, καὶ Θησέα παραγεγόμενον ἐκ Τροιζήνης τὸν Ἴσθμὸν καθάραι.

- 4 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν λατρείαν ἀπαλλαγείς τῆς νόσου ἐπὶ Ἴλιον ἔπλει πεντηκοντόροις ὀκτωκαίδεκα, συναθροίσας στρατὸν ἀνδρῶν ἀρίστων ἑκουσίως θελόντων στρατεύεσθαι. καταπλεύσας δὲ εἰς Ἴλιον τὴν μὲν τῶν νεῶν φυλακὴν Ὀικλεὶ κατέλιπεν, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀριστέων ὄρμα ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν. παραγεγόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς σὺν τῷ πλήθει Λαομέδων Ὀικλέα μὲν ἀπέκτεινε μαχόμενον, ἀπελασθεὶς¹ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν μετὰ Ἡρακλέους ἐπολιορκεῖτο. τῆς δὲ πολιορκίας ἐνεστάσης ῥήξας τὸ τεῖχος Τελαμῶν πρῶτος εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Ἡρακλῆς. ὡς δὲ ἐθεάσατο Τελαμῶνα πρῶτον εἰσεληλυθότα, σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφος ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὄρμα,² μηδένα θέλων ἑαυτοῦ κρείττονα νομίζεσθαι. συνιδὼν δὲ τοῦτο Τελαμῶν λίθους πλησίον κειμένους συνήθροιζε, τοῦ δὲ ἐρομένου τί πράττοι βωμὸν εἶπεν Ἡρακλέους κατασκευάζειν καλλινίκου. ὁ δὲ ἐπαινέσας, ὡς εἶλε τὴν πόλιν, κατατοξεύσας Λαομέδοντα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ χωρὶς Ποδάρκου, Τελαμῶνι ἀριστεῖον Ἡσιόνην τὴν Λαομέδοντος θυγατέρα

¹ ἀπελασθεὶς A: ἀπελαθεὶς R^a, Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher, Wagner. On the form of the aorist ἐλασθεὶς, see Veitch, *Greek Verbs* (Oxford, 1879), p. 240.

² ὄρμα E: ἴρει A, Wagner.

¹ As to the siege and capture of Troy by Hercules, see Homer, *Il.* v. 640-643, 648-651; Pindar, *Isthm.* vi. 26 (38) sqq.; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 32; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 443 sq.; *id.* *Schol. on Lycophron*, 34; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xi. 213-217, xiii. 22 sq.; Hyginus, *Fab.* 89. The account given by Diodorus agrees so closely in matter, though not in words,

boar took place, and that Theseus on his way from Troezen cleared the Isthmus of malefactors.

After his servitude, being rid of his disease he mustered an army of noble volunteers and sailed for Ilium with eighteen ships of fifty oars each.¹ And having come to port at Ilium, he left the guard of the ships to Oicles² and himself with the rest of the champions set out to attack the city. Howbeit Laomedon marched against the ships with the multitude and slew Oicles in battle, but being repulsed by the troops of Hercules, he was besieged. The siege once laid, Telamon was the first to breach the wall and enter the city, and after him Hercules. But when he saw that Telamon had entered it first, he drew his sword and rushed at him, loath that anybody should be reputed a better man than himself. Perceiving that, Telamon collected stones that lay to hand, and when Hercules asked him what he did, he said he was building an altar to Hercules the Glorious Victor.³ Hercules thanked him, and when he had taken the city and shot down Laomedon and his sons, except Podarces, he assigned Laomedon's daughter Hesione

with that of Apollodorus that both authors probably drew on the same source. Homer, with whom Tzetzes agrees, says that Hercules went to Troy with only six ships. Diodorus notices the Homeric statement, but mentions that according to some the fleet of Hercules numbered "eighteen long ships."

² As to Oicles at Troy, compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 32. 3; Pausanias, viii. 36. 6, who says that his tomb was shown near Megalopolis in Arcadia. Sophocles seems to have written a play called *Oicles*, though there is some doubt as to the spelling of the name. See *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. ii. p. 119.

³ This incident is recorded also by Tzetzes (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 469); but according to him the title which Telamon applied to Hercules at the altar was Averter of Ills (*Alexikakos*), not Glorious Victor (*Kallinikos*).

δίδωσι, καὶ ταύτη συγχωρεῖ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ὃν ἠθέλεν ἄγεσθαι. τῆς δὲ αἵρουμένης τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ποδάρκην, ἔφη δεῖν πρῶτον αὐτὸν δούλον γενέσθαι, καὶ τότε τί ποτε δοῦσαν ἂντ' αὐτοῦ¹ λαβεῖν αὐτόν. ἢ δὲ πιπρασκομένου τὴν καλύπτραν ἀφελομένη τῆς κεφαλῆς ἂντέδωκεν· ὅθεν Ποδάρκης Πρίαμος ἐκλήθη.

VII. Πλέοντος δὲ ἀπὸ Τροίας Ἑρακλέους Ἡρα χαλεποὺς ἔπεμψε² χεიმῶνας· ἐφ' οἷς ἀγανακτήσας Ζεὺς ἐκρέμασεν αὐτὴν ἐξ' Ὀλύμπου. προσέπλει δὲ Ἑρακλῆς τῇ Κῶ· καὶ νομίσαντες αὐτὸν οἱ Κῶοι ληστρικὸν ἄγειν στόλον, βάλλοντες λίθοις προσπλεῖν ἐκώλουν. ὁ δὲ βιασάμενος αὐτὴν νυκτὸς³ εἶλε, καὶ τὸν βασιλέα Εὐρύπυλον, Ἀστυπαλαΐας παῖδα καὶ Ποσειδῶνος, ἔκτεινεν. ἐτρώθη δὲ κατὰ τὴν μάχην Ἑρακλῆς ὑπὸ Χαλκῳδοντος, καὶ Διὸς ἐξαρπάσαντος αὐτὸν οὐδὲν ἔπαθε. πορθήσας δὲ Κῶ ἦκε δι' Ἀθηνᾶς⁴ εἰς Φλέγραν, καὶ μετὰ θεῶν κατεπολέμησε Γίγαντας.

¹ δοῦσαν ἂντ' αὐτοῦ E: δοῦσ' ἂντ' αὐτῶν A.

² ἔπεμψε EA: ἐπέπεμψε conjectured by Heyne, who rightly observed that ἐπιπέμπειν is the usual word in this connexion. Compare i. 9. 24, *Építome*, iii. 4, vi. 5.

³ αὐτὴν νυκτὸς Wagner: τὴν νύκτα A.

⁴ Ἀθηνᾶς Gale, Heyne (comparing i. 6. 1): Ἀθηνᾶν Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher, Wagner, apparently following the MSS.

¹ Compare Sophocles, *Ajax*, 1299–1303; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* viii. 284; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xi. 216 sq.; Hyginus, *Fab.* 89.

² This derivation of the name Priam from the verb *priamai*, "to buy," is repeated, somewhat more clearly, by Tzetzes,

as a prize to Telamon¹ and allowed her to take with her whomsoever of the captives she would. When she chose her brother Podarces, Hercules said that he must first be a slave and then be ransomed by her. So when he was being sold she took the veil from her head and gave it as a ransom; hence Podarces was called Priam.²

VII. When Hercules was sailing from Troy, Hera sent grievous storms,³ which so vexed Zeus that he hung her from Olympus.⁴ Hercules sailed to Cos,⁵ and the Coans, thinking he was leading a piratical squadron, endeavoured to prevent his approach by a shower of stones. But he forced his way in and took the city by night, and slew the king, Eurypylos, son of Poseidon by Astypalaea. And Hercules was wounded in the battle by Chalcedon; but Zeus snatched him away, so that he took no harm. And having laid waste Cos, he came through Athena's agency to Phlegra, and sided with the gods in their victorious war on the giants.⁶

Schol. on Lycophron, 34, Ποδάρκην ἐπρίατο, ὅθεν καὶ ἐκλήθη Πρίαμος. Compare Hyginus, *Fab. 89, Podarci, filio eius infanti, regnum dedit, qui postea Priamus est appellatus, ἀπὸ τοῦ πρίασθαι.* For the bestowal by Hercules of the kingdom on the youthful Priam, compare Seneca, *Troades, 718 sqq.*

¹ See Homer, *Il. xiv. 249 sqq., xv. 24 sqq.*

² See Apollodorus, i. 3. 5.

³ With the following account of Hercules's adventures in Cos, compare the Scholiasts on Homer, *Il. i. 590, xiv. 255*; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades, ii. 445*; Ovid, *Metamorph. vii. 363 sq.* The Scholiast on Homer (*Il. xiv. 255*) tells us that the story was found in Pherecydes, whom Apollodorus probably follows in the present passage.

⁴ See Apollodorus, i. 6. 1 *sq.*

2 Μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ ἐπ' Αὐγείαν ἐστρατεύετο, συναθροίσας Ἀρκαδικὸν στρατὸν καὶ παραλαβῶν ἐθελουτὰς τῶν¹ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀριστέων. Αὐγείας δὲ τὸν ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους πόλεμον ἀκούων κατέστησεν Ἡλείων στρατηγούς Εὐρυτον καὶ Κτέατον συμφυεῖς, οἱ δυνάμει τοὺς τότε ἀνθρώπους ὑπερέβαλλον, παῖδες δὲ ἦσαν Μολιόνης καὶ Ἀκτορος, ἐλέγοντο δὲ Ποσειδῶνος. Ἄκτωρ δὲ ἀδελφὸς ἦν Αὐγείου. συνέβη δὲ Ἡρακλεῖ κατὰ τὴν στρατείαν νοσῆσαι· διὰ τοῦτο καὶ σπονδὰς πρὸς τοὺς Μολιονίδας ἐποιήσατο. οἱ δὲ ὕστερον ἐπιγινόντες αὐτὸν νοσοῦντα, ἐπιτίθενται τῷ στρατεύματι καὶ κτείνουσι πολλούς. τότε μὲν οὖν² ἀνεχώρησεν Ἡρακλῆς· αὐθις δὲ τῆς τρίτης ἰσθμιάδος τελουμένης, Ἡλείων τοὺς Μολιονίδας πέμψάντων συνθύτας, ἐν Κλεωναῖς ἐνεδρεύσας τούτους Ἡρακλῆς ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἥλιον εἶλε τὴν πόλιν. καὶ κτείνας μετὰ τῶν παίδων Αὐγείαν κατήγαγε Φυλέα, καὶ τούτῳ τὴν βασιλείαν ἔδωκεν. ἔθηκε δὲ καὶ τὸν Ὀλυμ-

¹ τῶν ἀστῶν A, Westermann, Müller. ἀστῶν is rightly omitted by Bekker, Hercher, and Wagner, following Heyne.

² οὖν E: οὐν οὐκ A.

¹ For the expedition of Hercules against Augeas, see Diodorus Siculus, iv. 33. 1; Pausanias, v. i. 10 sq., v. 2. 1, vi. 20. 16; Scholiast on Pindar, *Olymp.* x. 31 (40).

² As to Eurytus and Cteatus, who were called Actoriones after their father Actor, and Moliones or Molionides, after their mother Molione, see Homer, *Il.* ii. 621, xi. 709 sq., 751 sqq., xxiii. 638; Pausanias, v. 1. 10 sq., v. 2. 1 sq. and 5. According to some, they had two bodies joined in one (Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xxiii. 638, 639). According to others, they had each two heads, four hands, and four feet but only one body (Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xi. 709). Compare Eustathius, on Homer, *Il.* xi. 749, p. 882. The poet Ibycus spoke

Not long afterwards he collected an Arcadian army, and being joined by volunteers from the first men in Greece he marched against Augeas.¹ But Augeas, hearing of the war that Hercules was levying, appointed Eurytus and Cteatus² generals of the Eleans. They were two men joined in one, who surpassed all of that generation in strength and were sons of Actor by Molione, though their father was said to be Poseidon; now Actor was a brother of Augeas. But it came to pass that on the expedition Hercules fell sick; hence he concluded a truce with the Molionides. But afterwards, being apprized of his illness, they attacked the army and slew many. On that occasion, therefore, Hercules beat a retreat; but afterwards at the celebration of the third Isthmian festival, when the Eleans sent the Molionides to take part in the sacrifices, Hercules waylaid and killed them at Cleonae,³ and marching on Elis took the city. And having killed Augeas and his sons, he restored Phyleus and bestowed on him the kingdom.⁴ He also celebrated the Olympian games⁵ and

of them as twins, born of a silver egg and "with equal heads in one body" (*ισοκεφάλους ἐνιγυίους*). See Athenæus, ii. 50, pp. 57 sq. Their story was told by Pherecydes (Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xi. 709), whom Apollodorus may have followed in the present passage.

³ Compare Pindar, *Olymp.* x. 26 (32) sqq.; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 33. 3; Pausanias, ii. 15. 1, v. 2. 1.

⁴ Compare Pindar, *Olymp.* x. 34 (43) sqq.; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 33. 4; Pausanias, v. 3. 1; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xi. 700.

⁵ Hercules is said to have marked out the sacred precinct at Olympia, instituted the quadriennial Olympic festival, and celebrated the Olympic games for the first time. See Pindar, *Olymp.* iii. 3 sq., vi. 67 sqq., x. 43 (51) sqq.; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 14. 1 sq., v. 64. 6; Pausanias, v. 7. 9, v. 8. 1 and 3 sq.; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 41; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xi. 700; Hyginus, *Fab.* 273.

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πιακὸν ἀγῶνα, Πέλοπός τε βωμὸν ἰδρύσατο, καὶ θεῶν δώδεκα βωμούς ἐξ¹ ἐδείματο.

3 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τῆς Ἥλιδος ἄλωσιν ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ Πύλον, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἔλων Περικλύμενον κτείνει τὸν ἀλκιμώτατον τῶν Νηλέως παίδων, ὃς μεταβάλλων τὰς μορφὰς ἐμάχετο. τὸν δὲ Νηλέα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ χωρὶς Νέστορος ἀπέκτεινεν· οὗτος δὲ² νέος ὢν παρὰ Γερηνίοις ἐτρέφετο. κατὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην καὶ Ἄιδην ἔτρωσε Πυλίοις βοηθοῦντα.

Ἐλὼν δὲ τὴν Πύλον ἐστράτευεν ἐπὶ Λακεδαίμονα, μετελθεῖν τοὺς Ἴπποκόωντος παῖδας θέλων· ὠργίζετο μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ διότι Νηλεῖ συνεμάχισαν, μᾶλλον δὲ ὠργίσθη ὅτι τὸν Δικυμνίου παῖδα ἀπέκτειναν. θεωμένσῃ γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὰ Ἴπποκόωντος βασιλεία, ἐκδραμῶν κύων τῶν Μολοτικῶν³ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐφέρετο· ὁ δὲ βαλὼν λίθον ἐπέτυχε τοῦ κυνός, ἐκτροχάσαντες δὲ οἱ

¹ ἐξ Heyne (conjecture), Bekker, Hercher, Wagner : ἐξῆς A, Westermann. ² οὗτος γὰρ E.

³ Μολοτικῶν Aegius : μολπικῶν A.

¹ Apollodorus is probably mistaken in speaking of an altar of Pelops at Olympia. The more accurate Pausanias describes (v. 13. 1 sq.) a precinct of Pelops founded by Hercules at Olympia and containing a pit, in which the magistrates annually sacrificed a black ram to the hero: he does not mention an altar. As a hero, that is, a worshipful dead man, Pelops was not entitled to an altar, he had only a right to a sacrificial pit. For sacrifices to the dead in pits, see Homer, *Od.* xi. 23 sqq.; Philostratus, *Heroica*, xx. 27; Scholiast on Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 274; Pausanias, ix. 39. 6; Fr. Pfister, *Der Reliquienkult im Altertum*, pp. 474 sqq.

² As to the six double altars, each dedicated to a pair of deities, see Pindar, *Olymp.* v. 4 (8) sqq., x. 24 (30) sqq.;

founded an altar of Pelops,¹ and built six altars of the twelve gods.²

After the capture of Elis he marched against Pylus,³ and having taken the city he slew Periclymenus, the most valiant of the sons of Neleus, who used to change his shape in battle.⁴ And he slew Neleus and his sons, except Nestor; for he was a youth and was being brought up among the Gerenians. In the fight he also wounded Hades, who was siding with the Pylians.⁵

Having taken Pylus he marched against Lacedaemon, wishing to punish the sons of Hippocoon,⁶ for he was angry with them, both because they fought for Neleus, and still angrier because they had killed the son of Licymnius. For when he was looking at the palace of Hippocoon, a hound of the Molossian breed ran out and rushed at him, and he threw a stone and hit the dog, whereupon the Hippocoöntids

Scholiast on Pindar, *Olymp.* v. 4 (8) and 5 (10), who cites Herodorus on the foundation of the altars by Hercules.

³ As to the war of Hercules on Pylus, see Homer, *Il.* v. 392 *sqq.*, xi. 690 *sqq.*; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* ii. 396; Pausanias, ii. 18. 7, iii. 26. 8, v. 3. 1, vi. 22. 5, vi. 25. 2 *sq.*; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 451; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xii. 549 *sqq.*

⁴ See Apollodorus, i. 9. 9, with the note.

⁵ See Homer, *Il.* v. 395 *sqq.*; Pausanias, vi. 25. 2 *sq.* In the same battle Hercules is said to have wounded Hera with an arrow in the right breast. See Homer, *Il.* v. 392 *sqq.*; Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* ii. 36, p. 31, ed. Potter, from whom we learn that Panyasis mentioned the wounding of the goddess by the hero. Again, in the same fight at Pylus, we read that Hercules gashed the thigh of Ares with his spear and laid that doughty deity in the dust. See Hesiod, *Shield of Hercules*, 359 *sqq.*

⁶ As to the war of Hercules with Hippocoon and his sons, see Diodorus Siculus, iv. 33. 5 *sq.*; Pausanias, ii. 18. 7, iii. 10. 6, iii. 15. 3-6, iii. 19. 7, viii. 53. 9.

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Ἴπποκοωντίδαι καὶ τύπτοντες αὐτὸν τοῖς σκυτά-
λοις ἀπέκτειναν. τὸν δὲ τούτου θάνατον ἐκδικῶν
στρατιὰν ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίους¹ συνήθροιζε. καὶ
παραγενόμενος εἰς Ἀρκαδίαν ἠξίου Κηφέα μετὰ
τῶν παίδων ὧν εἶχεν εἴκοσι συμμαχεῖν. δεδιὼς δὲ
Κηφεὺς μὴ καταλιπόντος αὐτοῦ Τεγέαν Ἀργεῖοι
ἐπιστρατεύσονται, τὴν στρατείαν ἠρνεῖτο. Ἡρα-
κλῆς δὲ παρ' Ἀθηνᾶς λαβὼν ἐν ὑδρία χαλκῇ²
βόστρυχον Γοργόνος Στερόπη³ τῇ Κηφέως θυγα-
τρὶ δίδωσιν, εἰπὼν, ἐὰν ἐπὶ στρατός, τρις ἀνα-
σχούσης <ἐκ>⁴ τῶν τειχῶν τὸν βόστρυχον καὶ μὴ
προϊδούσης⁵ τροπὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἔσσεσθαι. τού-
του γενομένου Κηφεὺς μετὰ τῶν παίδων ἐστρά-
τευε. καὶ κατὰ τὴν μάχην αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ παῖδες
αὐτοῦ τελευτῶσι, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις Ἴφικλῆς⁶ ὁ
τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἀδελφός. Ἡρακλῆς δὲ κτείνας
τὸν Ἴπποκόωντα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ <καὶ>⁷
χειρωσάμενος τὴν πόλιν, Τυνδάρεων καταγαγῶν
τὴν βασιλείαν παρέδωκε τούτῳ.

4 Παριῶν δὲ Τεγέαν Ἡρακλῆς τὴν Αὔγην Ἀλεοῦ
θυγατέρα οὖσαν ἀγνοῶν ἔφθειρεν. ἡ δὲ τεκοῦσα

¹ Λακεδαιμονίους E: Λακεδαιμονίαν A: Λακεδαίμονα Hercher.

² χαλκῇ E: χαλκοῦς A.

³ Στερόπη EA: Ἀερόπη Pausanias, viii. 44. 7, Hercher.

⁴ ἐκ inserted by Aegius.

⁵ προϊδούσης EA: προσιδούσης Heyne (conjecture).

⁶ Ἴφικλῆς E: Ἴφικλος A.

⁷ καὶ inserted by Hercher.

¹ Compare Pausanias, viii. 47. 5.

² As to the story of Hercules, Auge, and Telephus, see Apollodorus, iii. 9. 1; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 33. 7-12; Strabo, xiii. 1. 69, p. 615; Pausanias, viii. 4. 9, viii. 47. 4, viii. 48. 7, viii. 54. 6, x. 28. 8; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 206; Hyginus, *Fab.* 99 sq. The tale was told by Hecataeus (Pausa-

darted out and despatched him with blows of their cudgels. It was to avenge his death that Hercules mustered an army against the Lacedaemonians. And having come to Arcadia he begged Cepheus to join him with his sons, of whom he had twenty. But fearing lest, if he quitted Tegea, the Argives would march against it, Cepheus refused to join the expedition. But Hercules had received from Athena a lock of the Gorgon's hair in a bronze jar and gave it to Sterope, daughter of Cepheus, saying that if an army advanced against the city, she was to hold up the lock of hair thrice from the walls, and that, provided she did not look before her, the enemy would be turned to flight.¹ That being so, Cepheus and his sons took the field, and in the battle he and his sons perished, and besides them Iphicles, the brother of Hercules. Having killed Hippocoon and his sons and subjugated the city, Hercules restored Tyndareus and entrusted the kingdom to him.

Passing by Tegea, Hercules debauched Auge, not knowing her to be a daughter of Aleus.² And she

nias, viii. 4. 9, viii. 47. 4), and was the theme of tragedies by Sophocles and Euripides. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck³, pp. 146 *sqq.*, 436 *sqq.*; *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. i. pp. 46 *sqq.*, ii. 70 *sqq.* Different versions of the story were current among ancient writers and illustrated by ancient artists. See my note on Pausanias, i. 4. 6 (vol. ii. pp. 75 *sq.*). One of these versions, which I omitted to notice in that place, ran as follows. On a visit to Delphi, king Aleus of Tegea was warned by the oracle that his daughter would bear a son who would kill his maternal uncles, the sons of Aleus. To guard against this catastrophe, Aleus hurried home and appointed his daughter priestess of Athena, declaring that, should she prove unchaste, he would put her to death. As chance would have it, Hercules arrived at Tegea on his way to Elis, where he purposed to make war on Augeas. The king entertained him hospitably

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κρύφα τὸ βρέφος κατέθετο ἐν τῷ τεμένει τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς. λοιμῶ¹ δὲ τῆς χώρας φθειρομένης, Ἀλεὸς εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸ τέμενος καὶ ἐρευνήσας τὰς τῆς θυγατρὸς ὠδίνας εὔρε. τὸ μὲν οὖν βρέφος εἰς τὸ Παρθένιον ὄρος ἐξέθετο. καὶ τοῦτο κατὰ θεῶν τινα πρόνοιαν ἐσώθη· θηλὴν μὲν γὰρ ἀρτι-

¹ λοιμῶ. Wagner conjectures λιμῶ, comparing iii. 9. 1.

in the sanctuary of Athena, and there the hero, flushed with wine, violated the maiden priestess. Learning that she was with child, her father Aleus sent for the experienced ferryman Nauplius, father of Palamedes, and entrusted his daughter to him to take and drown her. On their way to the sea the girl (Auge) gave birth to Telephus on Mount Parthenius, and instead of drowning her and the infant the ferryman sold them both to king Teuthras in Mysia, who, being childless, married Auge and adopted Telephus. See Alcidamas, *Odyss.* 14-16, pp. 179 sq., ed. Blass (appended to his edition of Antiphon). This version, which represents mother and child as sold together to Teuthras, differs from the version adopted by Apollodorus, according to whom Auge alone was sold to Teuthras in Mysia, while her infant son Telephus was left behind in Arcadia and reared by herdsmen (iii. 9. 1). The sons of Aleus and maternal uncles of Telephus were Cephæus and Lycurgus (Apollodorus, iii. 9. 1). Ancient writers do not tell us how Telephus fulfilled the oracle by killing them, though the murder is mentioned by Hyginus (*Fab.* 244) and a Greek proverb-writer (*Paroemiographi Graeci*, ed. Leutsch et Schneidewin, vol. i. p. 212). Sophocles appears to have told the story in his lost play, *The Mysians*; for in it he described how Telephus came, silent and speechless, from Tegea to Mysia (Aristotle, *Poetics*, 24, p. 1460a, 32, ed. Bekker), and this silence of Telephus seems to have been proverbial. For the comic poet Alexis, speaking of a greedy parasite who used to gobble up his dinner without exchanging a word with anybody, says that, "he dines like speechless Telephus, answering all questions put to him only with nods" (Athenaeus, x. 18, p. 421 D). And another comic poet, Amphis, describing the high and mighty airs with which fishmongers treated their

brought forth her babe secretly and deposited it in the precinct of Athena. But the country being wasted by a pestilence, Aleus entered the precinct and on investigation discovered his daughter's motherhood. So he exposed the babe on Mount Parthenius, and by the providence of the gods it was preserved: for a doe that had just cast her fawn

customers in the market, says that it was a thousand times easier to get speech of a general than of a fishmonger; for if you addressed one of these gentry and, pointing to a fish, asked "How much?" he would not at first deign to look at you, much less speak to you, but would stoop down, silent as Telephus, over his wares; though in time, his desire of lucre overcoming his contempt of you, he would slap a bloated octopus and mutter meditatively, as if soliloquizing, "Six-pence for him, and a bob for the hammer-fish." This latter poet explains incidentally why Telephus was silent; he says it was very natural that fishmongers should hold their tongue, "for all homicides are in the same case," thus at once informing us of a curious point in Greek law or custom and gratifying his spite at the "cursed fishmongers," whom he compares to the worst class of criminals. See Athenaeus, vi. 5, p. 224 DE. As Greek homicides were supposed to be haunted by the ghosts of their victims until a ceremony of purification was performed which rid them of their invisible, but dangerous, pursuers, we may conjecture that the rule of silence had to be observed by them until the accomplishment of the purificatory rite released them from the restrictions under which they laboured during their uncleanness, and permitted them once more to associate freely with their fellows. As to the restrictions imposed on homicides in ancient Greece, see *Psyche's Task*, 2nd ed. pp. 113 sqq.; *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, i. 80, 83 sq. The motive of the homicide's silence may have been a fear lest by speaking he should attract the attention, and draw down on himself the vengeance, of his victim's ghost. Similarly, among certain peoples, a widow is bound to observe silence for some time after her husband's death, and the rule appears to be based on a like dread of exciting the angry or amorous passions of her departed spouse by the sound of the familiar voice. See *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*, iii. 71 sqq.

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τόκος ἔλαφος ὑπέσχευ αὐτῷ, ποιμένες δὲ ἀνελό-
μενοι τὸ βρέφος Τήλεφον ἐκάλεσαν αὐτό. Αὐγὴν
δὲ ἔδωκε Ναυπλίῳ τῷ Ποσειδῶνος ὑπερόριον ἀπεμ-
πολῆσαι. ὁ δὲ Τεύθραντι τῷ Τευθρανίας ἔδωκεν
αὐτὴν δυνάστη, κακείνος γυναικα ἐποίησατο.

- 5 Παραγενόμενος δὲ Ἡρακλῆς εἰς Καλυδῶνα τὴν
Οἰνέως θυγατέρα Δηιάνειραν ἐμνηστεύετο,¹ καὶ
διαπαλαίσας ὑπὲρ τῶν γάμων αὐτῆς πρὸς Ἀχε-
λῶν εἰκισμένον ταύρω περιέκλασε τὸ ἕτερον
τῶν κεράτων. καὶ τὴν μὲν Δηιάνειραν γαμῆι, τὸ
δὲ κέρας Ἀχελῶος λαμβάνει, δούς ἀντὶ τούτου
τὸ τῆς Ἀμαλθείας. Ἀμάλθεια δὲ ἦν Αἰμονίου²
θυγάτηρ, ἣ κέρας εἶχε ταύρου. τοῦτο δέ, ὡς
Φερεκύδης λέγει, δύναμιν εἶχε³ τοιαύτην ὥστε
βρωτὸν ἢ ποτόν, ὅπερ <ἄν> εὔξαιτό⁴ τις, παρέ-
χειν ἄφθονον.

¹ ἐμνηστεύετο EA: ἐμνηστεύσατο, *Argument of Sophocles, Trachiniae* (ἐκ τῆς Ἀπολλοδώρου βιβλιοθήκης).

² Αἰμονίου *Argument of Sophocles, Trachiniae*, Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 50, Aegius: ἄρμενίου A.

³ εἶχε *Argument of Sophocles, Trachiniae*, Faber, Müller, Hercher: ἔχει EA, Westermann, Bekker, Wagner.

⁴ ὅπερ ἄν εὔξαιτο *Argument of Sophocles, Trachiniae*: ὅπερ εὔξαιτο EA.

¹ Apollodorus seems to derive the name Telephus from θηλή, "a dug," and ἔλαφος, "a doe."

² When Hercules went down to hell to fetch up Cerberus, he met the ghost of Meleager, and conversing with him proposed to marry the dead hero's sister, Deianira. The story of the match thus made, not in heaven but in hell, is told by Bacchylides (*Epinic*. v. 165 *sqq.*), and seems to have been related by Pindar in a lost poem (Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xxi. 194). As to the marriage of Hercules with Deianira at Calydon, the home of her father Oeneus, see also Diodorus Siculus, iv. 34. 1.

³ On the struggle of Hercules with the river Achelous, see Sophocles, *Trachiniae*, 9-21; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 35. 3 *sq.*;

gave it suck, and shepherds took up the babe and called it Telephus.¹ And her father gave Auge to Nauplius, son of Poseidon, to sell far away in a foreign land; and Nauplius gave her to Teuthras, the prince of Teuthrania, who made her his wife.

And having come to Calydon, Hercules wooed Deianira, daughter of Oeneus.² He wrestled for her hand with Achelous, who assumed the likeness of a bull; but Hercules broke off one of his horns.³ So Hercules married Deianira, but Achelous recovered the horn by giving the horn of Amalthea in its stead. Now Amalthea was a daughter of Haemonius, and she had a bull's horn, which, according to Pherecydes, had the power of supplying meat or drink in abundance, whatever one might wish.⁴

Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* ix.; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xxi. 194; Ovid, *Metamorph.* ix. 1-88; Hyginus, *Fab.* 31; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 20, 131 (First Vatican Mythographer, 58; Second Vatican Mythographer, 165). According to Ovid, the river-god turned himself first into a serpent and then into a bull. The story was told by Archilochus, who represented the river Achelous in the form of a bull, as we learn from the Scholiast on Homer (*l.c.*). Diodorus rationalized the legend in his dull manner by supposing that it referred to a canal which the eminent philanthropist Hercules dug for the benefit of the people of Calydon.

⁴ According to some, Amalthea was the goat on whose milk the infant Zeus was fed. From one of its horns flowed ambrosia, and from the other flowed nectar. See Callimachus, *Hymn to Zeus*, 48 *sq.*, with the Scholiast. According to others, Amalthea was only the nymph who owned the goat which suckled the god. See Eratosthenes, *Cataster.* 13; Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 13; Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 115 *sqq.* Some said that, in gratitude for having been nurtured on the animal's milk, Zeus made a constellation of the goat and bestowed one of its horns on the nymphs who had reared him, at the same time ordaining that the horn should produce whatever they asked for. See Zenobius, *Cent.* ii. 48. As to the horn, see A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, i. 501 *sq.*

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6 Στρατεύει δὲ Ἡρακλῆς μετὰ Καλυδωνίων ἐπὶ Θεσπρωτοῦς, καὶ πόλιν ἔλων Ἐφυραν, ἧς ἐβασίλευε Φύλας,¹ Ἀστυόχη τῇ τούτου θυγατρὶ συνελθὼν πατὴρ Γληπολέμου² γίνεται. διατελῶν δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς, πέμψας πρὸς Θέσπιον ἑπτὰ μὲν κατέχειν ἔλεγε παῖδας, τρεῖς δὲ εἰς Θήβας ἀποστέλλειν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς τεσσαράκοντα πέμπειν εἰς Σαρδῶ τὴν νῆσον ἐπ' ἀποικίαν. γενομένων δὲ τούτων εὐχούμενος παρ' Οἰνεῖ³ κονδύλω πλήξας⁴ ἀπέκτεινεν Ἀρχιτέλους παῖδα Εὐνομον⁵ κατὰ χειρῶν δίδόντα· συγγενῆς δὲ Οἰνέως οὗτος. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν πατὴρ τοῦ παιδός, ἀκουσίως

¹ Φύλας *Argument of Sophocles, Trachiniae*: φύδας A: Φυλεύς Diodorus Siculus, iv. 36. 1.

² Τληπολέμου *Argument of Sophocles, Trachiniae* (compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 36. 1): τριπτολέμου A.

³ παρὰ Οἰνεῖ *Argument of Sophocles, Trachiniae*: παρ' οἰνεῖν καὶ A. ⁴ παῖδας *Argument of Sophocles, Trachiniae*.

⁵ Εὐνομον *Argument of Sophocles, Trachiniae*. He is named Ἐννομος by Tzetzes (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 50; *Chiliades*, ii. 456) and Εὐρύνομος by Diodorus Siculus (iv. 36. 1).

¹ Compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 36. 1, who gives Phyleus as the name of the king of Ephyra, but does not mention the name of his daughter. According to Pindar (*Olymp.* vii. 23 (40) *sq.*, with the Scholiast), the mother of Tlepolemus by Hercules was not Astyoche but Astydamia.

² The sons referred to are those whom Hercules had by the fifty daughters of Thespius. See Apollodorus, ii. 4. 10. Compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 29, who says that two (not three) of these sons of Hercules remained in Thebes, and that their descendants were honoured down to the historian's time. He informs us also that, on account of the youth of his sons, Hercules committed the leadership of the colony to his nephew Iolaus. As to the Sardinian colony see also Pausanias, i. 29. 5, vii. 2. 2, ix. 23. 1, x. 17. 5, who says

And Hercules marched with the Calydonians against the Thesprotians, and having taken the city of Ephyra, of which Phylas was king, he had intercourse with the king's daughter Astyoche, and became the father of Tlepolemus.¹ While he stayed among them, he sent word to Thespius to keep seven of his sons, to send three to Thebes and to despatch the remaining forty to the island of Sardinia to plant a colony.² After these events, as he was feasting with Oeneus, he killed with a blow of his knuckles Eunomus, son of Architeles, when the lad was pouring water on his hands; now the lad was a kinsman of Oeneus.³ Seeing that it was an accident,

(x. 17. 5) that there were still places called Iolaia in Sardinia, and that Iolaus was still worshipped by the inhabitants down to his own time. As the Pseudo-Aristotle (*Mirab. Auscult.* 100, p. 31, in Westermann's *Scriptores rerum mirabilium Graeci*) tells us that the works ascribed to Iolaus included round buildings finely built of masonry in the ancient Greek style, we can hardly doubt that the reference is to the remarkable prehistoric round towers which are still found in the island, and to which nothing exactly similar is known elsewhere. The natives call them *nouraghes*. They are built in the form of truncated cones, and their material consists of squared or rough blocks of stone, sometimes of enormous size. See Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, iv. 22 *sqq.* The Sardinian Iolaus was probably a native god or hero, whom the Greeks identified with their own Iolaus on account of the similarity of his name. It has been surmised that he was of Phoenician origin, being identical with Esmun. See W. W. Baudissin, *Adonis und Esmun* (Leipsic, 1911), pp. 282 *sqq.*

¹ Compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 36. 2; Pausanias, ii. 13. 8; Athenaeus, ix. 80, pp. 410 F–411 A; Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 1212; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 50–51; *id. Chiliades*, ii. 456 *sq.* From Athenaeus (*l.c.*) we learn that the story was told or alluded to by Hellanicus, Herodorus, and Nicander. The victim's name is variously given as Eunomus, Ennomus, Eurynomus, Archias, Cherias,

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γεγεννημένου τοῦ συμβεβηκότος, συνεγνωμένοι, Ἡρακλῆς δὲ κατὰ τὸν νόμον τὴν φυγὴν ὑπομένειν ἤθελε, καὶ διέγνω¹ πρὸς Κήυκα εἰς Τραχίνα ἀπιέναι. ἄγων δὲ Δηιάνειραν ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Εὐηνον ἤκεν, ἐν ᾧ καθεζόμενος Νέσσος ὁ Κένταυρος τοὺς παριόντας² διεπόρθμευε μισθοῦ, λέγων παρὰ θεῶν τὴν πορθμίαν εἰληφέναι διὰ δικαιοσύνην.³ αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν Ἡρακλῆς τὸν ποταμὸν διέβη,⁴ Δηιάνειραν δὲ μισθὸν αἰτηθεὶς ἐπέτρεψε Νέσσω⁵ διακομίζειν. ὁ δὲ διαπορθμεύων αὐτὴν ἐπεχείρει βιάζεσθαι. τῆς δὲ ἀνακραγούσης αἰσθόμενος Ἡρακλῆς ἐξελθόντα Νέσσον ἐτόξευσεν εἰς τὴν καρδίαν. ὁ δὲ μέλλων τελευτᾶν προσκαλεσάμενος Δηιάνειραν εἶπεν, εἰ θέλοι φίλτρον πρὸς Ἡρακλέα ἔχειν, τὸν τε γόνον ὃν ἀφήκε κατὰ τῆς γῆς καὶ τὸ ρυὲν ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος τῆς ἀκίδος αἷμα συμμίξει. ἡ δὲ ποιήσασα τοῦτο ἐφύλαττε παρ' ἑαυτῆι.

7 Διεξιὼν δὲ Ἡρακλῆς τὴν Δρυόπων χώραν, ἀπορῶν τροφῆς,⁶ ἀπαντήσαντος⁷ Θειοδάμαντος

¹ διέγνω Commelinus: δὴ ἔγνω A, *Argument of Sophocles, Trachiniae*.

² παριόντας A, *Argument of Sophocles, Trachiniae*, Aegius: παραπλέοντας A, Zenobius, *Cent. i. 33*.

³ διὰ τὸ δίκαιος εἶναι *Argument of Sophocles, Trachiniae*.

⁴ διέβη *Argument of Sophocles, Trachiniae*, Heyne, Müller: διήει EA, Zenobius, *Cent. i. 33*, Westermann, Bekker, Hercher, Wagner.

⁵ ἐπέτρεψε Νέσσω E, *Argument of Sophocles, Trachiniae*: ἐπέτρεψεν ἔσω R^aB.

⁶ καὶ τροφῆς ἀπορῶν *Argument of Sophocles, Trachiniae*.

⁷ ἀπαντήσαντος *Argument of Sophocles, Trachiniae*.

and Cyathus. He was cupbearer to Oeneus, the father-in-law of Hercules. The scene of the tragedy seems to have been generally laid at Calydon, of which Oeneus was king (Apollodorus, i. 8. 1), but Pausanias transfers the scene to Phlius.

the lad's father pardoned Hercules; but Hercules wished, in accordance with the law, to suffer the penalty of exile, and resolved to depart to Ceyx at Trachis. And taking Deianira with him, he came to the river Evenus, at which the centaur Nessus sat and ferried passengers across for hire,¹ alleging that he had received the ferry from the gods for his righteousness. So Hercules crossed the river by himself, but on being asked to pay the fare he entrusted Deianira to Nessus to carry over. But he, in ferrying her across, attempted to violate her. She cried out, Hercules heard her, and shot Nessus to the heart when he emerged from the river. Being at the point of death, Nessus called Deianira to him and said that if she would have a love charm to operate on Hercules she should mix the seed he had dropped on the ground with the blood that flowed from the wound inflicted by the barb. She did so and kept it by her.

Going through the country of the Dryopes and being in lack of food, Hercules met Thiodamas

¹ As to Hercules and Nessus, and the fatal affray at the ferry, see Sophocles, *Trachiniae*, 555 *sqq.*; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 36. 3 *sqq.*; Strabo, x. 2. 5, p. 451; Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* lx.; Eusebius, *Præparatio Evangelii*, ii. 2. 15 *sq.*; Nonnus, in Westermann's *Mythographi Graeci, Appendix Narrationum*, xxviii. 8. p. 371; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 50-51; *id.* *Chiliades*, ii. 457 *sqq.*; Ovid, *Metamorph.* ix. 101 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 34; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 300; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* xi. 235; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 20 *sq.*, 131 (First Vatican Mythographer, 58; Second Vatican Mythographer, 165). The tale was told by Archilochus (Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 1212). Apollodorus's version of the story is copied, with a few verbal changes and omissions, by Zenobius (*Cent.* i. 33), but as usual without acknowledgment.

APOLLODORUS

βοηλατοῦντος τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ταύρων λύσας καὶ σφάξας¹ εὐωχῆσατο.² ὡς δὲ ἦλθεν³ εἰς Τραχίνα πρὸς Κήυκα, ὑποδεχθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ Δρύοπας κατεπολέμησεν.

Αὐθις δὲ ἐκεῖθεν ὀρμηθεὶς Αἰγιμίῳ βασιλεῖ Δωριέων συνεμάχησε· Λαπίθαι γὰρ περὶ γῆς ὄρων ἐπολέμουν αὐτῷ Κορώνου στρατηγοῦντος, ὁ δὲ πολιορκούμενος ἐπεκαλέσατο τὸν Ἡρακλέα βοηθὸν ἐπὶ μέρει τῆς γῆς. βοηθήσας δὲ Ἡρακλῆς ἀπέκτεινε Κόρωνον μετὰ καὶ ἄλλων, καὶ τὴν γῆν ἅπασαν παρέδωκεν ἐλευθέραν αὐτῷ. ἀπέκτεινε δὲ καὶ Λαογόραν⁴ μετὰ τῶν τέκνων, βασιλέα Δρυόπων, ἐν Ἀπόλλωνος τεμένει δαινύμενον, ὑβριστὴν ὄντα καὶ Λαπιθῶν σύμμαχον. παριόντα δὲ Ἴτωνον⁵ εἰς μονομαχίαν προεκαλέ-

¹ λύσας καὶ σφάξας *Argument of Sophocles, Trachiniae*: λύσας EA, Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker: θύσας Wagner (comparing Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 1212, θύσας εὐωχεῖτο).

² εὐωχῆσατο E: εὐωχεῖτο *Argument of Sophocles, Trachiniae*, Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 1212.

³ ἦκεν *Argument of Sophocles, Trachiniae*.

⁴ Λαογόραν R, Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 466, Aegius: λαγόραν A.

⁵ Ἴτωνον Müller, Wagner (comparing Diodorus Siculus, iv. 37. 4; Stephanus Byzantius, s.v. Ἴτων): Ἴων A: Ἴτωνα *Argument of Sophocles, Trachiniae*, Aegius, Commelinus, Gale, Heyne, Westermann, Bekker, Hercher.

¹ As to Hercules and Thiodamas, compare Callimachus, *Hymn to Diana*, 160 sq., with the Scholiast on 161 (who calls Thiodamas king of the Dryopians); Nonnus, in Westermann's *Mythographi Graeci, Appendix Narrationum*, xxviii. 6, pp. 370 sq.; Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 1212; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 464 sq. From the Scholiast on Apollonius (*l.c.*), we learn that the tale was told by Pherecydes, whom Apollodorus may here be following. The story

driving a pair of bullocks; so he unloosed and slaughtered one of the bullocks and feasted.¹ And when he came to Ceyx at Trachis he was received by him and conquered the Dryopes.²

And afterwards setting out from there, he fought as an ally of Aegimius, king of the Dorians.³ For the Lapiths, commanded by Coronus, made war on him in a dispute about the boundaries of the country; and being besieged he called in the help of Hercules, offering him a share of the country. So Hercules came to his help and slew Coronus and others, and handed the whole country over to Aegimius free. He slew also Laogoras,⁴ king of the Dryopes, with his children, as he was banqueting in a precinct of Apollo; for the king was a wanton fellow and an ally of the Lapiths. And as he passed by Itonus he was

seems to be a doublet of the one told about Hercules at Lindus in Rhodes. See Apollodorus, ii. 5. 11, with the note.

² On the reception of Hercules by Ceyx, see Diodorus Siculus, iv. 36. 5; Pausanias, i. 32. 6. As to the conquest of the Dryopians by Hercules, see Herodotus, viii. 43, compare 73; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 37. 1 *sq.*; Strabo, viii. 6. 13, p. 373; Pausanias, iv. 34. 9 *sq.*; Nonnus, in Westermann's *Mythographi Graeci, Appendix Narrationum*, xxix. 6, p. 371; Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 1212, 1218. From these accounts we gather that the Dryopians were a wild robber tribe, whose original home was in the fastnesses of Mount Parnassus. Driven from there by the advance of the Dorians, they dispersed and settled, some in Thessaly, some in Euboea, some in Peloponnese, and some even in Cyprus. Down to the second century of our era the descendants of the Dryopians maintained their national or tribal traditions and pride of birth at Asine, on the coast of Messenia (Pausanias, *l.c.*).

³ On the war which Hercules, in alliance with Aegimius, king of the Dorians, waged with the Lapiths, see Diodorus Siculus, iv. 37. 3 *sq.*

⁴ Compare J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 466.

APOLLODORUS

σατο αὐτὸν Κύκνος Ἄρεος καὶ Πελοπίας· συ-
στάς δὲ καὶ τοῦτον ἀπέκτεινεν. ὡς δὲ εἰς Ὀρμέ-
νιον¹ ἦκεν, Ἀμύντωρ αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς μεθ'
ὄπλων² οὐκ εἶα διέρχεσθαι· κωλυόμενος δὲ παρ-
ιέναι καὶ τοῦτον ἀπέκτεινεν.

Ἄφικόμενος δὲ εἰς Τραχίνα στρατιὰν ἐπ' Οἰ-
χαλίαν συνήθροισεν,³ Εὐρυτον τιμωρήσασθαι
θέλων. συμμαχοῦντων δὲ αὐτῷ Ἀρκάδων καὶ
Μηλιέων⁴ τῶν ἐκ Τραχίνος καὶ Λοκρῶν τῶν
Ἐπικνημιδίων, κτείνας μετὰ τῶν παίδων Εὐρυτον

¹ Ὀρμένιον Wesseling : ὄρχουμενδν A.

² μεθ' ὄπλων R, *Argument of Sophocles, Trachiniae* : appa-
rently omitted in other MSS.

³ συνήθροισεν E, *Argument of Sophocles, Trachiniae* : συνή-
θροισεν A.

⁴ Μηλιέων *Argument of Sophocles, Trachiniae, Aegius* :
μηγιέων A.

¹ On the combat of Hercules with Cycnus, see Hesiod, *Shield of Hercules*, 57 sqq.; Pindar, *Olymp.* ii. 82 (147), with the Scholium, x. 15 (19), with the Scholia; Euripides, *Hercules furens*, 391 sqq.; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 11; Pausanias, i. 27. 6; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 467. It is said that Cycnus used to cut off the heads of passing strangers, intending with these gory trophies to build a temple to his father Ares. This we learn from the Scholiasts on Pindar (*ll. cc.*). The scene of his exploits was Thessaly. According to Pausanias (*l. c.*), Hercules slew the ruffian on the banks of the Peneus river; but Hesiod places the scene at Pagasae, and says that the grave of Cycnus was washed away by the river Anaurus, a small stream which flows into the Pagasae gulf. See *Shield of Hercules*, 70 sqq., 472 sqq. The story of Cycnus was told in a poem of Stesichorus. See Scholiast on Pindar, *Olymp.* x. 15 (19). For the combat of Hercules with another Cycnus, see Apollodorus, ii. 5. 11.

² It is said that the king refused to give his daughter Astydamia in marriage to Hercules. So Hercules killed him, took Astydamia by force, and had a son Ctesippus by her. See Diodorus Siculus, iv. 37. 4. Ormenium was a small town at the foot of Mount Pelion. See Strabo, ix. 5. 18, p. 438.

challenged to single combat by Cycnus a son of Ares and Pelopia; and closing with him Hercules slew him also.¹ But when he was come to Ormenium, king Amyntor took arms and forbade him to march through; but when he would have hindered his passage, Hercules slew him also.²

On his arrival at Trachis he mustered an army to attack Oechalia, wishing to punish Eurytus.³ Being joined by Arcadians, Melians from Trachis, and Epicnemidian Locrians, he slew Eurytus and his sons

³ Eurytus was the king of Oechalia. See Apollodorus, ii. 6. 1 *sq.* As to the capture of Oechalia by Hercules, see Sophocles, *Trachiniae*, 351-365, 476-478; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 37. 5; Zenobius, *Cent.* i. 33; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 469 *sq.*; *id. Schol. on Lycophron*, 50-51; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* v. 392; Scholiast on Euripides, *Hippolytus*, 545; Hyginus, *Fab.* 35; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 291; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 129 *sq.*, 131 *sq.* (Second Vatican Mythographer, 159, 165). The situation of Oechalia, the city of Eurytus, was much debated. Homer seems to place it in Thessaly (*Il.* ii. 730). But according to others it was in Euboea, or Arcadia, or Messenia. See Strabo, ix. 5. 17, p. 438; Pausanias, iv. 2. 2 *sq.*; Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 87; the Second Vatican Mythographer, 165. Apollodorus apparently placed it in Euboea. See above, ii. 6. 1 *sq.* There was an ancient epic called *The Capture of Oechalia*, which was commonly attributed to Creophilus of Samos, though some thought it was by Homer. See Strabo, xiv. 1, 18, pp. 638 *sq.*; compare *id.*, ix. 5. 17, p. 438; Pausanias, iv. 2. 3 (who calls the poem *Heraclea*); Callimachus, *Epigram.* vi. (vii.); *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, pp. 60 *sqq.*; F. G. Welcker, *Der epische Cycclus* (Bonn, 1835), pp. 229 *sqq.* As to the names of the sons of Eurytus, see the Scholiast on Sophocles, *Trachiniae*, 266. He quotes a passage from a lost poem of Hesiod in which the poet mentions Deion, Clytius, Toxeus, and Iphitus as the sons, and Iola (Iole) as the daughter of Eurytus. The Scholiast adds that according to Creophilus and Aristocrates the names of the sons were Toxeus, Clytius, and Deion. Diodorus Siculus (iv. 37. 5) calls the sons Toxeus, Molion, and Clytius.

APOLLODORUS

αἶρεϊ τὴν πόλιν. καὶ θάψας τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ στρα-
 τευσαμένων¹ τοὺς ἀποθανόντας, "Ἴππασόν τε
 τὸν Κήκος καὶ Ἀργεῖον καὶ Μέλανα τοὺς Δικυ-
 μνίου παῖδας, καὶ λαφυραγωγῆσας τὴν πόλιν,
 ἤγγεν Ἰόλην αἰχμάλωτον. καὶ προσορμισθεῖς²
 Κηναίῳ τῆς Εὐβοίας ἀκρωτηρίῳ³ Διὸς Κηναίου
 βωμὸν ἰδρύσατο. μέλλων δὲ ἱερουργεῖν εἰς Τρα-
 χίνα <Λίχαν> τὸν κήρυκα⁴ ἔπεμψε λαμπρὰν

¹ στρατευσαμένων *Argument of Sophocles, Trachiniae*, Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Hercher, Wagner: στρατευσ-
 μένων A, Bekker.

² προσορμισθεῖς E, *Argument of Sophocles, Trachiniae*:
 προσορμηθεῖς A.

³ ἀκρωτηρίῳ *Argument of Sophocles, Trachiniae*, Bekker,
 Hercher, approved by Heyne: ἐπὶ ἀκρωτήριον A: ἐπ' ἀκρω-
 τηρίῳ Heyne (in the text), Westermann, Müller: ἐπὶ ἀκρω-
 τηρίου Wagner: ἐπὶ ἀκροπολέως E.

⁴ Λίχαν τὸν κήρυκα Sommer, Wagner: τὸν κήρυκα E: τὸν
 κήρυκα A: κήρυκα *Argument of Sophocles, Trachiniae*: Λίχαν
 τὸν ὑπηρέτην Diodorus Siculus, iv. 38. 1: τὸν Λίχαν τὸν θερά-
 ποντα Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 473.

¹ Compare Sophocles, *Trachiniae*, 237 sq., 752 sqq., 993 sqq.; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 37. 5; Ovid, *Metamorph.* ix. 136 sq.; Seneca, *Hercules Oetaeus*, 102 sq., 782 sqq. Cenaeum is the modern Cape Lithada, the extreme north-western point of Euboea. It is a low flat promontory, terminating a peninsula which runs far out westward into the sea, as if to meet the opposite coast of Locris. But while the cape is low and flat, the greater part of the peninsula is occupied by steep, rugged, and barren mountains, overgrown generally with lentisk and other shrubs, and presenting in their bareness and aridity a strong contrast to the beautiful woods and rich vegetation which clothe much of northern Euboea, especially in the valleys and glens. But if the mountains themselves are gaunt and bare, the prospect from their summits is glorious, stretching over the sea which washes the sides of the peninsula, and across it to the long line of blue mountains which bound, as in a vast amphitheatre, the horizon on the north, the west, and the south. These blue

and took the city. After burying those of his own side who had fallen, to wit, Hippasus, son of Ceyx, and Argius and Melas, the sons of Licymnius, he pillaged the city and led Iole captive. And having put in at Cenaeum, a headland of Euboea, he built an altar of Cenaeon Zeus.¹ Intending to offer sacrifice, he sent the herald Lichas to Trachis to fetch fine raiment.²

mountains are in Magnesia, Phthiotis, and Locris. At their foot the whole valley of the Spercheus lies open to view. The sanctuary of Zeus, at which Hercules is said to have offered his famous sacrifice, was probably at "the steep city of Dium," as Homer calls it (*Il.* ii. 538), which may have occupied the site of the modern Lithada, a village situated high up on the western face of the mountains, embowered in tall olives, pomegranates, mulberries, and other trees, and supplied with abundance of flowing water. The inhabitants say that a great city once stood here, and the heaps of stones, many of them presenting the aspect of artificial mounds, may perhaps support, if they did not suggest, the tradition. See W. Vischer, *Erinnerungen und Eindrücke aus Griechenland* (Bäle, 1857), pp. 659-661; H. N. Ulrichs, *Reisen und Forschungen in Griechenland*, ii. (Berlin, 1863), pp. 236 sq.; C. Bursian, *Geographie von Griechenland*, ii. 409 sq. At Dium (Lithada?), in a spot named after a church of St. Constantine, the foundations of a temple and fair-sized precinct, with a circular base of three steps at the east end, have been observed in recent years. These ruins may be the remains of the sanctuary of Caenean Zeus. See A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, i. 123, note 9.

² With this and what follows compare Sophocles, *Trachiniae*, 756 sqq.; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 38. 1 sq.; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 472 sqq.; *id.* *Schol. on Lycophron*, 50-51; Ovid, *Metamorph.* ix. 136 sqq.; Hyginus, *Fab.* 36; Seneca, *Hercules Oetaeus*, 485 sqq.; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 300; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 21, 132 (First Vatican Mythographer, 58; Second Vatican Mythographer, 165). The following passage of Apollodorus, down to and including the ascension of Hercules to heaven, is copied verbally, with a few unimportant omissions and changes, by Zenobius (*Cent.* i. 33), but as usual without acknowledgment.

APOLLODORUS

ἔσθῆτα οἴσονται. παρὰ δὲ τούτου τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἰόλην Δηιάνειρα πυθομένη,¹ καὶ δείσασα μὴ ἐκείνην μᾶλλον ἀγαπήσῃ,² νομίσασα ταῖς ἀληθείαις³ φίλτρον εἶναι τὸ ῥυέν αἷμα Νέσσου, τούτῳ τὸν χιτῶνα ἔχρισεν. ἐνδὺς δὲ Ἑρακλῆς ἔθυεν. ὡς δὲ θερμανθέντος τοῦ χιτῶνος ὁ τῆς ὕδρας ἰὸς τὸν χρώτα ἔσηπε, τὸν μὲν Λίχαν τῶν ποδῶν ἀράμενος κατηκόντισεν ἀπὸ τῆς †Βοιωτίας,⁴ τὸν δὲ χιτῶνα ἀπέσπα προσπεφυκότα τῷ σώματι· συναπесπῶντο δὲ καὶ αἱ σάρκες αὐτοῦ. τοιαύτῃ συμφορᾷ κατασχεθεῖς εἰς Τραχίνα ἐπινεὺς κομίζεται. Δηιάνειρα δὲ αἰσθομένη τὸ γεγονός ἑαυτὴν ἀνήρτησεν. Ἑρακλῆς δὲ ἐντειλάμενος Ἕλλω, ὃς ἐκ Δηιανείρας ἦν αὐτῷ παῖς πρεσβύτερος, Ἰόλην ἀνδρωθέντα γῆμαι, παρα-

¹ πυθομένη E, *Argument of Sophocles, Trachiniae*: πυθανομένη R.

² μὴ ἐκείνην μᾶλλον ἀγαπήσῃ E, Zenobius, *Cent. i. 33*: μὴ πάλιν ἐκείνην ἀγαπήσῃ *Argument of Sophocles, Trachiniae*.

³ ταῖς ἀληθείαις E, Zenobius, *Cent. i. 33*: τῆ ἀληθείᾳ *Argument of Sophocles, Trachiniae*.

⁴ ἀπὸ τῆς Βοιωτίας EA. The words are clearly corrupt. Various emendations have been proposed: ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκρωρείας Heyne: ἀπὸ τῆς παρωρείας Westermann: ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκροπολέως Wagner (comparing iii. 5. 8). We should perhaps read ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀκρωτηρίου, comparing ἀκρωτηρίῳ above. I have translated accordingly. Commelinus and Gale add the words *eis tēn Eubōtikēn thálassan* in brackets. This may possibly be the true reading. Compare Ovid, *Metamorph. ix. 21 sq*:

“*Corripit Alcides, et terque quaterque rotatum
Mittit in Euboicas tormento fortius undas.*”

Ovid is followed by the Vatican Mythographers (“*in Euboicas projecit undas*,” “*Euboico mari immersit*”). See *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 21, 132 (First Vatican Mythographer, 58; Second Vatican Mythographer, 165). Hercher omits the words ἀπὸ τῆς Βοιωτίας and inserts the words *eis tēn thálassan*, alleging the authority of the *Argument to the Trachiniae* of Sophocles, where, however, the words do not occur.

From him Deianira learned about Iole, and fearing that Hercules might love that damsel more than herself, she supposed that the spilt blood of Nessus was in truth a love-charm, and with it she smeared the tunic.¹ So Hercules put it on and proceeded to offer sacrifice. But no sooner was the tunic warmed than the poison of the hydra began to corrode his skin; and on that he lifted Lichas by the feet, hurled him down from the headland,² and tore off the tunic, which clung to his body, so that his flesh was torn away with it. In such a sad plight he was carried on shipboard to Trachis: and Deianira, on learning what had happened, hanged herself.³ But Hercules, after charging Hyllus his elder son by Deianira, to marry Iole when he came of age,⁴ proceeded to Mount

¹ That is, the "fine raiment" which Lichas had fetched from Trachis for the use of Hercules at the sacrifice.

² The reading is uncertain. See the critical note.

³ Compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 38. 3. According to Sophocles (*Trachiniae*, 930 sq.). Deianira stabbed herself with a sword. But hanging was the favourite mode of suicide adopted by Greek legendary heroines, as by Jocasta, Erigone, Phaedra, and Oenone. See Apollodorus, i. 8. 3, i. 9. 27, iii. 5. 9, iii. 12. 6, iii. 13. 3, iii. 14. 7, *Epitome*, i. 19. It does not seem to have been practised by men.

⁴ For this dying charge of Hercules, see Sophocles, *Trachiniae*, 1216 sqq.; Ovid, *Metamorph.* ix. 278 sqq. It is remarkable that Hercules should be represented as so earnestly desiring that his concubine should become the wife of his eldest son by Deianira. In many polygamous tribes of Africa it is customary for the eldest son to inherit all his father's wives, except his own mother. See *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*, i. 541, note 3, ii. 280. Absalom's treatment of his father's concubines (2 Samuel, xvi. 21 sq.) suggests that a similar custom formerly obtained in Israel. I do not remember to have met with any other seeming trace of a similar practice in Greece.

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γενόμενος εἰς Οἴτην ὄρος (ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο Τραχινίων), ἐκεῖ πυρὰν ποιήσας ἐκέλευσεν¹ ἐπιβὰς² ὑφάπτειν. μηδενὸς δὲ τοῦτο πράττειν ἐθέλοντος, Ποίας παριὼν κατὰ ζήτησιν ποιμνίων ὑφῆψε. τούτῳ καὶ τὰ τόξα ἐδωρήσατο Ἡρακλῆς. καιομένης δὲ τῆς πυρᾶς λέγεται νέφος ὑποστὰν μετὰ βροντῆς αὐτὸν εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀναπέμψαι. ἐκεῖθεν³ δὲ τυχὼν ἀθανασίας καὶ διαλλαγῆς "Ἡρα τὴν

¹ ἐκέλευσεν E, *Argument of Sophocles, Trachiniae*, Zenobius, *Cent. i. 33*: ἐκέλευε A.

² ἐπιβὰς *Argument of Sophocles, Trachiniae*, Zenobius, *Cent. i. 33*: ἐπιβάντος EA.

³ ἐκεῖθεν E, and apparently all MSS.: ἔνθα *Argument of Sophocles, Trachiniae*. For ἐκεῖθεν we should perhaps read ἐκεῖ.

¹ For the death of Hercules on the pyre, see Sophocles, *Trachiniae*, 1191 *sqq.*; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 38. 3-8; Lucian, *Hermotimus*, 7; Ovid, *Metamorph.* ix. 229 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 36; Seneca, *Hercules Oetaeus*, 1483 *sqq.*; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 300; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 21, 132 (First Vatican Mythographer, 58; Second Vatican Mythographer, 165). According to the usual account, it was not Poeas but his son Philoctetes who set a light to the pyre. So Diodorus Siculus (iv. 38. 4), Lucian (*De morte Peregrini*, 21), Ovid (*Metamorph.* ix. 233 *sq.*), Hyginus (*Fab.* 36), Seneca (*Hercules Oetaeus*, 1485 *sqq.*, 1727), and the Second Vatican Mythographer. According to a different and less famous version of the legend, Hercules was not burned to death on a pyre, but, tortured by the agony of the poisoned robe, which took fire in the sun, he flung himself into a neighbouring stream to ease his pain and was drowned. The waters of the stream have been hot ever since, and are called Thermopylae. See Nonnus, in Westermann's *Mythographi Graeci, Appendix Narrationum*, xxviii. 8; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 50-51. Nonnus expressly says that the poisoned tunic took fire and burned Hercules. That it was thought to be kindled by exposure to the heat

Oeta, in the Trachinian territory, and there constructed a pyre,¹ mounted it, and gave orders to kindle it. When no one would do so, Poeas, passing by to look for his flocks, set a light to it. On him Hercules bestowed his bow. While the pyre was burning, it is said that a cloud passed under Hercules and with a peal of thunder wafted him up to heaven.² Thereafter he obtained immortality, and being reconciled to Hera he married her daughter

of the sun appears from the narrative of Hyginus (*Fab.* 36); compare Sophocles, *Trachiniae*, 684-704; Seneca, *Hercules Oetaeus*, 485 *sqq.*, 716 *sqq.* The waters of Thermopylae are steaming hot to this day. See *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, 3rd ed. i. 210 *sq.* The Vatican Mythographers, perhaps through the blunder of a copyist, transfer the death of Hercules from Mount Oeta to Mount Etna.

² The ascension of Hercules to heaven in a cloud is described also by Zenobius (*Cent.* i. 33), who copies Apollodorus. In a more sceptical vein Diodorus Siculus (iv. 38. 4) relates that, as soon as a light was set to the pyre, a thunderstorm burst, and that when the friends of the hero came to collect his bones they could find none, and therefore supposed he had been translated to the gods. As to the traditional mode of Hercules's death, compare Alberuni's *India*, English ed. by E. C. Sachau, ii. 168: "Galenus says in his commentary to the apothegms of Hippocrates: 'It is generally known that Asclepius was raised to the angels in a column of fire, the like of which is also related with regard to Dionysos, Heracles, and others, who laboured for the benefit of mankind. People say that God did thus with them in order to destroy the mortal and earthly part of them by the fire, and afterwards to attract to himself the immortal part of them, and to raise their souls to heaven.'" So Lucian speaks of Hercules becoming a god in the burning pile on Mount Oeta, the human element in him, which he had inherited from his mortal mother, being purged away in the flames, while the divine element ascended pure and spotless to the gods. See Lucian, *Hermotimus*, 7. The notion that fire separates the immortal from the mortal element in man has already met us in Apollodorus. See i. 5. 4.

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ἐκείνης θυγατέρα Ἥβην ἔγημεν, ἐξ ἧς αὐτῶ
παῖδες Ἀλεξιάρης καὶ Ἀνίκητος ἐγένοντο.

- 8 Ἦσαν δὲ παῖδες αὐτῶ ἐκ μὲν τῶν Θεσπίου¹
θυγατέρων, Πρόκριδος μὲν Ἀντιλέων καὶ Ἴππεύς
(ἢ πρεσβυτάτη γὰρ διδύμους ἐγέννησε), Πανόπης
δὲ Θρεψίππας, Λύσης Εὐμήδης,² . . . Κρέων,
Ἐπιλαΐδος Ἀστυάναξ, Κέρθης Ἰόβης, Εὐρυβίας
Πολύλαος, Πατροῦς Ἀρχέμαχος, Μηλίνης Λαο-
μέδων, Κλυτίππης Εὐρύκαπος, Εὐρύπυλος Εὐ-
βώτης, Ἀγλαΐης Ἀντιάδης, Ὀνήσιππος Χρυσ-
ηίδος, Ὀρείης Λαομένης, Τέλης Λυσιδίκης,
Ἐντελίδης Μενιππίδος,³ Ἀνθίππης Ἴπποδρόμος,
Τελευταγόρας Εὐρυ . . . , Καπύλος⁴ Ἴππωτος,⁵
Εὐβοίας Ὀλυμπος, Νίκης Νικόδρομος, Ἀργέλης
Κλεόλαος, Ἐξόλης Ἐρύθρας, Ξαυθίδος Ὀμόλιπ-
πος, Στρατοῦκῆς Ἄτρομος, Κελευστάνωρ Ἴφιδος,⁶
Λαοθόης Ἀντιφος,⁷ Ἀντιόπης⁸ Ἀλόπιος, Ἀστυ-
βίης Καλαμήτιδος,⁹ Φυληίδος Τίγασις, Αἰσ-
χρηίδος Λευκώνης, Ἀνθείας . . . , Εὐρυπύλης
Ἀρχέδικος, Δυνάστης Ἐρατοῦς,¹⁰ Ἀσωπίδος¹¹

¹ Θεσπίου Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher, Wagner: Θεστίου EA. See above, note on ii. 4. 9.

² Εὐμήδης R: εὐμίδης A: Εὐμείδης Heyne.

³ Ἐντελίδης Μενιππίδος C. Keil: στεντελίδης μενιππίδης A.

⁴ Εὐρυ . . . , Καπύλος. The manuscripts (A) read εὐρυ-
κάπυλος. Commelinus conjectured Εὐρύκης Πύλος, which is
accepted by Heyne, Westermann, Müller (conjecturing
Πύλης). Wagner conjectured Εὐρύτης.

⁵ Ἴππωτος A: Ἴππότης Heyne: Ἴππόθοος Faber: Ἴππους
Hercher.

⁶ Ἴφιδος Heyne: Ἴφισ A.

⁷ Ἀντιφος Heyne: Ἀντιδος A.

⁸ Ἀντιόπης Heyne: Ἀντιώπης A.

⁹ Καλαμήτιδος Heyne: κλααμήτιδος RR^AC: κλαμήτιδος B:
κάλης μήτιδος Commelinus: καλλιδημίδης Hercher.

¹⁰ Ἐρατοῦς Aegius: Ἐρατος A.

¹¹ Ἀσωπίδος Heyne: Ἀσωπίδης A.

Hebe,¹ by whom he had sons, Alexiars and Anicetus.

And he had sons by the daughters of Thespius,² to wit: by Procris he had Antileon and Hippeus (for the eldest daughter bore twins); by Panope he had Threpsippas; by Lyse he had Eumedes; . . . he had Creon; by Epilais he had Astyanax; by Certhe he had Iobes; by Eurybia he had Polylaus; by Patro he had Archemachus; by Meline he had Laomedon; by Clytippe he had Eurycapys; by Eubote he had Eurypylus; by Aglaia he had Antiades; by Chryseis he had Onesippus; by Oria he had Laomenes; by Lysidice he had Teles; by Menippis he had Entelides; by Anthippe he had Hippodromus; by Eury . . . he had Teleutagoras; by Hippo he had Capylus; by Euboea he had Olympus; by Nice he had Nicodromus; by Argele he had Cleolaus; by Exole he had Eurythras; by Xanthis he had Homolippus; by Stratonice he had Atromus; by Iphis he had Celeustanor; by Laothoe he had Antiphus; by Antiope he had Alopius; by Calametis he had Astybies; by Phyleis he had Tigasis, by Aeschreis he had Leucones; by Anthea . . .; by Eurypyle he had Archedicus; by Erato he had Dynastes; by Asopis he had Mentor;

¹ On the marriage of Hercules with Hebe, see Homer, *Od.* xi. 602 *sqq.*; Hesiod, *Theog.* 950 *sqq.*; Pindar, *Nem.* i. 69 (104) *sqq.*, x. 17 (30) *sq.*, *Isthm.* iv. 59 (100); Euripides, *Heracidae*, 915 *sq.*; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 1349, 1350; Ovid, *Metamorph.* ix. 400 *sq.* According to Euripides (*Heracidae*, 854 *sqq.*), at the battle which the Athenians fought with the Argives in defence of the Heraclids, two stars were seen shining brightly on the car of Iolaus, and the diviner interpreted them as Hercules and Hebe.

² A short list of the sons of Hercules is given by Hyginus, *Fab.* 162. As to the daughters of Thespius, see above, ii. 4. 10.

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Μέντωρ, Ἡώνης Ἀμήστριος, Τιφύσης Λυγκαῖος,¹
 Ἄλοκράτης Ὀλυμπούσης, Ἐλικωνίδος Φαλίας,
 Ἡσυχείης Οἰστρόβλης,² Τερψικράτης Εὐρυόπης,³
 Ἐλαχείας⁴ Βουλεύς, Ἀντίμαχος Νικίππης, Πάτ-
 ροκλος Πυρίππης, Νῆφος Πραξιθέας, Λυσίππης
 Ἐράσιππος, Λυκοῦργος⁵ Τοξικράτης, Βουκόλος
 Μάρσης, Λεύκιππος Εὐρυτέλης, Ἴπποκράτης
 Ἴππόζυγος. οὗτοι μὲν ἐκ τῶν Θεσπίου⁶ θυγα-
 τέρων, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων, Δηιανείρας <μὲν>⁷ τῆς
 Οἰνέως Ἰλλος Κτήσιππος Γληνὸς Ὀνειτής,⁸ ἐκ
 Μεγάρας δὲ τῆς Κρέοντος Θηρίμαχος Δηικίων
 Κρεοντιάδης, ἐξ Ὀμφάλης δὲ Ἀγέλαος, ὅθεν καὶ
 τὸ Κροίσου⁹ γένος. Χαλκιοπίας <δὲ>¹⁰ τῆς Εὐρυ-

¹ Λυγκαῖος A, Westermann: Λυγεὺς Heyne, Müller, Bekker, Hercher.

² Οἰστρόβλης L. Dindorf: οἰστρέβλης A.

³ Εὐρύωψ Heyne, Müller.

⁴ Ἐλαχείας Heyne, Bekker: ἐλευχείας A, Westermann, Müller: Λοχίας Hercher.

⁵ Λυκοῦργος Hercher, Wagner. The MSS. (A) add *λύκιος*, which Heyne proposed to omit. Westermann reads *Λυκοῦργος**, *Λύκιος Τοξικράτης*, supposing that the name of Lycurgus's mother is lost, and that Lycius was the son of Toxicrate. Müller edits the passage similarly. Bekker brackets *Λύκιος*.

⁶ Θεσπίου Aegius, Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher, Wagner: θεστίου A. ⁷ μὲν inserted by Heyne.

⁸ Γληνὸς Ὀνειτής Gale: γληκισουεΐτης A: Γληνεὺς Ὀδίτης Diodorus Siculus, iv. 37. 1.

⁹ Κροίσου Aegius: κρησίου A. ¹⁰ δὲ inserted by Hercher.

¹ Compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 37. 1.

² Compare ii. 4. 11; Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* xi. 269, who agrees with Apollodorus as to the names of the children

by Eone he had Amestrius; by Tiphys he had Lyncaeus; by Olympusa he had Halocrates; by Heliconis he had Phalias; by Hesychia he had Oestrobles; by Terpsicrate he had Euryopes; by Elachia he had Buleus; by Nicippe he had Antimachus; by Pypippe he had Patroclus; by Praxithea he had Nephus; by Lysippe he had Erasippus; by Toxicrate he had Lycurgus; by Marse he had Bucolus; by Eurytele he had Leucippus; by Hippocrate he had Hippozygus. These he had by the daughters of Thespius. And he had sons by other women: by Deianira, daughter of Oeneus, he had Hyllus, Ctesippus, Glenus and Onites;¹ by Megara, daughter of Creon, he had Therimachus, Deicoön, and Creontiades;² by Omphale he had Agelaus,³ from whom the family of Croesus was descended;⁴ by Chalcioppe, daughter

whom Hercules had by Megara. But other writers gave different lists. Dinius the Argive, for example, gave the three names mentioned by Apollodorus, but added to them Deion. See the Scholiast on Pindar, *Isthm.* v. 61 (104).

³ Diodorus Siculus (iv. 31. 8) and Ovid (*Heroides*, ix. 53 sq.) give Lamus as the name of the son whom Omphale bore to Hercules.

⁴ According to Herodotus (i. 7) the dynasty which preceded that of Croesus on the throne of Sardes traced their descent from Alcaeus, the son of Hercules by a slave girl. It is a curious coincidence that Croesus, like his predecessor or ancestor Hercules, is said to have attempted to burn himself on a pyre when the Persians captured Sardes. See Bacchylides, iii. 24-62. The tradition is supported by the representation of the scene on a red-figured vase, which may have been painted about forty years after the capture of Sardes and the death or captivity of Croesus. See Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, ii. 796, fig. 860. Compare *Adonis*, *Attis*, *Osiris*, 3rd ed. i. 174 sqq. The Hercules whom Greek tradition associated with Omphale was probably an Oriental deity identical with the Sandan of Tarsus. See *Adonis*, *Attis*, *Osiris*, i. 124 sqq.

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πύλου¹ Θετταλός, Ἐπικάστης τῆς Αὐγέου² Θεοτάλος, Παρθενόπης τῆς Στυμφάλου Εὐήρης, Αὐγῆς τῆς Ἀλεοῦ Τήλεφος, Ἀστυόχης τῆς Φύλαντος Τληπόλεμος, Ἀστυδαμείας τῆς Ἀμύντορος Κτήσιππος, Αὐτονόης τῆς Πειρέως Παλαίμων.

VIII. Μεταστάντος δὲ Ἡρακλέους εἰς θεοὺς οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ φυγόντες Εὐρυσθέα πρὸς Κήκυκα παρεγένοντο. ὡς δὲ ἐκείνους ἐκδιδόναι λέγοντος Εὐρυσθέως καὶ πόλεμον ἀπειλοῦντος ἐδεδοίκεσαν, Τραχίνα καταλιπόντες διὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἔφυγον. διωκόμενοι δὲ ἦλθον εἰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ καθεσθέντες ἐπὶ τὸν ἐλέου βωμὸν ἤξιουν βοηθεῖσθαι. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ οὐκ ἐκδιδόντες αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὸν Εὐρυσθέα πόλεμον ὑπέστησαν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν παῖδας αὐτοῦ Ἀλέξανδρον Ἴφιμέδοντα Εὐρύβιον Μέντορα Περιμήδην ἀπέκτειναν· αὐτὸν δὲ Εὐρυσθέα φεύγοντα ἐφ' ἄρματος καὶ πέτρας ἤδη παριππεύοντα Σκει-

¹ Εὐρυπύλου Aegius : Εὐρυπύλης A.

² Αὐγέου Heyne : αἰγέου A.

¹ See above, ii. 7. 4, and below, iii. 9. 1.

² See above, ii. 7. 6.

³ Ceyx, king of Trachis, who had given shelter and hospitality to Hercules. See above, ii. 7. 7. Compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 57, who agrees with Apollodorus as to the threats of Eurystheus and the consequent flight of the children of Hercules from Trachis to Athens. According to Hecataeus, quoted by Longinus (*De sublimitate*, 27), king Ceyx ordered them out of the country, pleading his powerlessness to protect them. Compare Pausanias, i. 32. 6.

⁴ Compare Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Knights*, 1151, who mentions that the Heraclids took refuge at the altar of Mercy. As to the altar of Mercy see below, iii. 7. 1 note. Apollodorus has omitted a famous episode in the war which the Athenians waged with the Argives in defence of the children of Hercules. An oracle having declared that victory would rest with the

of Eurypylus, he had Thettalus; by Epicaste, daughter of Augeas, he had Thestalus; by Parthenope, daughter of Stymphalus, he had Everes; by Auge, daughter of Aleus, he had Telephus;¹ by Astyoche, daughter of Phylas, he had Tlepolemus;² by Astydamia, daughter of Amyntor, he had Ctesippus; by Autonoe, daughter of Pireus, he had Palaemon.

VIII. When Hercules had been translated to the gods, his sons fled from Eurystheus and came to Ceyx.³ But when Eurystheus demanded their surrender and threatened war, they were afraid, and, quitting Trachis, fled through Greece. Being pursued, they came to Athens, and sitting down on the altar of Mercy, claimed protection.⁴ Refusing to surrender them, the Athenians bore the brunt of war with Eurystheus, and slew his sons, Alexander, Iphimedon, Eurybius, Mentor and Perimedes. Eurystheus himself fled in a chariot, but was pursued and slain by Hyllus just as he was driving past the

Athenians if a high-born maiden were sacrificed to Persephone, a voluntary victim was found in the person of Macaria, daughter of Hercules, who gave herself freely to die for Athens. See Euripides, *Heraclidae*, 406 *sqq.*, 488 *sqq.*; Pausanias, i. 32. 6; Zenobius, *Cent.* ii. 61; Timaeus, *Lexicon*, s.v. Βάλλ' εἰς μακάρων; Scholiast on Plato, *Hippias Major*, p. 293 A; Scholiast on Aristophanes, *l.c.* The protection afforded by Athens to the suppliant Heraclids was a subject of patriotic pride to the Athenians. See Lysias, ii. 11-16; Isocrates, *Panegyric*, 15 and 16. The story was told by Pherecydes, who represented Demophon, son of Theseus, as the protector of the Heraclids at Athens. See Antoninus Liberalis, *Transform.* 33. In this he may have been followed by Euripides, who in his play on the subject introduces Demophon as king of Athens and champion of the Heraclids (*Heraclidae*, 111 *sqq.*). But, according to Pausanias (i. 32. 6), it was not Demophon but his father Theseus who received the refugees and declined to surrender them to Eurystheus.

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ρωνίδας¹ κτείνει διώξας ἄλλος, καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμῶν Ἀλκμήνῃ δίδωσιν· ἡ δὲ κερκίσι τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐξώρυξεν αὐτοῦ.

¹ Σκειρωνίδας Ε: χειρωνίδας Α.

¹ Traditions varied concerning the death and burial of Eurystheus. Diodorus Siculus (iv. 57. 6), in agreement with Apollodorus, says that all the sons of Eurystheus were slain in the battle, and that the king himself, fleeing in his chariot, was killed by Hyllus, son of Hercules. According to Pausanias (i. 44. 9), the tomb of Eurystheus was near the Scironian Rocks, where he had been killed by Iolaus (not Hyllus) as he was fleeing home after the battle. According to Euripides, he was captured by Iolaus at the Scironian Rocks and carried a prisoner to Alcmena, who ordered him to execution, although the Athenians interceded for his life; and his body was buried before the sanctuary of Athena at Pallene, an Attic township situated between Athens and Marathon. See Euripides, *Heraclidae*, 843 *sqq.*, 928 *sqq.*, 1030 *sqq.* According to Strabo (viii. 6. 19, p. 377), Eurystheus marched against the Heraclids and Iolaus at Marathon; he fell in the battle, and his body was buried at Gargettus, but his head was cut off and buried separately in Tricorythus, under the high road, at the spring Macaria, and the place was hence called "the Head of Eurystheus." Thus Strabo lays the scene of the battle and of the death of Eurystheus at Marathon. From Pausanias (i. 32. 6) we know that the spring Macaria, named after the heroine who sacrificed herself to gain the victory for the Heraclids, was at Marathon. The name seems to have been applied to the powerful subterranean springs which form a great marsh at the northern end of the plain of Marathon. The ancient high road, under which the head of Eurystheus was buried, and of which traces existed down to modern times, here ran between the marsh on the one hand and the steep slope of the mountain on the other. At the northern end of the narrow defile thus formed by the marsh and the mountain stands the modern village of Kato-Souli, which is proved by inscriptions to have occupied the site of the ancient Tricorythus. See W. M. Leake, *The Demi of Athens*, 2nd ed. (London, 1841), pp. 95 *sq.*, and my commentary on Pausanias, vol. ii. pp. 432, 439 *sq.* But Pallene,

Scironian cliffs; and Hyllus cut off his head and gave it to Alcmena; and she gouged out his eyes with weaving-pins.¹

at or near which, according to Euripides, the body of Eurystheus was buried, lay some eighteen miles or so away at the northern foot of Mount Hymettus, in the gap which divides the high and steep mountains of Pentelicus and Hymettus from each other. That gap, forming the only gateway into the plain of Athens from the north-east, was strategically very important, and hence was naturally the scene of various battles, legendary or historical. Gargettus, where, according to Strabo, confirmed by Hesychius and Stephanus Byzantius (*s.v.* Γαργητός), the headless trunk of Eurystheus was interred, seems to have lain on the opposite side of the gap, near the foot of Pentelicus, where a small modern village, Garito, apparently preserves the ancient name. See W. M. Leake, *op. cit.* pp. 26 *sqq.*, 44-47; *Karten von Attika, Erläuternder Text*, Heft II. von A. Milchhoefer (Berlin, 1883), pp. 35 (who differs as to the site of Gargettus); *Guides-Joanne, Grèce*, par B. Haussoullier, i. (Paris, 1896), pp. 204 *sq.* Thus the statements of Euripides and Strabo about the place where the body of Eurystheus was buried may be reconciled if we suppose that it was interred at Gargettus facing over against Pallene, which lay on the opposite or southern side of the gap between Pentelicus and Hymettus. For the battles said to have been fought at various times in this important pass, see Herodotus, i. 62 *sq.*; Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, 15, with Sir J. E. Sandys's note; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 13; Scholiast on Euripides, *Hippolytus*, 35.

The statement of Apollodorus that Hyllus killed Eurystheus and brought his head to Alcmena, who gouged out his eyes with weaving-pins, is repeated by Zenobius (*Cent.* ii. 61), who probably here, as so often, simply copied our author without acknowledgment. According to Pindar (*Pyth.* ix. 79 (137) *sqq.*, with the Scholia), the slayer of Eurystheus was not Hyllus but Iolaus; and this seems to have been the common tradition.

Can we explain the curious tradition that the severed head and body of the foeman Eurystheus were buried separately many miles apart, and both of them in passes strategically important? According to Euripides (*Heraclidae*, 1026 *sqq.*),

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- 2 Ἀπολομένον δὲ Εὐρυσθέως ἐπὶ Πελοπόννησον ἦλθον οἱ Ἡρακλεῖδαι, καὶ πάσας εἶλον τὰς πόλεις. ἐνιαυτοῦ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ καθόδῳ διαγενομένου

Eurystheus, before being killed by the order of Alcmena, announced to the Athenians that, in gratitude for their merciful, though fruitless, intercession with Alcmena, he would still, after his death, lying beneath the sod, be a friend and saviour to Athens, but a stern foe to the descendants of the Heraclids—that is, to the Argives and Spartans, both of whom traced the blood of their kings to Hercules. Further, he bade the Athenians not to pour libations or shed blood on his grave, for even without such offerings he would in death benefit them and injure their enemies, whom he would drive home, defeated, from the borders of Attica. From this it would seem that the ghost of Eurystheus was supposed to guard Attica against invasion; hence we can understand why his body should be divided in two and the severed parts buried in different passes by which enemies might march into the country, because in this way the ghost might reasonably be expected to do double duty as a sentinel or spiritual outpost in two important places at the same time. Similarly the dead Oedipus in his grave at Athens was believed to protect the country and ensure its welfare. See Sophocles, *Oedipus Coloneus*, 576 *sqq.*, 1518-1534, 1760-1765; Aristides, *Or.* xlvi. vol. ii. p. 230, ed. G. Dindorf. So Orestes, in gratitude for his acquittal at Athens, is represented by Aeschylus as promising that even when he is in his grave he will prevent any Argive leader from marching against Attica. See Aeschylus, *Eumenides*, 732 (762) *sqq.* And Euripides makes Hector declare that the foreigners who had fought in defence of Troy were "no small security to the city" even when "they had fallen and were lying in their heaped-up graves." See Euripides, *Rhesus*, 413-415. These examples show that in the opinion of the Greeks the ghosts even of foreigners could serve as guardian spirits of a country to which they were attached by ties of gratitude or affection; for in each of the cases I have cited the dead man who was thought to protect either Attica or Troy was a stranger from a strange land. Some of the Scythians in antiquity used to cut off the heads of their enemies and stick them on poles

After Eurystheus had perished, the Heraclids came to attack Peloponnese and they captured all the cities.¹ When a year had elapsed from their

over the chimneys of their houses, where the skulls were supposed to act as watchmen or guardians, perhaps by repelling any foul fiends that might attempt to enter the dwelling by coming down the chimney. See Herodotus, iv. 103. So tribes in Borneo, who make a practice of cutting off the heads of their enemies and garnishing their houses with these trophies, imagine that they can propitiate the spirits of their dead foes and convert them into friends and protectors by addressing the skulls in endearing language and offering them food. See *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, i. 294 *sqq.* The references in Greek legend to men who habitually relieved strangers of their heads, which they added to their collection of skulls, may point to the former existence among the Greeks of a practice of collecting human skulls for the purpose of securing the ghostly protection of their late owners. See notes on ii. 5. 11 (Antaeus), ii. 7. 7 (Cycnus). Compare *Epitome*, ii. 5 (Oenomaus); note on i. 7. 8 (Evenus).

¹ For the first attempted invasion of the Peloponnese by the Heraclids or sons of Hercules, see Diodorus Siculus, iv. 58. 1-4. The invasion is commonly spoken of as a return, because, though their father Hercules had been born at Thebes in Boeotia, he regarded Mycenae and Tiryns, the kingdom of his forefathers, as his true home. The word (*κἀθόδος*) here employed by Apollodorus is regularly applied by Greek writers to the return of exiles from banishment, and in particular to the return of the Heraclids. See, for example, Strabo, viii. 3. 30, p. 354, viii. 4. 1, p. 359, viii. 5. 5, p. 365, viii. 6. 10, p. 372, viii. 7. 1, p. 383, viii. 8. 5, p. 389, ix. 1. 7, p. 392, x. 2. 6, p. 451, xiii. 1. 3, p. 582, xiv. 2. 6, p. 653; Pausanias, iv. 3. 3, v. 6. 3. The corresponding verbs, *κατέρχεσθαι*, "to return from exile," and *κατάγειν*, "to bring back from exile," are both used by Apollodorus in these senses. See ii. 7. 2 and 3, ii. 8. 2 and 5, iii. 10. 5. The final return of the Heraclids, in conjunction with the Dorians, to the Peloponnese is dated by Thucydides (i. 12. 3) in the eightieth year after the capture of Troy; according to Pausanias (iv. 3. 3), it occurred two generations after that event, which tallies fairly with the estimate of Thucydides. Velleius

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φθορὰ¹ πᾶσαν Πελοπόννησον κατέσχε, καὶ ταύτην γενέσθαι χρησμὸς διὰ τοὺς Ἡρακλείδας ἐδήλου· πρὸ γὰρ τοῦ δέοντος αὐτοὺς κατελθεῖν. ὅθεν ἀπολιπόντες Πελοπόννησον ἀνεχώρησαν² εἰς Μαραθῶνα κακεῖ κατώκουν. Τληπόλεμος οὖν κτείνας οὐχ ἐκὼν Λικύμνιον (τῇ βακτηρία γὰρ αὐτοῦ θεράποντα³ πλήσσοντος ὑπέδραμε) πρὶν ἐξελθεῖν αὐτοὺς⁴ ἐκ Πελοποννήσου, φεύγων μετ' οὐκ ὀλίγων ἦκεν εἰς Ῥόδον, κακεῖ κατώκει. Ἔλλος δὲ τὴν μὲν Ἰόλην κατὰ τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς ἐντολὰς⁵ ἔγημε, τὴν δὲ κάθοδον ἐζήτει τοῖς Ἡρακλείδαις κατεργάσασθαι. διὸ παραγενόμενος εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐπυνθάνετο πῶς ἂν κατέλθοιεν. ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἔφησε⁶ περιμείναντας τὸν τρίτον καρπὸν κατέρχεσθαι. νομίσας δὲ Ἔλλος τρίτον καρπὸν λέγεσθαι τὴν τριετίαν, τοσοῦτον περιμείνας χρόνον σὺν τῷ στρατῷ κατῆι . . . τοῦ Ἡρακλέους⁷ ἐπὶ Πελοπόννησον, Τισαμενοῦ τοῦ Ὀρέστου βασιλεύοντος

¹ διαγενομένου φθορὰ Wagner : γενομένου φθορὰ E : γενομένης φθορὰs A.

² ἀνεχώρησαν ERR^a, O in margin : ἦλθον BC.

³ θεράποντα Faber : θεραπεύοντα A.

⁴ αὐτοὺς Heyne : αὐτὸν A.

⁵ τὰς . . . ἐντολὰς R : ἐντολήν A.

⁶ ἔφησε A : ἔχρησε Mendelssohn.

⁷ κατῆι . . . τοῦ Ἡρακλέους. The lacuna was indicated by Heyne. Faber proposed to read κατῆγε τοὺς Ἡρακλέους. See the exegetical note.

Paterculus (i. 2. 1) agrees with Thucydides as to the date, and adds for our further satisfaction that the return took place one hundred and twenty years after Hercules had been promoted to the rank of deity.

¹ Diodorus Siculus says nothing of this return of the Heraclids to Attica after the plague, but he records (iv. 58. 3

return, a plague visited the whole of Peloponnese; and an oracle declared that this happened on account of the Heraclids, because they had returned before the proper time. Hence they quitted Peloponnese and retired to Marathon and dwelt there.¹ Now before they came out of Peloponnese, Tlepolemus had killed Licymnius inadvertently; for while he was beating a servant with his stick Licymnius ran in between; so he fled with not a few, and came to Rhodes, and dwelt there.² But Hyllus married Iole according to his father's commands, and sought to effect the return of the Heraclids. So he went to Delphi and inquired how they should return; and the god said that they should await the third crop before returning. But Hyllus supposed that the third crop signified three years; and having waited that time he returned with his army³ . . . of Hercules to Peloponnese, when Tisamenus, son of

sq.) that, after their defeat and the death of Hyllus at the Isthmus, they retired to Tricorythus and stayed there for fifty years. We have seen (above, p. 278, note on ii. 8. 1) that Tricorythus was situated at the northern end of the plain of Marathon.

² For the homicide and exile of Tlepolemus, see Homer, *Il.* ii. 653-670, with the Scholiast on 662; Pindar, *Olymp.* vii. 27 (50) *sqq.*; Strabo, xiv. 2. 6, p. 653; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 58. 7 *sq.* According to Pindar, the homicide was apparently not accidental, but committed in a fit of anger with a staff of olive-wood.

³ He was met by a Peloponnesian army at the Isthmus of Corinth and there defeated and slain in single combat by Echemus, king of Tegea. Then, in virtue of a treaty which they had concluded with their adversaries, the Heraclids retreated to Attica and did not attempt the invasion of Peloponnese again for fifty years. See Diodorus Siculus, iv. 58. 1-5; Pausanias, viii. 5. 1. These events may have been recorded by Apollodorus in the lacuna which follows.

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Πελοποννησίων. καὶ γενομένης πάλιν μάχης νικῶσι Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ Ἀριστόμαχος θνήσκει. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἠνδρώθησαν οἱ [Κλεοδαίου]¹ παῖδες, ἐχρῶντο περὶ καθόδου. τοῦ θεοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος ὃ τι καὶ τὸ πρότερον, Τήμενος ἤτιᾶτο λέγων τούτῳ πεισθέντας² ἀτυχῆσαι. ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἀνεῖλε τῶν ἀτυχημάτων αὐτοὺς αἰτίους εἶναι· τοὺς γὰρ χρησμοὺς οὐ συμβάλλειν. λέγειν γὰρ οὐ γῆς ἀλλὰ γενεᾶς καρπὸν τρίτον, καὶ στενυγρὰν τὴν εὐρυγάστορα, δεξιὰν κατὰ τὸν Ἴσθμὸν ἔχοντι τὴν θάλασσαν.³ ταῦτα Τήμενος ἀκούσας ἠτοίμαζε τὸν

¹ Κλεοδαίου Gale, bracketed by Westermann and Müller, but not by Bekker, Hercher, and Wagner: κλεοδάου A. We should perhaps read Ἀριστομάχου.

² πεισθέντας conjectured by Commelinus, preferred by Gale; πεισθέντα Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher, apparently following the MSS. Wagner's note πεισθέντας A seems to be a mistake for πεισθέντα A.

³ στενυγρὰν τὴν εὐρυγάστορα, δεξιὰν κατὰ τὸν Ἴσθμὸν ἔχοντι τὴν θάλασσαν Heyne, Bekker, Hercher: στενυγρὸν τὸν τὴν εὐρυγάστορα δεξιὰν κατὰ τὸν Ἴσθμὸν ἔχοντα τὴν θάλασσαν Wagner, which I cannot construe.

¹ Pausanias at first dated the return of the Heraclids in the reign of this king (ii. 18. 7, iii. 1. 5; compare iv. 3. 3), but he afterwards retracted this opinion (viii. 5. 1).

² This Aristomachus was a son of Cleodaeus (Pausanias, ii. 7. 6), who was a son of Hyllus (Pausanias, iii. 15. 10), who was a son of Hercules (Pausanias, i. 35. 8). Aristomachus was the father of Aristodemus, Temenus, and Cresphontes (Pausanias, ii. 18. 7, viii. 5. 6), of whom Temenus and Cresphontes led the Heraclids and Dorians in their final invasion and conquest of Peloponnese (Pausanias, ii. 18. 7, v. 3. 5 sq., v. 4. 1, viii. 5. 6, x. 38. 10). Compare Herodotus, vi. 52, who indicates the descent of Aristodemus from Hercules concisely by speaking of "Aristodemus, the son of

Orestes, was reigning over the Peloponnesians.¹ And in another battle the Peloponnesians were victorious, and Aristomachus² was slain. But when the sons of Cleodaeus³ were grown to man's estate, they inquired of the oracle concerning their return. And the god having given the same answer as before, Temenus blamed him, saying that when they had obeyed the oracle they had been unfortunate. But the god retorted that they were themselves to blame for their misfortunes, for they did not understand the oracles, seeing that by "the third crop" he meant, not a crop of the earth, but a crop of a generation, and that by the narrows he meant the broad-bellied sea on the right of the Isthmus.⁴ On hearing that,

Aristomachus, the son of Cleodaeus, the son of Hyllus." Thus, according to the traditional genealogy, the conquerors of the Peloponnese were great-great-grandsons of Hercules. With regard to Aristomachus, the father of the conquerors, Pausanias says (ii. 7. 6) that he missed his chance of returning to Peloponnese through mistaking the meaning of the oracle. The reference seems to be to the oracle about "the narrows," which is reported by Apollodorus (see below, note 4).

³ As Heyne pointed out, the name Cleodaeus here is almost certainly wrong, whether we suppose the mistake to have been made by Apollodorus himself or by a copyist. For Cleodaeus was the father of Aristomachus, whose death in battle Apollodorus has just recorded; and, as the sequel clearly proves, the reference is here not to the brothers but to the sons of Aristomachus, namely, Temenus and Cresphontes, the conquerors of the Peloponnese. Compare the preceding note.

⁴ The oracle was recorded and derided by the cynical philosopher Oenomaus, who, having been deceived by what purported to be a revelation of the deity, made it his business to expose the whole oracular machinery to the ridicule and contempt of the public. This he did in a work entitled *On Oracles, or the Exposure of Quacks*, of which Eusebius has preserved some extracts. From one of these (Eusebius,

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στρατόν, καὶ ναῦς ἐπήξατο¹ τῆς Λοκρίδος ἔνθα
 νῦν ἀπ' ἐκείνου ὁ τόπος Ναύπακτος λέγεται. ἐκεῖ
 δ' ὄντος τοῦ στρατεύματος Ἀριστόδημος κεραυ-
 νωθεὶς ἀπέθανε, παῖδας καταλιπὼν ἐξ Ἀργείας
 τῆς Αὐτεσίωνος διδύμους, Εὐρυσθένη καὶ Προκλέα.
 3 συνέβη δὲ καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ συμ-
 φορᾷ περιπεσεῖν. ἐφάνη γὰρ αὐτοῖς μάντις χρη-
 σμούς λέγων καὶ ἐνθεάζων, ὃν ἐνόμισαν μάγον
 εἶναι ἐπὶ λύμῃ τοῦ στρατοῦ πρὸς Πελοποννησίῳν
 ἀπεσταλμένον. τοῦτον βαλὼν ἀκουτίῳ Ἰππότης ὁ
 Φύλαντος τοῦ Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Ἡρακλέους τυχὼν
 ἀπέκτεινεν. οὕτως δὲ γενομένου τούτου τὸ μὲν
 ναυτικὸν διαφθαρεισῶν τῶν νεῶν ἀπώλετο, τὸ δὲ
 πεζὸν ἠτύχησε λιμῶ, καὶ διελύθη τὸ στράτευμα.
 χρωμένον δὲ περὶ τῆς συμφορᾶς Τημένου, καὶ
 τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τοῦ μάντεως γενέσθαι ταῦτα
 λέγοντος, καὶ κελεύοντος φυγαδεῦσαι δέκα ἔτη τὸν
 ἀνελόντα καὶ χρήσασθαι ἡγεμόνι τῷ τριοφθαλμῷ,
 τὸν μὲν Ἰππότην ἐφυγάδευσαν, τὸν δὲ τριοφθαλ-

¹ ἐπήξατο Aegius: ἐπάσσετο A.

Praeparatio Evangelii, v. 20) we learn that when Aristomachus applied to the oracle, he was answered, "The gods declare victory to thee by the way of the narrows" (*Νίκην σοι φαίνουσι θεοὶ δι' ὁδοῦ στενύγρων*). This the inquirer understood to mean "by the Isthmus of Corinth," and on that understanding the Heraclids attempted to enter Peloponnese by the Isthmus, but were defeated. Being taxed with deception, the god explained that when he said "the narrows" he really meant "the broads," that is, the sea at the mouth of the Gulf of Corinth. Compare K. O. Müller, *Die Dorier*², i. 58 sq., who would restore the "retort courteous" of the oracle in two iambic lines as follows:—

γενεῆς γάρ, οὐ γῆς καρπὸν ἐξεῖπον τρίτον
 καὶ τὴν στενυγρὰν αὐτὸν εὐρυγαστορὰ
 — ἔχοντα κατὰ τὸν Ἴσθμὸν δεξιάν.

Temenus made ready the army and built ships in Locris where the place is now named Naupactus from that.¹ While the army was there, Aristodemus was killed by a thunderbolt,² leaving twin sons, Eurysthenes and Procles, by Argia, daughter of Autesion.³ And it chanced that a calamity also befell the army at Naupactus. For there appeared to them a soothsayer reciting oracles in a fine frenzy, whom they took for a magician sent by the Peloponnesians to be the ruin of the army. So Hippotes, son of Phylas, son of Antiochus, son of Hercules, threw a javelin at him, and hit and killed him.⁴ In consequence of that, the naval force perished with the destruction of the fleet, and the land force suffered from famine, and the army disbanded. When Temenus inquired of the oracle concerning this calamity, the god said that these things were done by the soothsayer⁵ and he ordered him to banish the slayer for ten years and to take for his guide the Three-eyed One. So they banished Hippotes, and sought for the Three-Eyed One.⁶ And

¹ Naupactus means "ship-built." Compare Strabo, ix. 4. 7; Pausanias, iv. 26. 1, x. 38. 10.

² Aristodemus was a son of Aristomachus and brother of Temenus and Cresphontes, the conquerors of the Peloponnese (Pausanias, ii. 18. 7). Some said he was shot by Apollo at Delphi for not consulting the oracle, but others said he was murdered by the children of Pylades and Electra (Pausanias, iii. 1. 6). Apollodorus clearly adopts the former of these two accounts; the rationalistic Pausanias preferred the latter.

³ Compare Herodotus, vi. 52.

⁴ The soothsayer was Carnus, an Acarnanian; the Dorians continued to propitiate the soul of the murdered seer after his death. See Pausanias, iii. 13. 4; Conon, *Narrationes*, 26; Scholiast on Theocritus, v. 83.

⁵ That is, by the angry spirit of the murdered man.

⁶ With this and what follows compare Pausanias, v. 3. 5 *sq.*; Suidas, *s.v.* Τριόφθαλμος; and as to Oxylus, compare Strabo, viii. 3. 33, p. 357. Pausanias calls Oxylus the son of Haemon.

μον ἐξήτουν. καὶ περιτυγχάνουσιν Ὀξύλω τῷ Ἀνδραίμονος, ἐφ' ἵππου καθημένῳ¹ μονοφθάλμου² (τὸν γὰρ ἕτερον τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐκκέκοπτο³ τόξῳ). ἐπὶ φόνῳ γὰρ οὗτος φυγὼν εἰς Ἥλιον, ἐκείθεν εἰς Αἰτωλίαν ἐνιαυτοῦ διελθόντος ἐπανήρχετο. συμβαλόντες οὖν τὸν χρησμόν, τοῦτον ἡγεμόνα ποιοῦνται. καὶ συμβαλόντες τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ τῷ πεζῷ καὶ τῷ ναυτικῷ προτεροῦσι στρατῷ, καὶ Τισαμενὸν κτείνουσι τὸν Ὀρέστου. θνήσκουσι δὲ συμμαχοῦντες αὐτοῖς οἱ Αἰγυμίου παῖδες, Πάμφυλος καὶ Δύμας.

- 4 Ἐπειδὴ <δὲ> ἐκράτησαν Πελοποννήσου, τρεῖς ἰδρύσαντο βωμοὺς πατρῷου Διός, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων ἔθυσαν, καὶ ἐκκληροῦντο τὰς πόλεις. πρώτη μὲν οὖν λήξις Ἄργος, δευτέρα <δὲ> Λακεδαιμίων, τρίτη δὲ Μεσσήνη. κομισάντων δὲ ὑδρίαν ὕδατος, ἔδοξε ψῆφον βαλεῖν ἕκαστον. Τήμενος οὖν καὶ οἱ Ἀριστοδήμου παῖδες Προκλῆς καὶ Εὐρυσθένης ἔβαλον λίθους, Κρεσφόντης δὲ βουλόμενος Μεσσήνην λαχεῖν γῆς ἐνέβαλε βῶλον. ταύτης δὲ διαλυθείσης ἔδει τοὺς δύο κλήρους ἀναφανῆναι. ἐλκυσθείσης δὲ πρώτης⁴ μὲν τῆς Τημένου, δευτέρας δὲ τῆς τῶν Ἀριστοδήμου παίδων, Μεσσήνην

¹ καθημένῳ Aegius: καθημένου A.

² μονοφθάλμου, Frazer (compare Pausanias, v. 3. 5; Suidas, s.v. Τριόφθαλμος); μονοφθάλμῳ Wagner and previous editors, following apparently the MSS.

³ ἐκκέκοπτο Gale, Heyne, for ἐκέκοπτο: ἐξεκέκοπτο Hercher. But on the omission of the augment, see Jelf, *Greek Grammar*⁴, i. 169, Obs. 4. ⁴ πρώτης Aegius: πρώτου A.

they chanced to light on Oxylus, son of Andraemon, a man sitting on a one-eyed horse (its other eye having been knocked out with an arrow); for he had fled to Elis on account of a murder, and was now returning from there to Aetolia after the lapse of a year.¹ So guessing the purport of the oracle, they made him their guide. And having engaged the enemy they got the better of him both by land and sea, and slew Tisamenus, son of Orestes.² Their allies, Pamphylus and Dymas, the sons of Aegimius, also fell in the fight.

When they had made themselves masters of Peloponnese, they set up three altars of Paternal Zeus, and sacrificed upon them, and cast lots for the cities. So the first drawing was for Argos, the second for Lacedaemon, and the third for Messene. And they brought a pitcher of water, and resolved that each should cast in a lot. Now Temenus and the two sons of Aristodemus, Procles and Eurysthenes, threw stones; But Cresphontes, wishing to have Messene allotted to him, threw in a clod of earth. As the clod was dissolved in the water, it could not be but that the other two lots should turn up. The lot of Temenus having been drawn first, and that of the sons of Aristodemus second, Cresphontes got

¹ The homicide is said to have been accidental; according to one account, the victim was the homicide's brother. See Pausanias, v. 3. 7. As to the banishment of a murderer for a year, see note on ii. 5. 11.

² Pausanias gives a different account of the death of Tisamenus. He says that, being expelled from Lacedaemon and Argos by the returning Heraclids, king Tisamenus led an army to Achaia and there fell in a battle with the Ionians, who then inhabited that district of Greece. See Pausanias, ii. 18. 8, vii. 1. 7 sq.

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5 ἔλαβε¹ Κρεσφόντης. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς βωμοῖς οἷς ἔθυσαν εὖρον σημεῖα κείμενα οἱ μὲν λαχόντες Ἄργος φρῦνον, οἱ δὲ Λακεδαίμονα² δράκοντα, οἱ δὲ Μεσσήνην ἀλώπεκα. περὶ δὲ τῶν σημείων ἔλεγον οἱ μάντις, τοῖς μὲν τὸν φρῦνον καταλαβοῦσιν³ ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως μένειν ἄμεινον (μὴ γὰρ ἔχειν ἀλκὴν πορευόμενον τὸ θηρίον), τοὺς δὲ δράκοντα καταλαβόντας δεινούς ἐπιόντας ἔλεγον ἔσεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ τὴν ἀλώπεκα δολίους.

Τῆμενος μὲν οὖν παραπεμπόμενος τοὺς παῖδας Ἀγέλαον καὶ Εὐρύπυλον καὶ Καλλίαν, τῇ θυγατρὶ προσανεῖχεν Ὑρνηθοῖ καὶ τῷ ταύτης ἀνδρὶ Δηιφόντῃ. ὅθεν οἱ παῖδες πείθουσίν τινας⁴ ἐπὶ μισθῷ τὸν πατέρα αὐτῶν φονεῦσαι. γενομένου δὲ τοῦ φόνου τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ στρατὸς ἔχειν ἐδικαίωσεν Ὑρνηθῶ καὶ Δηιφόντῃ.⁵ Κρεσφόντης δὲ οὐ πολὺν Μεσσήνης βασιλεύσας χρόνον μετὰ δύο παίδων φονευθεὶς ἀπέθανε. Πολυφόντης δὲ ἐβασίλευσεν, αὐτῶν⁶ τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν ὑπάρχων, καὶ τὴν τοῦ

¹ ἔλαχε Hercher.

² λακεδαίμονα E: λακεδαίμονα λαχόντες A.

³ καταλαβοῦσιν E. According to Heyne, the MSS. have καταβαλοῦσι.

⁴ τινας Faber, Westermann, Hercher, Wagner: τιτᾶνας A, Bekker. Heyne conjectured Τιτανίους from Τιτάνη or Τίτανα, a town near Sicyon. See Pausanias, ii. 11. 3-ii. 12. 1; Stephanus Byzantius, s.v. Τίτανα, who recognizes the adjective Τιτάνιος.

⁵ Ὑρνηθῶ καὶ Δηιφόντῃ Heyne: ὕρνηθοῖ καὶ δηιφόντῃ A.

⁶ αὐτὸς Faber: καὶ αὐτὸς Hercher.

¹ As to the drawing of the lots, and the stratagem by which Cresphontes secured Messenia for himself, see Poly-aenus, *Strateg.* i. 6; Pausanias, iv. 3. 4 sq. Sophocles alludes to the stratagem (*Ajax*, 1283 sqq., with the Scholiast on 1285).

Messene.¹ And on the altars on which they sacrificed they found signs lying: for they who got Argos by the lot found a toad; those who got Lacedaemon found a serpent; and those who got Messene found a fox.² As to these signs the seers said that those who found the toad had better stay in the city (seeing that the animal has no strength when it walks); that those who found the serpent would be terrible in attack, and that those who found the fox would be wily.

Now Temenus, passing over his sons Agelaus, Eurypylos, and Callias, favoured his daughter Hyrnetho and her husband Deiphontes; hence his sons hired some fellows to murder their father.³ On the perpetration of the murder the army decided that the kingdom belonged to Hyrnetho⁴ and Deiphontes. Cresphontes had not long reigned over Messene when he was murdered with two of his sons;⁵ and Polyphontes, one of the true Heraclids, came to the

² In the famous paintings by Polygnotus at Delphi, the painter depicted Menelaus, king of Sparta, with the device of a serpent on his shield. See Pausanias, x. 26. 3. The great Messenian hero Aristomenes is said to have escaped by the help of a fox from the pit into which he had been thrown by the Lacedaemonians. See Pausanias, iv. 18. 6 *sq.* I do not remember to have met with any evidence, other than that of Apollodorus, as to the association of the toad with Argos.

³ Compare Pausanias, ii. 19. 1, ii. 28. 2 *sqq.*, who agrees as to the names of Hyrnetho and her husband Deiphontes, but differs as to the sons of Temenus, whom he calls Cisus, Cerynes Phalces, and Agraeus.

⁴ The grave of Hyrnetho was shown at Argos, but she is said to have been accidentally killed by her brother Phalces near Epidaurus, and long afterwards she was worshipped in a sacred grove of olives and other trees on the place of her death. See Pausanias, ii. 23. 3, ii. 28. 3-7

⁵ Compare Pausanias, iv. 3. 7.

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φονευθέντος γυναίκα Μερόπην ἄκουσαν ἔλαβεν.
ἀνηρέθη δὲ καὶ οὗτος. τρίτον γὰρ ἔχουσα παῖδα
Μερόπη καλούμενον Αἴπυτον¹ ἔδωκε τῷ ἑαυτῆς
πατρὶ τρέφειν. οὗτος ἀνδρωθεὶς καὶ κρύφα κατελ-
θὼν ἔκτεινε Πολυφόντην καὶ τὴν πατρώαν βασι-
λείαν ἀπέλαβεν.

¹ Αἴπυτον Heyne : αἴγυπτον A.

¹ Compare Hyginus, *Fab.* 137.

² Compare Pausanias, iv. 3. 7 *sq.* (who does not name Polyphontes); Hyginus, *Fab.* 184. According to Hyginus,

throne and took to wife, against her will, Merope, the wife of the murdered man.¹ But he too was slain. For Merope had a third son, called Aepytus, whom she gave to her own father to bring up. When he was come to manhood he secretly returned, killed Polyphontes, and recovered the kingdom of his fathers.²

the name of the son of Cresphontes who survived to avenge his father's murder was Telephon. This story of Merope, Aepytus, and Polyphontes is the theme of Matthew Arnold's tragedy *Merope*, an imitation of the antique.

BOOK III

I. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ Ἰνύχειον διερχόμενοι γένος τοὺς ἀπὸ Βῆλου μέχρι τῶν Ἑρακλειδῶν δεδηλώκαμεν, ἐχομένως λέγωμεν καὶ τὰ περὶ Ἀγήνορος. ὡς γὰρ ἡμῖν λέλεκται, δύο Λιβύη ἐγέννησε παῖδας ἐκ Ποσειδῶνος, Βῆλον καὶ Ἀγήνορα. Βῆλος μὲν οὖν βασιλεύων Αἰγυπτίων τοὺς προειρημένους ἐγέννησεν, Ἀγήνωρ δὲ παραγενόμενος εἰς τὴν Φοινίκην¹ γαμῆι Τηλέφασσαν καὶ τεκνοῖ θυγατέρα μὲν Εὐρώπην, παῖδας δὲ Κάδμον καὶ Φοίνικα καὶ Κίλικα. τινὲς δὲ Εὐρώπην οὐκ Ἀγήνορος

¹ Φοινίκην Emperius, Bekker, Hercher, Wagner: εὐρώπην A, Westermann, Müller, who brackets the clause παραγενόμενος εἰς Εὐρώπην.

¹ See above, ii. 1. 4.

² The ancients were not agreed as to the genealogies of these mythical ancestors of the Phoenicians, Cilicians, and Thebans. See the Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* ii. 178, iii. 1186. Among the authorities whose divergent views are reported in these passages by the Scholiast are Hesiod, Pherecydes, Asclepiades, and Antimachus. Moschus (ii. 40 and 42) agrees with Apollodorus that the mother of Europa was Telephassa, but differs from him as to her father (see below). According to Hyginus (*Fab.* 6 and 178), the mother who bore Cadmus and Europa to Agenor was not Telephassa but Argiope. According to Euripides, Agenor had three sons, Cilix, Phoenix, and Thasus. See Scholiast on Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 6. Pausanias agrees with regard to Thasus, saying that the natives of Thasos were Phoenicians by descent and traced their origin to this Thasus, son of

BOOK III

I. HAVING now run over the family of Inachus and described them from Belus down to the Heraclids, we have next to speak of the house of Agenor. For as I have said,¹ Libya had by Poseidon two sons, Belus and Agenor. Now Belus reigned over the Egyptians and begat the aforesaid sons ; but Agenor went to Phoenicia, married Telephassa, and begat a daughter Europa and three sons, Cadmus, Phoenix, and Cilix.² But some say that Europa was a daughter

Agenor (Pausanias, v. 25. 12). In saying this, Pausanias followed Herodotus, who tells us that the Phoenician colonists of Thasos discovered wonderful gold mines there, which the historian had visited (Herodotus, vi. 46 *sq.*), and that they had founded a sanctuary of Hercules in the island (ii. 44). Herodotus also (vii. 91) represents Cilix as a son of the Phoenician Agenor, and he tells us (iv. 147) that Cadmus, son of Agenor, left a Phoenician colony in the island of Thera. Diodorus Siculus reports (v. 59. 2 *sq.*) that Cadmus, son of Agenor, planted a Phoenician colony in Rhodes, and that the descendants of the colonists continued to hold the hereditary priesthood of Poseidon, whose worship had been instituted by Cadmus. He mentions also that in the sanctuary of Athena at Lindus, in Rhodes, there was a tripod of ancient style bearing a Phoenician inscription. The statement has been confirmed in recent years by the discovery of the official record of the temple of Lindian Athena in Rhodes. For in this record, engraved on a marble slab, there occurs the following entry: "Cadmus (dedicated) a bronze tripod engraved with Phoenician letters, as Polyzalus relates in the fourth book of the histories." See Chr. Blinkenberg, *La*

APOLLODORUS

ἀλλὰ Φοῖνικος λέγουσι. ταύτης Ζεὺς ἔρασθείς,¹
 †ρόδου ἀποπλέων,² ταῦρος χειροήθης γενόμενος,
 ἐπιβιβασθεῖσαν διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐκόμισεν εἰς
 Κρήτην. ἡ δέ, ἐκεῖ συνευνασθέντος αὐτῇ Διός,
 ἐγέννησε Μίνωα Σαρπηδόνα Ῥαδάμανθυν καθ'
 Ὅμηρον δὲ Σαρπηδῶν ἐκ Διός καὶ Λαοδαμείας
 τῆς Βελλεροφόντου. ἀφανοῦς δὲ Εὐρώπης γενο-
 μένης ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῆς Ἀγήνωρ ἐπὶ ζήτησιν ἐξέ-
 πεμψε τοὺς παῖδας, εἰπὼν μὴ πρότερον ἀναστρέ-
 φειν πρὶν ἂν ἐξεύρωσιν Εὐρώπην. συνεξῆλθε δὲ
 ἐπὶ τὴν ζήτησιν αὐτῆς Τηλέφασσα ἡ μήτηρ καὶ

¹ ἔρασθείς. In the MSS. there follow the words πίπτει διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης, which, as Heyne says, seem to have arisen through confusion with the following ἐπιβιβασθεῖσαν διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης.

² ῥόδου ἀποπλέων apparently corrupt, omitted by Heyne, Bekker, Hercher: ῥόδου ἀποπλέων Westermann: ῥόδου ἀποπνέων Sevinus: κρόκου ἀποπνέων Clavier (comparing Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xii. 292, ἤλλαξεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς ταῦρον καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος κρόκον ἔπνει): ἐκ ῥόδων or ἐκ ῥοδῶνος ἀφελῶν Wagner (comparing Moschus, ii. 70).

Chronique du Temple Lindien (Copenhagen, 1912), p. 324. However, from such legends all that we can safely infer is that the Greeks traced a blood relationship between the Phoenicians and Cilicians, and recognised a Phoenician element in some of the Greek islands and parts of the mainland. If Europa was, as seems possible, a personification of the moon in the shape of a cow (see *The Dying God*, p. 88), we might perhaps interpret the quest of the sons of Agenor for their lost sister as a mythical description of Phoenician mariners steering westward towards the moon which they saw with her silver horns setting in the sea.

¹ Europa was a daughter of Phoenix, according to Homer (*Il.* xiv. 321 sq.), Bacchylides (xvi. 29 sqq. p. 376, ed. Jebb), and Moschus (ii. 7). So, too, the Scholiast on Homer (*Il.* xii. 292) calls Europa a daughter of Phoenix. The Scholiast on Plato (*Timaeus*, p. 24 ε) speaks of Europa as a daughter of

not of Agenor but of Phoenix.¹ Zeus loved her, and turning himself into a tame bull, he mounted her on his back and conveyed her through the sea to Crete.² There Zeus bedded with her, and she bore Minos, Sarpedon, and Rhadamanthys;³ but according to Homer, Sarpedon was a son of Zeus by Laodamia, daughter of Bellerophon.⁴ On the disappearance of Europa her father Agenor sent out his sons in search of her, telling them not to return until they had found Europa. With them her mother, Telephassa, and Thasus, son of Poseidon, or

Agenor, or of Phoenix, or of Tityus. Some said that Cadmus also was a son, not of Agenor, but of Phoenix (Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iii. 1186).

² Compare Moschus, ii. 77 *sqq.*; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xii. 292; Diodorus Siculus, v. 78. 1; Lucian, *Dial. Marin.* xv.; *id. De dea Syria*, 4; Ovid, *Metamorph.* ii. 836 *sqq.*; *id. Fasti.* v. 603 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 178; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 47, 100 (First Vatican Mythographer, 148; Second Vatican Mythographer, 76). The connexion which the myth of Zeus and Europa indicates between Phoenicia and Crete receives a certain confirmation from the worship at Gaza of a god called Marnas, who was popularly identified with the Cretan Zeus. His name was thought to be derived from a Cretan word *marna*, meaning "maiden"; so that, as Mr. G. F. Hill has pointed out, *marnas* might signify "young man." The city is also said to have been called Minoa, after Minos. See Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Γάζα. The worship of Marnas, "the Cretan Zeus," persisted at Gaza till 402 A.D., when it was finally suppressed and his sanctuary, the Marneion, destroyed. See Mark the Deacon's *Life of Porphyry, Bishop of Gaza*, 64-71, pp. 73-82, G. F. Hill's translation (Oxford, 1913). From this work (ch. 19, p. 24) we learn that Marnas was regarded as the lord of rain, and that prayer and sacrifice were offered to him in time of drought. As to the god and his relation to Crete, see G. F. Hill's introduction to his translation, pp. xxxii.-xxxviii.

³ Compare Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xii. 292; Hyginus, *Fab.* 178. ⁴ Homer, *Il.* ii. 198 *sq.*

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Θάσος ὁ Ποσειδῶνος, ὡς δὲ Φερεκύδης φησὶ Κίλικος.¹ ὡς δὲ πᾶσαν ποιούμενοι ζήτησιν εὐρεῖν ἦσαν Εὐρώπην ἀδύνατοι, τὴν εἰς οἶκον ἀνακομιδὴν ἀπογνόντες ἄλλος ἀλλαχοῦ κατώκησαν,² Φοῖνιξ μὲν ἐν Φοινίκῃ,³ Κίλιξ δὲ Φοινίκης πλησίον, καὶ⁴ πᾶσαν τὴν ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ κειμένην χώραν ποταμῷ σύνεγγυς Πυράμῳ Κιλικίαν ἐκάλεσε.⁵ Κάδμος δὲ καὶ Τηλέφασσα ἐν Θράκῃ κατώκησαν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Θάσος ἐν Θράκῃ⁶ κτίσας πόλιν Θάσου κατώκησεν.

- 2 Εὐρώπην δὲ γήμας Ἀστέριος⁷ ὁ Κρητῶν δυναστῆς τοὺς ἐκ ταύτης παῖδας ἔτρεφεν. οἱ δὲ ὡς ἐτελειώθησαν, πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐστασίασαν· ἴσχουσι γὰρ ἔρωτα παιδὸς ὃς ἐκαλεῖτο Μίλητος, Ἀπόλλωνος δὲ ἦν καὶ Ἀρείας τῆς Κλεόχου. τοῦ δὲ παιδὸς πρὸς Σαρπηδόνα μᾶλλον οἰκείως ἔχοντος πολεμήσας Μίνως ἐπροτέρησεν. οἱ δὲ φεύ-

¹ Κίλικος Heyne: κιλικίος A.

² κατώκησαν R^aO: κατώκισαν A.

³ ἐν Φοινίκῃ Bekker, Hercher, Wagner: φοινίκην A.

⁴ ὃς καὶ Hercher.

⁵ καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ κειμένην χώραν ποταμῷ σύνεγγυς Πυράμῳ Κιλικίαν ἐκάλεσε Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker. This seems to be the reading of all the MSS. Wagner alters the passage as follows: καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν κειμένην χώραν ποταμῷ σύνεγγυς Πυράμῳ Κιλικίαν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐκάλεσε, "And he called all the country near the river Pyramus after himself Cilicia." But with this rearrangement the words κειμένην χώραν become ungrammatical as they stand, and to restore the grammar they must be transposed and placed after Πυράμῳ, so as to read: καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ποταμῷ σύνεγγυς Πυράμῳ κειμένην χώραν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ Κιλικίαν ἐκάλεσε. Hercher simply omits ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ, which is equally fatal to the grammar. It is better to keep the MS. reading, which gives an unobjectionable sense.

⁶ ἐν <νήσῳ πρὸς τῇ> Θράκῃ Heyne. This gives the sense

according to Pherecydes, of Cilix,¹ went forth in search of her. But when, after diligent search, they could not find Europa, they gave up the thought of returning home, and took up their abode in divers places; Phoenix settled in Phoenicia; Cilix settled near Phoenicia, and all the country subject to himself near the river Pyramus he called Cilicia; and Cadmus and Telephassa took up their abode in Thrace and in like manner Thasus founded a city Thasus in an island off Thrace and dwelt there.²

Now Asterius, prince of the Cretans, married Europa and brought up her children.³ But when they were grown up, they quarrelled with each other; for they loved a boy called Miletus, son of Apollo by Aria, daughter of Cleochus.⁴ As the boy was more friendly to Sarpedon, Minos went to war and had the better of it, and the others fled.

¹ According to some writers, Thasus was a son of Agenor. See above, note on p. 296.

² Apollodorus probably meant to say that Thasus colonized the island of Thasos. The text may be corrupt. See Critical Note. For the traces of the Phoenicians in Thasos, see above, note on p. 296.

³ Compare Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xii. 292; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 60. 3 (who calls the king Asterius). On the place of Asterion or Asterius in Cretan mythology, see A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, i. 543 *sqq.*

⁴ With the following legend of the foundation of Miletus compare Antoninus Liberalis, *Transform.* 30; Pausanias, vii. 2. 5; Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 186.

required. I have translated accordingly. Hercher as usual cuts the difficulty by omitting *ἐν Θράκη*.

⁷ Ἀστέρσιος Wagner (referring to Diodorus Siculus, iv. 60. 3): Ἀστέρσιων A, Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher.

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γουσι, καὶ Μίλητος μὲν Καρία προσσχῶν¹ ἐκεῖ πόλιν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἔκτισε Μίλητον, Σαρπηδῶν δὲ συμμαχήσας Κίλικι πρὸς Λυκίουσ ἐχοντι πόλεμον, ἐπὶ μέρει² τῆς χώρας, Λυκίας ἐβασίλευσε. καὶ αὐτῷ δίδωσι Ζεὺς ἐπὶ τρεῖς γενεὰς ζῆν. ἔνιοι δὲ αὐτοὺς³ ἐρασθῆναι λέγουσιν Ἄτυμνίου τοῦ Διὸς καὶ Κασσιεπείας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτον στασιάσαι. Ῥαδάμανθυς δὲ τοῖς νησιώταις νομοθετῶν, αὐθις φυγὼν εἰς Βοιωτίαν Ἀλκμήνην γαμεί, καὶ μεταλλάξας ἐν Ἄιδου μετὰ Μίνωσ δικάζει. Μίνωσ δὲ Κρήτην κατοικῶν ἔγραψε νόμους, καὶ γήμασ Πασιφάην τὴν Ἥλιου καὶ Περσηίδοσ, ὡσ <δὲ>⁴ Ἄσκληπιάδοσ φησί, Κρήτην τὴν Ἄστερίου θυγατέρα, παῖδασ μὲν ἐτέκνωσε Κατρέα Δευκαλίωνα Γλαῦκον Ἄνδρόγεῶν, θυγατέρασ δὲ Ἀκάλλην Ξενοδίκην Ἀριάδην Φαίδραν, ἐκ Παρείασ δὲ νύμφησ Εὐρυμέδοντα Νηφαλίωνα Χρύσση Φιλόλαον, ἐκ δὲ Δεξιθέασ Εὐξάνθιον.

3 Ἄστερίου⁵ δὲ ἄπαιδοσ ἀποθανόντοσ Μίνωσ βασιλεύειν θέλων Κρήτησ ἐκωλύετο. φήσασ δὲ παρὰ θεῶν τὴν βασιλείαν εἰληφέναι, τοῦ πιστευ-

¹ προσσχῶν Heyne: προσχῶν A.

² μέρει Heyne: μέρη A.

³ αὐτοὺσ Wagner: αὐτὸν A.

⁴ δὲ inserted by Müller.

⁵ Ἄστερίου A, Wagner: Ἄστερίωνοσ Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher.

¹ Compare Herodotus, i. 173; Diodorus Siculus, v. 79. 3; Strabo, xii. 8. 5, p. 573; Pausanias, vii. 3. 7. Sarpedon was worshipped as a hero in Lycia. See W. Dittenberger, *Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, No. 552 (vol. ii. p. 231).

² Compare Diodorus Siculus, v. 79. 1 sq.

³ See above, ii. 4. 11 note.

⁴ Daughter of the Sun; compare Apollonius Rhodius,

Miletus landed in Caria and there founded a city which he called Miletus after himself; and Sarpedon allied himself with Cilix, who was at war with the Lycians, and having stipulated for a share of the country, he became king of Lycia.¹ And Zeus granted him to live for three generations. But some say that they loved Atymnius, the son of Zeus and Cassiepea, and that it was about him that they quarrelled. Rhadamanthys legislated for the islanders² but afterwards he fled to Boeotia and married Alcmena³; and since his departure from the world he acts as judge in Hades along with Minos. Minos, residing in Crete, passed laws, and married Pasiphae, daughter of the Sun⁴ and Perseis; but Asclepiades says that his wife was Crete, daughter of Asterius. He begat sons, to wit, Catreus,⁵ Deucalion, Glaucus, and Androgeus: and daughters, to wit, Acalles, Xenodice, Ariadne, Phaedra; and by a nymph Paria he had Eurymedon, Nephalion, Chryses, and Philolaus; and by Dexithea he had Euxanthius.

Asterius dying childless, Minos wished to reign over Crete, but his claim was opposed. So he alleged that he had received the kingdom from the gods,

Argon. iii. 999; Pausanias, iii. 26. 1, v. 25. 9; Antoninus Liberalis, *Transform.* 41; *Mythographi Graeci*, ed. Westermann, *Appendix Narrationum*, p. 379; Ovid, *Metamorph.* ix. 736. Pausanias interpreted Pasiphae as the moon (iii. 26. 1), and this interpretation has been adopted by some modern scholars. The Cretan traditions concerning the marriage of Minos and Pasiphae seem to point to a ritual marriage performed every eight years at Cnossus by the king and queen as representatives respectively of the Sun and Moon. See *The Dying God*, pp. 70 *sqq.*; A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, i. 521 *sqq.* (who holds that Europa was originally a Cretan Earth-goddess responsible for the vegetation of the year).

⁵ Compare Pausanias, viii. 53. 4.

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θῆναι χάριν ἔφη, ὅ τι ἂν εὐξῆται, γενέσθαι. καὶ Ποσειδῶνι θύων ἠῤῥατο ταῦρον ἀναφανῆναι ἐκ τῶν βυθῶν, καταθύσειν ὑποσχόμενος τὸν φανέντα. τοῦ δὲ Ποσειδῶνος ταῦρον ἀνέντος αὐτῷ διαπρεπῆ τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβε, τὸν δὲ ταῦρον εἰς τὰ βουκόλια πέμψας ἔθυσεν ἕτερον. [θαλασσοκρατήσας δὲ πρῶτος πασῶν τῶν νήσων σχεδὸν ἐπήρξεν.]¹ ὀργισθεὶς δὲ αὐτῷ Ποσειδῶν ὅτι μὴ κατέθυσε τὸν ταῦρον, τοῦτον μὲν ἐξηγρίωσε, Πασιφάνην δὲ ἐλθεῖν εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν αὐτοῦ παρεσκεύασεν. ἡ δὲ ἔρασθείσα τοῦ ταύρου συνεργὸν λαμβάνει Δαίδαλον, ὃς ἦν ἀρχιτέκτων, πεφευγὼς ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἐπὶ φόνῳ. οὗτος ξυλίην βοῦν ἐπὶ τροχῶν κατασκευάσας, καὶ ταύτην λαβὼν καὶ² κοιλάνας ἔνδοθεν,³ ἐκδείρας τε βοῦν τὴν δορὰν περιέρραψε, καὶ θεὸς ἐν ᾧπερ εἶθιστο ὁ ταῦρος λειμῶνι βόσκεισθαι, τὴν Πασιφάνην ἐνεβίβασεν. ἐλθὼν δὲ ὁ ταῦρος ὡς ἀληθινῇ βοῇ συνῆλθεν. ἡ δὲ Ἀστέριον ἐγέννησε τὸν κληθέντα Μινώταυρον. οὗτος εἶχε ταύρου πρόσωπον, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἀνδρός. Μίνως δὲ ἐν τῷ λαβυρίνθῳ κατὰ τινὰς χρησμοὺς κατακλείσας αὐτὸν ἐφύλαττεν. ἦν δὲ ὁ λαβύρινθος, ὃν Δαίδαλος κατεσκεύασεν, οἴκημα καμ-

¹ θαλασσοκρατήσας . . . ἐπήρξεν omitted by Hercher. The words seem out of place here. But they occur in S as well as E. ἐπήρξεν ES: ὑπήρξεν A.

² λαβὼν καὶ Heyne, Westermann, Müller: βαλὼν ESA, Wagner: βαλὼν καὶ Bekker. ³ ἔνδοθεν ES: ἔσωθεν A.

¹ Compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 77. 2; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, i. 479 sqq. (who seems to follow Apollodorus); Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* v. 431, according to whom the bull was sent, in answer to Minos's prayer, not by Poseidon but by Jupiter (Zeus).

and in proof of it he said that whatever he prayed for would be done. And in sacrificing to Poseidon he prayed that a bull might appear from the depths, promising to sacrifice it when it appeared. Poseidon did send him up a fine bull, and Minos obtained the kingdom, but he sent the bull to the herds and sacrificed another.¹ Being the first to obtain the dominion of the sea, he extended his rule over almost all the islands.² But angry at him for not sacrificing the bull, Poseidon made the animal savage, and contrived that Pasiphae should conceive a passion for it.³ In her love for the bull she found an accomplice in Daedalus, an architect, who had been banished from Athens for murder.⁴ He constructed a wooden cow on wheels, took it, hollowed it out in the inside, sewed it up in the hide of a cow which he had skinned, and set it in the meadow in which the bull used to graze. Then he introduced Pasiphae into it; and the bull came and coupled with it, as if it were a real cow. And she gave birth to Asterius, who was called the Minotaur. He had the face of a bull, but the rest of him was human; and Minos, in compliance with certain oracles, shut him up and guarded him in the Labyrinth. Now the Labyrinth which Daedalus constructed was a chamber "that

² Compare Herodotus, i. 171; Thucydides, i. 4 and 8.

³ Here Apollodorus seems to be following Euripides, who in a fragment of his drama, *The Cretans*, introduces Pasiphae excusing herself on the ground that her passion for the bull was a form of madness inflicted on her by Poseidon as a punishment for the impiety of her husband Minos, who had broken his vow by not sacrificing the bull to the sea-god. See W. Schubart und U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Griechische Dichterfragmente*, ii. (Berlin, 1907), pp. 74 sq.

⁴ See below, iii. 15. 8.

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παῖς πολυπλόκοις πλανῶν τὴν ἔξοδον. τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ Μινωταύρου καὶ Ἀνδρόγεω καὶ Φαίδρας καὶ Ἀριάδνης ἐν τοῖς περὶ Θησέως ὑστερον ἐροῦμεν.

II. Κατρέως δὲ τοῦ Μίνωος Ἀερόπη καὶ Κλυμένη καὶ Ἀπημοσύνη καὶ Ἀλθαιμένης υἱὸς γίνονται. χρωμένῳ δὲ Κατρῆι περὶ καταστροφῆς τοῦ βίου ὁ θεὸς ἔφη ὑπὸ ἐνὸς τῶν τέκνων¹ τεθνήξεσθαι. Κατρέως μὲν οὖν ἀπεκρύβετο τοὺς χρησμούς, Ἀλθαιμένης δὲ ἀκούσας, καὶ δείσας μὴ φονεὺς γένηται τοῦ πατρός, ἄρας ἐκ Κρήτης μετὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς Ἀπημοσύνης προσίσχει τινὶ τόπῳ τῆς Ῥόδου, καὶ κατασχὼν Κρητινίαν² ὠνόμασεν. ἀναβὰς δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀταβύριον καλούμενον ὄρος ἐθεάσατο τὰς πέριξ νήσους, κατιδὼν δὲ καὶ Κρήτην, καὶ τῶν πατρῶων ὑπομνησθεὶς θεῶν, ἰδρύετο βωμὸν Ἀταβυρίου Διός. μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ τῆς

¹ τέκνων R: παίδων A.

² κρητινίαν R, Hercher, Wagner: κρατινίαν A: Κρητηνίαν Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker (compare Stephanus Byzantius, s. v. Κρητηνία).

¹ In the Greek original these words are seemingly a quotation from a poem, probably a tragedy—perhaps Sophocles's tragedy *Daedalus*, of which a few fragments survive. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck², pp. 167 sq.; *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. i. pp. 110 sqq. As to the Minotaur and the labyrinth, compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 77. 1-5; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 15 sqq.; Hyginus, *Fab.* 40; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Achill.* 192. As to the loves of Pasiphae and the bull, see also Scholiast on Euripides, *Hippolytus*, 887; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, i. 479 sqq.; Virgil, *Ecl.* vi. 45 sqq.; Ovid, *Ars Amator.* i. 289 sqq.

² See below, iii. 15. 7-9; *Epitome*, i. 7-11.

with its tangled windings perplexed the outward way." ¹ The story of the Minotaur, and Androgeus, and Phaedra, and Ariadne, I will tell hereafter in my account of Theseus. ²

II. But Catreus, son of Minos, had three daughters, Aerope, Clymene, and Apemosyne, and a son, Althaemenes. ³ When Catreus inquired of the oracle how his life should end, the god said that he would die by the hand of one of his children. Now Catreus hid the oracles, but Althaemenes heard of them, and fearing to be his father's murderer, he set out from Crete with his sister Apemosyne, and put in at a place in Rhodes, and having taken possession of it he called it Cretinia. And having ascended the mountain called Atabyrium, he beheld the islands round about; and descrying Crete also and calling to mind the gods of his fathers he founded an altar of Atabyrian Zeus. ⁴ But not long afterwards he

³ The tragic story of the involuntary parricide of Althaemenes is similarly told by Diodorus Siculus, v. 59. 1-4, who says that this murderer of his father and of his sister was afterwards worshipped as a hero in Rhodes.

⁴ As to Atabyrian Zeus and his sanctuary on Mount Atabyrium, Atabyrum, or Atabyris, the highest mountain in Rhodes, see Pindar, *Olymp.* vii. 87 (159) *sq.*; Polybius, vii. 27. 7, ed. L. Dindorf; Appian, *Bell. Mithridat.* 26; Strabo, xiv. 2. 12, p. 655; Diodorus Siculus, v. 59. 2; Lactantius, *Divin. Institut.* i. 22. Diodorus Siculus tells us that the sanctuary, crowning a lofty peak, was highly venerated down to his own time, and that the island of Crete was visible from it in the distance. Some rude remains of the temple, built of grey limestone, still exist on a summit a little lower than the highest. See H. F. Tozer, *The Islands of the Aegean* (Oxford, 1890), pp. 220 *sq.*; Cecil Torr, *Rhodes in Ancient Times*, (Cambridge, 1885), pp. 1, 75. Atabyrian Zeus would seem to have been worshipped in the form of a bull; for it is said that there were bronze images of cattle on the mountain, which bellowed

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ἀδελφῆς αὐτόχειρ ἐγένετο. Ἑρμῆς γὰρ αὐτῆς ἔρασθεις, ὡς φεύγουσαν αὐτὴν καταλαβεῖν οὐκ ἠδύνατο (περιῆν γὰρ αὐτοῦ τῷ τάχει τῶν ποδῶν), κατὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ βύρσας ὑπέστρωσε νεοδάρτους,¹ ἐφ' αἷς² ὀλισθοῦσα,³ ἠνίκα ἀπὸ τῆς κρήνης⁴ ἐπανήει, φθείρεται. καὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ μηνύει τὸ γεγονός· ὁ δὲ σκῆψιν νομίσας εἶναι τὸν θεόν, λαξ² ἐνθορῶν ἀπέκτεινεν. Ἀερόπην δὲ καὶ Κλυμένην Κατρεὺς Ναυπλίῳ δίδωσιν εἰς ἄλλοδαπὰς ἠπίε- ρους ἀπεμπολῆσαι. τούτων Ἀερόπην μὲν ἔγνημε Πλεισθένης καὶ παῖδας Ἀγαμέμνονα καὶ Μενέ- λαον ἐτέκνωσε,⁵ Κλυμένην δὲ γαμεῖ Ναύπλιος, καὶ τέκνων πατὴρ γίνεται Οἶακος καὶ Παλαμή- δους. Κατρεὺς δὲ ὕστερον γῆρα κατεχόμενος ἐπόθει τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀλθαιμένει τῷ παιδί παραδοῦναι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἦλθεν εἰς Ῥόδον. ἀποβὰς δὲ τῆς νεῶς σὺν τοῖς ἥρωσι⁶ κατὰ τινα τῆς νήσου τόπον ἔρημον ἠλαύνετο ὑπὸ τῶν βου- κόλων, ληστὰς ἐμβεβληκένας δοκούντων καὶ μὴ δυναμένων ἀκοῦσαι λέγοντος αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀλήθειαν διὰ τὴν κραυγὴν τῶν κυνῶν, ἀλλὰ βαλλόντων

¹ νεοδάρτους ER: νεοδάρτας A.

² αἷς Heyne, Hercher: ἄς EA, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Wagner.

³ ὀλισθοῦσα E: ὀλισθήσασα A.

⁴ κρήνης Hercher, Wagner: κρήτης EA.

⁵ ἐτέκνωσε ERR^a: ἔτεκε A.

⁶ Κρησι Bekker.

when some evil was about to befall the state, and small bronze figures of bulls are still sometimes found on the moun- tain. See J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, iv. 390 *sqq.*; Scholiast on Pindar, *Olymp.* vii. 87 (159); Cecil Torr, *op. cit.* p. 76, with plate 4. Further, we know from Greek inscriptions found in

became the murderer of his sister. For Hermes loved her, and as she fled from him and he could not catch her, because she excelled him in speed of foot, he spread fresh hides on the path, on which, returning from the spring, she slipped and so was deflowered. She revealed to her brother what had happened, but he, deeming the god a mere pretext, kicked her to death. And Catreus gave Aerope and Clymene to Nauplius to sell into foreign lands; and of these two Aerope became the wife of Plisthenes, who begat Agamemnon and Menelaus; and Clymene became the wife of Nauplius, who became the father of Oeax and Palamedes. But afterwards in the grip of old age Catreus yearned to transmit the kingdom to his son Althaemenes, and went for that purpose to Rhodes. And having landed from the ship with the heroes at a desert place of the island, he was chased by the cowherds, who imagined that they were pirates on a raid. He told them the truth, but they could not hear him for the barking of the dogs, and while they pelted him Althaemenes arrived

the island that there was a religious association which took its name of *The Atabyriasts* from the deity; and one of these inscriptions (No. 31) records a dedication of oxen or bulls (*τὸς βοῦς*) to the god. See *Inscriptiones Graecae Insularum Rhodi, Chalces, Carpathi, cum Saro Casi*, ed. F. Hiller de Gaertringen (Berlin, 1895), Nos. 31, 161, 891. The oxen so dedicated were probably bronze images of the animals, such as are found in the island, though Dittenberger thought that they were live oxen destined for sacrifice. See his paper, *De sacris Rhodiorum Commentatio altera* (Halle, 1887), pp. viii. sq. The worship of Atabyrian Zeus may well have been of Phoenician origin, for we have seen that there was a Phoenician colony in Rhodes (see above, iii. 1. 1 note), and the name Atabyrian is believed to be Semitic, equivalent to the Hebrew Tabor. See *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, s.v. "Tabor," vol. iii. col. 4881 sqq. Compare A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, i. 642 sqq.

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κακείνων, παραγεγόμενος Ἀλθαιμένης ἀκουτίσας ἀπέκτεινε ἀγνοῶν Κατρία. μαθὼν δὲ ὕστερον τὸ γεγονός, εὐξάμενος ὑπὸ χάσματος ἐκρύβη.

III. Δευκαλίωνι δὲ ἐγένοντο Ἴδομενεὺς τε καὶ Κρήτη καὶ νόθος Μόλος. Γλαῦκος δὲ ἔτι νήπιος ὑπάρχων, μὴν διώκων εἰς μέλιτος πίθον πεσὼν ἀπέθανεν. ἀφανοῦς δὲ ὄντος αὐτοῦ Μίνως πολλὴν ζήτησιν ποιούμενος περὶ τῆς εὐρέσεως ἐμαντεύετο. Κούρητες δὲ εἶπον αὐτῷ τριχρώματον ἐν ταῖς ἀγέλαις ἔχειν βοῦν, τὸν δὲ τὴν ταύτης χροῶν¹ ἄριστα εἰκάσαι δυνηθέντα καὶ ζῶντα τὸν παῖδα ἀποδώσειν. συγκληθέντων δὲ τῶν μάντεων Πολύιδος ὁ Κοιρανοῦ τὴν χροῶν τῆς βοῆς εἶκασε βάτου καρπῷ, καὶ ζητεῖν τὸν παῖδα ἀναγκασθεὶς διὰ τινος μαντείας ἀνεῦρε. λέγοντος δὲ Μίνως ὅτι δεῖ καὶ ζῶντα ἀπολαβεῖν αὐτόν, ἀπεκλείσθη σὺν τῷ νεκρῷ. ἐν ἀμμηχανία δὲ πολλῇ τυγχάνων εἶδε δράκοντα ἐπὶ τὸν νεκρὸν ἴοντα· τοῦτον βαλὼν λίθῳ ἀπέκτεινε, δείσας μὴ κἂν²

¹ χροῶν EOR^a, Hercher, Wagner: θέαν R (with χροῶν written as a correction above the line): θέαν BC, Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker.

² κἂν Bekker: ἂν EA, Wagner.

¹ Compare Diodorus Siculus, v. 79. 4.

² Glaucus was a son of Minos and Pasiphae. See above, iii. 1. 2. For the story of his death and resurrection, see Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 811; Apostolius, *Cent.* v. 48; Palaephatus, *De incredib.* 27; Hyginus, *Fab.* 136; *id. Astronom.* ii. 14. Sophocles and Euripides composed tragedies on the subject. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck², pp. 216 *sqq.*, 558 *sqq.*; *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. ii. pp. 56 *sqq.*

³ The cow or calf (for so Hyginus describes it) was said to

and killed him with the cast of a javelin, not knowing him to be Catreus. Afterwards when he learned the truth, he prayed and disappeared in a chasm.

III. To Deucalion were born Idomeneus and Crete and a bastard son Molus.¹ But Glaucus, while he was yet a child, in chasing a mouse fell into a jar of honey and was drowned.² On his disappearance Minos made a great search and consulted diviners as to how he should find him. The Curetes told him that in his herds he had a cow of three different colours, and that the man who could best describe that cow's colour would also restore his son to him alive.³ So when the diviners were assembled, Polyidus, son of Coeranus, compared the colour of the cow to the fruit of the bramble, and being compelled to seek for the child he found him by means of a sort of divination.⁴ But Minos declaring that he must recover him alive, he was shut up with the dead body. And while he was in great perplexity, he saw a serpent going towards the corpse. He threw a stone and killed it, fearing to be killed himself if

change colour twice a day, or once every four hours, being first white, then red, and then black. The diviner Polyidus solved the riddle by comparing the colour of the animal to a ripening mulberry, which is first white, then red, and finally black. See Hyginus, *Fab.* 136; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 811; Sophocles, quoted by Athenaeus, ii. 36, p. 51 D, and Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, i. p. 361, lines 20 *sqq.*; *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. ii. p. 60, frag. 395.

⁴ He is said to have discovered the drowned boy by observing an owl which had perched on a wine-cellar and was driving away bees. See Hyginus, *Fab.* 136. Compare Aelian, *Nat. Anim.* v. 2, from which it would seem that Hyginus here followed the tragedy of *Polyidus* by Euripides.

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αὐτὸς τελευτήσῃ, εἴ τι τὸ σῶμα πάθοι.¹ ἔρχεται δὲ ἕτερος δράκων, καὶ θεασάμενος νεκρὸν τὸν πρότερον² ἄπεισιν, εἶτα ὑποστρέφει πῶαν κομίζων, καὶ ταύτην ἐπιτίθησιν ἐπὶ πᾶν τὸ τοῦ ἑτέρου σῶμα· ἐπιτεθείσης δὲ τῆς πῶας ἀνέστη. θεασάμενος δὲ Πολύιδος καὶ θαυμάσας, τὴν αὐτὴν πῶαν προσενεγκὼν τῷ τοῦ Γλαύκου σώματι ἀνέστησεν. ² ἀπολαβὼν δὲ Μίνως τὸν παῖδα οὐδ' οὕτως εἰς Ἄργος ἀπιέναι τὸν Πολύιδον εἶα, πρὶν ἢ τὴν μαντείαν διδάξαι τὸν Γλαῦκον· ἀναγκασθεὶς δὲ Πολύιδος διδάσκει. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἀπέπλει, κελεύει τὸν Γλαῦκον εἰς τὸ στόμα ἐμπτύσαι.³ καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσας Γλαῦκος τῆς μαντείας⁴ ἐπελάθετο. τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τῶν τῆς Εὐρώπης ἀπογόνων μέχρι τοῦδέ μοι λελέχθω.

IV. Κάδμος δὲ ἀποθανοῦσαν θάψας Τηλέφασσαν, ὑπὸ Θρακῶν ξενισθεὶς, ἦλθεν εἰς Δελφοὺς περὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης πυνθανόμενος. ὁ δὲ θεὸς εἶπε περὶ μὲν Εὐρώπης μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖν, χρῆσθαι δὲ καθοδηγῶ βοῖ, καὶ πόλιν κτίζειν

¹ εἴ τι τὸ σῶμα πάθοι Bekker: εἰ τούτῳ συμπάθη E, Wagner: εἰ τοῦτο συμπάθη A: εἰ τούτῳ συμπάθοι Heyne, Müller: εἰ τοῦτο συμπάθοι Westermann.

² πρότερον ER (first hand): πῶτον R (second hand, corrected).

³ ἐμπτύσαι Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 811, Heyne (in note), Bekker, Hercher, Wagner: ἐπιπτύσαι EA, Heyne (in text), Westermann, Müller.

⁴ τῆς μαντείας E: τὴν μαντείαν A.

¹ Accepting Bekker's emendation of the text. See Critical Note.

² According to another account, Glaucus was raised from the dead by Aesculapius. See below, iii. 10. 3; Scholiast on Pindar, *Pyth.* iii. 54 (96); Hyginus, *Fab.* 49; *id.* *Astronom.*

any harm befel the body.¹ But another serpent came, and, seeing the former one dead, departed, and then returned, bringing a herb, and placed it on the whole body of the other; and no sooner was the herb so placed upon it than the dead serpent came to life. Surprised at this sight, Polyidus applied the same herb to the body of Glaucus and raised him from the dead.² Minos had now got back his son, but even so he did not suffer Polyidus to depart to Argos until he had taught Glaucus the art of divination. Polyidus taught him on compulsion, and when he was sailing away he bade Glaucus spit into his mouth. Glaucus did so and forgot the art of divination.³ Thus much must suffice for my account of the descendants of Europa.

IV. When Telephassa died, Cadmus buried her, and after being hospitably received by the Thracians he came to Delphi to inquire about Europa. The god told him not to trouble about Europa, but to be guided by a cow, and to found a city wherever

ii. 14. In a Tongan tradition a dead boy is brought to life by being covered with the leaves of a certain tree. See Père Reiter, "Traditions Tonguiennes," *Anthropos*, xii.-xiii. (1917-1918), pp. 1036 sq.; and Appendix, "The Resurrection of Glaucus."

³ It is said that when Cassandra refused to grant her favours to Apollo in return for the gift of prophecy which he had bestowed on her, he spat into her mouth and so prevented her from convincing anybody of the truth of her prophecies. See Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 247. On ancient superstitions about spittle, see Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxviii. 35 sqq.; C. de Mensignac, *Recherches Ethnographiques sur la Salive et le Crachat* (Bordeaux, 1892), pp. 41 sqq.

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ἔνθα ἂν αὐτῆ¹ πέσῃ καμουῖσα. τοιοῦτον λαβὼν χρησμὸν διὰ Φωκέων ἐπορεύετο, εἶτα βοὶ συντυχὼν ἐν τοῖς Πελάγοντος βουκολίοις ταύτη κατόπισθεν εἶπετο. ἡ δὲ διεξιούσα Βοιωτίαν ἐκλίθη, πόλις ἔνθα νῦν εἰσι Θῆβαι.² βουλόμενος δὲ Ἀθηναῖα καταθῦσαι τὴν βοῦν, πέμπει τινὰς τῶν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ ληψομένους³ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀρείας κρήνης ὕδωρ· φρουρῶν δὲ τὴν κρήνην δράκων, ὃν ἐξ Ἄρεος εἶπόν τινες γεγονέναι, τοὺς πλείονας τῶν πεμφθέντων διέφθειρεν. ἀγανακτήσας δὲ Κάδμος κτείνει τὸν δράκοντα, καὶ τῆς Ἀθηναῖας ὑποθεμένης τοὺς ὀδόντας αὐτοῦ σπείρει. τούτων δὲ σπαρέντων ἀνέτειλαν ἐκ γῆς ἄνδρες ἔνοπλοι, οὓς ἐκάλεσαν Σπαρτούς. οὗτοι δὲ ἀπέκτειναν ἀλλήλους, οἱ μὲν εἰς ἔριν ἀκούσιον⁴ ἐλθόντες, οἱ δὲ ἀγνοοῦντες. Φερεκύδης δὲ φησιν ὅτι Κάδμος, ἰδὼν ἐκ γῆς ἀναφουμένους ἄνδρας ἐνόπλους, ἐπ' αὐτοὺς

¹ αὐτῆ Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* ii. 494, Hercher : αὐτῆ AS.

² πόλις ἔνθα νῦν εἰσι Θῆβαι A, Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Wagner : ἔνθα κτίζει πόλιν Καδμείαν ὅπου νῦν εἰσιν αἱ Θῆβαι E : πόλις omitted by the Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* ii. 494 (ἔνθα νῦν εἰσιν αἱ Θῆβαι), and by Hercher.

³ τινὰς . . . ληψομένους E, Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* ii. 494 : τινὰ ληψόμενον SA.

⁴ ἀκούσιον AS : ἐκούσιον E.

¹ With this story of the foundation of Thebes by Cadmus compare Pausanias, ix. 12. 1 sq., ix. 19. 4; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* ii. 494; Scholiast on Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 638 (who quotes the oracle at full length); Scholiast on Aeschylus, *Seven against Thebes*, 486; Hyginus, *Fab.* 178; Ovid, *Metamorph.* iii. 6 sqq. The Scholiast on Homer (*l.c.*) agrees almost verbally with Apollodorus, and cites as his authorities the *Boeotica* of Hellanicus and the third book of Apollodorus. Hence we may suppose that in this narrative Apollodorus followed Hellanicus. According to Pausanias, the cow which

she should fall down for weariness.¹ After receiving such an oracle he journeyed through Phocis; then falling in with a cow among the herds of Pelagon, he followed it behind. And after traversing Boeotia, it sank down where is now the city of Thebes. Wishing to sacrifice the cow to Athena, he sent some of his companions to draw water from the spring of Ares. But a dragon, which some said was the offspring of Ares, guarded the spring and destroyed most of those that were sent. In his indignation Cadmus killed the dragon, and by the advice of Athena sowed its teeth. When they were sown there rose from the ground armed men whom they called Sparti.² These slew each other, some in a chance brawl, and some in ignorance. But Pherecydes says that when Cadmus saw armed men growing up out of the ground, he flung stones

Cadmus followed bore on each flank a white mark resembling the full moon; Hyginus says simply that it had the mark of the moon on its flank. Varro says (*Rerum rusticarum*, iii. 1) that Thebes in Boeotia was the oldest city in the world, having been built by King Ogyges before the great flood. The tradition of its high antiquity has been recently confirmed by the discovery of many Mycenæan remains on the site. See A. D. Kerampoullos, in *Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον* (Athens, 1917), pp. 1 *sqq.*

² That is, "sown." Compare Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 939 *sq.* For the story of the sowing of the dragon's teeth, see Pausanias, ix. 10. 1; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* ii. 494; Hyginus, *Fab.* 178; Ovid, *Metamorph.* iii. 26-130. Similarly, Jason in Colchis sowed some of the dragon's teeth which he had received from Athena, and from the teeth there sprang up armed men, who fought each other. See Apollodorus, i. 9. 23. As to the dragon-guarded spring at Thebes, see Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 930 *sqq.*; Pausanias, ix. 10. 5, with my note. It is a common superstition that springs are guarded by dragons or serpents. Compare *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, ii. 155 *sqq.*

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ἔβαλε¹ λίθους, οἱ δὲ ὑπ' ἀλλήλων νομίζοντες
βάλλεσθαι εἰς μάχην κατέστησαν. περιεσώ-
θησαν δὲ πέντε, Ἐχίων Οὐδαῖος Χθονίος Ὑπερή-
2 νωρ Πέλωρος.² Κάδμος δὲ ἀνθ' ὧν ἔκτεινεν
αἰδίων³ ἐνιαυτὸν ἐθήτευσεν Ἄρει· ἦν δὲ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς
τότε ὀκτῶ ἔτη.

Μετὰ δὲ τὴν θητείαν Ἀθηναῖα αὐτῷ τὴν βασι-
λειαν⁴ κατεσκεύασε, Ζεὺς δὲ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ γυναῖκα
Ἀρμονίαν, Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Ἄρεος θυγατέρα. καὶ
πάντες θεοὶ καταλιπόντες τὸν οὐρανόν, ἐν τῇ
Καδμείᾳ τὸν γάμον εὐωχούμενοι καθύμνησαν.
ἔδωκε δὲ αὐτῇ Κάδμος πέπλον καὶ τὸν ἠφαιστό-
τευκτον ὄρμον, ὃν ὑπὸ Ἠφαιστού λέγουσί τινες
δοθῆναι Κάδμῳ, Φερεκύδης δὲ ὑπὸ Εὐρώπης· ὃν
παρὰ Διὸς αὐτὴν λαβεῖν. γίνονται δὲ Κάδμῳ
θυγατέρες μὲν Αὐτονόη Ἰνώ Σεμέλη Ἀγαυή, παῖς
δὲ Πολύδωρος. Ἰνώ μὲν οὖν Ἀθάμας ἔγημεν,
Αὐτονόην δὲ Ἀρισταῖος, Ἀγαυὴν δὲ Ἐχίων.
3 Σεμέλης δὲ Ζεὺς ἐρασθεὶς Ἥρας κρύφα συνεννά-

¹ ἔβαλε A : ἔβαλλε S.

² Πέλωρος R : Πέλωρ A.

³ αἰδίων EA : Ἄρεος υἱόν Hercher.

⁴ τὴν βασιλείαν E : βασιλείαν S.

¹ The names of the five survivors of the Sparti are similarly reported by Pausanias (ix. 5. 3), the Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius (*Argon.* iii. 1179), and Hyginus (*Fab.* 179). From the Scholiast on Apollonius (*l.c.*), we learn that their names were given in like manner by Pherecydes, as indeed we might have inferred from Apollodorus's reference to that author in the present passage. Ovid (*Metamorph.* iii. 126) mentions that five survived, but he names only one (Echion).

² The "eternal year" probably refers to the old eight years' cycle, as to which and the period of a homicide's banishment, see the note on ii. 5. 11.

³ As to the marriage of Cadmus and Harmonia, see Pindar,

at them, and they, supposing that they were being pelted by each other, came to blows. However, five of them survived, Echion, Udaeus, Chthonius, Hyperenor, and Pelorus.¹ But Cadmus, to atone for the slaughter, served Ares for an eternal year; and the year was then equivalent to eight years of our reckoning.²

After his servitude Athena procured for him the kingdom, and Zeus gave him to wife Harmonia, daughter of Aphrodite and Ares. And all the gods quitted the sky, and feasting in the Cadmea celebrated the marriage with hymns.³ Cadmus gave her a robe and the necklace wrought by Hephaestus, which some say was given to Cadmus by Hephaestus, but Pherecydes says that it was given by Europa, who had received it from Zeus.⁴ And to Cadmus were born daughters, Autonoe, Ino, Semele, Agave, and a son Polydorus.⁵ Ino was married to Athamas, Autonoe to Aristaeus, and Agave to Echion. But Zeus loved Semele and bedded with her unknown to

Pyth. iii. 88 (157) *sqq.*; Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 822 *sq.*; Theognis, 15-18; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 2. 1, v. 48. 5, v. 49. 1; Pausanias, iii. 18. 12, ix. 12. 3; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 101 (Second Vatican Mythographer, 78, who calls the wife Hermiona).

⁴ According to another account, this golden necklace was bestowed by Aphrodite on Cadmus or on Harmonia. See Diodorus Siculus, iv. 65. 5; Scholiast on Pindar, *Pyth.* iii. 94 (167); Scholiast on Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 71. But, according to yet another account, the necklace and robe were both bestowed by Athena. See Diodorus Siculus, v. 49. 1. The Second Vatican Mythographer (78, see preceding note) says that the necklace was made by Vulcan (Hephaestus) at the instigation of Minerva (Athena), and that it was bestowed by him on Harmonia at her marriage.

⁵ Compare Hesiod, *Theog.* 975-978; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 2. 1. As to the daughters Semele and Ino, compare Pindar, *Olymp.* ii. 22 (38) *sqq.*

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ζεται. ἡ δὲ ἑξαπατηθεῖσα ὑπὸ Ἡρας, κατανεύσαντος αὐτῇ Διὸς πᾶν τὸ αἰτηθὲν ποιήσῃ, αἰτεῖται τοιοῦτον αὐτὸν ἔλθειν οἷος ἦλθε μνηστευόμενος Ἡραν. Ζεὺς δὲ μὴ δυνάμενος ἀνανεῦσαι παραγίνεται εἰς τὸν θάλαμον αὐτῆς ἐφ' ἄρματος ἀστραπαῖς ὁμοῦ καὶ βρονταῖς, καὶ κεραυνὸν ἴησιν. Σεμέλης δὲ διὰ τὸν φόβον ἐκλιπούσης, ἑξαμνησιαῖον τὸ βρέφος ἑξαμβλωθὲν ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀρπάσας ἐνέρραψε τῷ μηρῷ. ἀποθανούσης δὲ Σεμέλης, αἱ λοιπαὶ Κάδμου θυγατέρες διήνεγκαν λόγον, συνηνῆσθαι θνητῷ τινι Σεμέλην καὶ καταψεύσασθαι Διός, καὶ <ὅτι>¹ διὰ τοῦτο ἐκεραυνώθη. κατὰ δὲ τὸν χρόνον τὸν καθήκοντα Διόνυσον γεννᾷ Ζεὺς λύσας τὰ ῥάμματα, καὶ δίδωσιν Ἑρμῇ. ὁ δὲ κομίζει πρὸς Ἴνῳ καὶ Ἀθάμαντα καὶ πείθει τρέφειν ὡς κόρην. ἀγανακτήσασα δὲ Ἡρα μανίαν αὐτοῖς ἐνέβαλε, καὶ Ἀθάμας μὲν τὸν πρεσβύτερον παῖδα Λέαρχον ὡς ἔλαφον θηρεύσας ἀπέκτεινεν, Ἴνῳ δὲ τὸν Μελι-

¹ ὅτι inserted by Hercher.

¹ For the loves of Zeus and Semele and the birth of Dionysus, see Hesiod, *Theog.* 940-942; Euripides, *Bacchae*, 1 sqq., 242 sqq., 286 sqq.; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 2. 2 sq., v. 52. 2; Philostratus, *Imag.* i. 13; Pausanias, iii. 24. 3, ix. 5. 2; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xiv. 325 (who copies Apollodorus without mentioning him); Scholiast on Pindar, *Olymp.* ii. 25 (44); Lucian, *Dial. deorum*, ix.; Nonnus and Nicetas, in Westermann's *Mythographi Graeci, Appendix Narrationum*, lxxi. p. 385; Ovid, *Metamorph.* iii. 259 sqq.; Hyginus, *Fab.* 167 and 179; Fulgentius, *Mytholog.* ii. 15; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* i. 12; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 38 sq., 102 (First Vatican Mythographer, 120; Second Vatican Mythographer, 79).

² So the infant Dionysus is described by the Scholiast on

Hera.¹ Now Zeus had agreed to do for her whatever she asked, and deceived by Hera she asked that he would come to her as he came when he was wooing Hera. Unable to refuse, Zeus came to her bridal chamber in a chariot, with lightnings and thunderings, and launched a thunderbolt. But Semele expired of fright, and Zeus, snatching the sixth-month abortive child² from the fire, sewed it in his thigh. On the death of Semele the other daughters of Cadmus spread a report that Semele had bedded with a mortal man, and had falsely accused Zeus, and that therefore she had been blasted by thunder. But at the proper time Zeus undid the stitches and gave birth to Dionysus, and entrusted him to Hermes. And he conveyed him to Ino and Athamas, and persuaded them to rear him as a girl.³ But Hera indignantly drove them mad, and Athamas hunted his elder son Learchus as a deer and killed him,⁴ and Ino threw Melicertes into a boiling

Homer, *Il.* xiv. 325, who however may be copying Apollodorus, though he refers to the *Bacchae* of Euripides. But Lucian (*Dial. deorum.* ix. 2) and Nonnus (in Westermann's *Mythographi Graeci*, p. 385) speak of the infant as a seventh-month child at birth.

³ So Achilles is said to have been dressed in his youth as a girl at the court of Lycomedes, king of Scyros. See below, iii. 13. 8 note. These traditions may embody reminiscences of an old custom of dressing boys as girls in order to avert the evil eye. See my article, "The Youth of Achilles," *The Classical Review*, vii. (1893), pp. 292 sq., and my note on Pausanias, i. 22. 6.

⁴ Compare Pausanias, i. 44. 7, ix. 34. 7; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 229; *Schol. on Homer, Od.* v. 334; Hyginus, *Fab.* 2 and 4; Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 489 sqq.; *id. Metamorph.* iv. 512 sqq.; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* i. 12; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* v. 241; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 102 (Second Vatican Mythographer, 79).

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κέρτην εἰς πεπυρωμένον λέβητα ρίψασα, εἶτα βαστάσασα μετὰ νεκροῦ τοῦ παιδὸς ἤλατο κατὰ βυθοῦ.¹ καὶ Λευκοθέα μὲν αὐτὴ καλεῖται, Παλαιῶν δὲ ὁ παῖς, οὕτως ὀνομασθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν πλεόντων τοῖς χειμαζομένοις γὰρ βοηθοῦσιν. ἐτέθη δὲ ἐπὶ Μελικέρτη <ὄ>² ἀγῶν τῶν Ἰσθμίων, Σισύφου θέντος. Διόνυσον δὲ Ζεὺς εἰς ἔριφον ἀλλάξας τὸν Ἥρας θυμὸν ἔκλεψε, καὶ λαβὼν αὐτὸν Ἐρμῆς πρὸς νύμφας ἐκόμισεν ἐν Νύσῃ κατοικοῦσας τῆς Ἀσίας, ἃς ὕστερον Ζεὺς καταστερίσας ὠνόμασεν Ἰάδας.

¹ βυθοῦ ES : βυθῶν A. ² ὄ inserted by Hercher.

¹ Compare Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 229; Scholiast on Pindar, *Isthm.*, *Argum.* p. 514, ed. Boeckh.

² On Ino and Melicertes see also Pausanias, i. 42. 6, i. 44. 7 sq., ii. 1. 3, iv. 34. 4; Zenobius, *Cent.* iv. 38; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 107, 229-231; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* viii. 86, and on *Od.* v. 334; Scholiast on Euripides, *Medea*, 1284; Hyginus, *Fab.* 2 and 4; Ovid, *Metamorph.* iv. 519-542; *id.* *Fasti*, vi. 491 sqq.; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* v. 241; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* i. 12; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 102 (Second Vatican Mythographer, 79).

³ On the foundation of the Isthmian games in honour of Melicertes, see Pausanias, i. 44. 8, ii. 1. 3; Scholiasts on Pindar, *Isthm.*, *Argum.* pp. 514, 515, ed. Boeckh; Scholiasts on Euripides, *Medea*, 1284; Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* ii. 34, p. 29, ed. Potter; Zenobius, *Cent.* iv. 38; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 107, 229-231; Hyginus, *Fab.* 2.

⁴ Dionysus bore the title of Kid. See Hesychius, s.v. Ἐριφος ὁ Διόνυσος; Stephanus Byzantius, s.v. Ἀκράρεια. When the gods fled into Egypt to escape the fury of Typhon, Dionysus is said to have been turned into a goat. See Antoninus Liberalis, *Transform.* 28; Ovid, *Metamorph.* v. 39; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 29 (First Vatican Mythographer, 86). As a god of fertility, Dionysus appears to have been conceived as embodied, now

cauldron,¹ then carrying it with the dead child she sprang into the deep. And she herself is called Leucothoe, and the boy is called Palaemon, such being the names they get from sailors; for they succour storm-tossed mariners.² And the Isthmian games were instituted by Sisyphus in honour of Melicertes.³ But Zeus eluded the wrath of Hera by turning Dionysus into a kid,⁴ and Hermes took him and brought him to the nymphs who dwelt at Nysa in Asia, whom Zeus afterwards changed into stars and named them the Hyades.⁵

in the form of a goat, now in the form of a bull; and his worshippers accordingly entered into communion with him by rending and devouring live goats and bulls. See *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, i. 12 *sqq.*, ii. 1 *sqq.* The goat was the victim regularly sacrificed in the rites of Dionysus, because the animal injured the vine by gnawing it; but the reason thus alleged for the sacrifice may have been a later interpretation. See Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 380–384, who refers the origin both of tragedy and of comedy to these sacrifices of goats in honour of the wine-god. Compare Varro, *Rerum Rusticarum*, i. 2. 19; Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 353 *sqq.*; Cornutus, *Theologiae Graecae Compendium*, 30; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 118.

⁵ Apollodorus seems here to be following Pherecydes, who related how the infant Dionysus was nursed by the Hyades. See the Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xviii. 486; Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 21; Scholiast on Germanicus, *Aratea* (in Martianus Capella, ed. Fr. Eyssenhardt, p. 396); *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, ed. C. Müller, i. 84. Frag. 46. Nothing could be more appropriate than that the god of the vine should be nursed by the nymphs of the rain. According to Diodorus Siculus (iii. 59. 2, iii. 64. 5, iii. 65. 7, iii. 66. 3), Nysa, the place where the nymphs reared Dionysus, was in Arabia, which is certainly not a rainy country; but he admits (iii. 66. 4, iii. 67. 5) that others placed Nysa in Africa, or, as he calls it, Libya, away in the west beside the great ocean. Herodotus speaks of Nysa as “in Ethiopia, above Egypt” (ii. 146), and he mentions “the Ethiopians who

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4 Ἀντωνόης δὲ καὶ Ἀρισταίου παῖς Ἀκταίων ἐγένετο, ὃς τραφεῖς παρὰ Χείρωνι κυνηγὸς ἐδιδάχθη, καὶ ἔπειτα ὕστερον¹ ἐν τῷ Κιθαιρῶνι κατεβρώθη ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων κυνῶν. καὶ τοῦτον ἐτελεύτησε τὸν τρόπον, ὡς μὲν Ἀκουσίλαος λέγει, μνήσαντος τοῦ Διὸς ὅτι ἐμνηστεύσατο Σεμέλην, ὡς δὲ οἱ πλείονες, ὅτι τὴν Ἄρτεμιν λονομένην εἶδε. καὶ φασὶ τὴν θεὸν παραχρῆμα αὐτοῦ τὴν μορφήν εἰς ἔλαφον ἀλλάξαι, καὶ τοῖς ἐπομένοις αὐτῷ πεντήκοντα κυσὶν ἐμβαλεῖν λύσσαν, ὑφ' ὧν κατὰ ἄγνοιαν ἐβρώθη. ἀπολομένου² δὲ Ἀκταίωνος³ οἱ κύνες ἐπιζητοῦντες τὸν δεσπότην καταρύνοντο, καὶ ζήτησιν ποιούμενοι παρεγένοντο ἐπὶ τὸ τοῦ Χείρωνος ἄντρον, ὃς εἶδων κατασκέυασεν Ἀκταίωνος, ὃ καὶ τὴν λύπην αὐτῶν ἔπαυσε.

[τὰ⁴ ὀνόματα τῶν Ἀκταίωνος κυνῶν ἐκ τῶν . . .
οὔτω

δὴ νῦν καλὸν σῶμα περισταδόν, ἥύτε θῆρος,
τοῦδε δάσαντο κύνες κρατεροί. πέλας † Ἄρκενα⁵
πρώτη.

¹ ἔπειτα ὕστερον ES. ἔπειτα is apparently omitted in the other MSS.

² ἀπολομένου R: ἀπολλυμένου A.

³ Ἀκταίωνος ESA: Ἀκταίονος Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker.

⁴ The passage enclosed in square brackets, which contains a list of Actaeon's dogs, has probably been interpolated from some other source. It is wanting in the Vatican Epitome (E) and the Sabbaitic fragments (S.).

⁵ Ἄρκενα A: Ἄρκενα Aegius, Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker: Ἄρκενα Scaliger: Ἄρκενα Mitscherlich: Ἄρκενα Bergk.

Autonoe and Aristaeus had a son Actaeon, who was bred by Chiron to be a hunter and then afterwards was devoured on Cithaeron by his own dogs.¹ He perished in that way, according to Acusilaus; because Zeus was angry at him for wooing Semele; but according to the more general opinion, it was because he saw Artemis bathing. And they say that the goddess at once transformed him into a deer, and drove mad the fifty dogs in his pack, which devoured him unwittingly. Actaeon being gone, the dogs sought their master howling lamentably, and in the search they came to the cave of Chiron, who fashioned an image of Actaeon, which soothed their grief.

The names of Actaeon's dogs from the

So

Now surrounding his fair body, as it were that of a
beast,

The strong dogs rent it. Near Arcena first.

dwell about sacred Nysa and hold the festivals in honour of Dionysus" (iii. 97). But in fact Nysa was sought by the ancients in many different and distant lands and was probably mythical, perhaps invented to explain the name of Dionysus. See Stephanus Byzantius and Hesychius, *s.v. Νύσα*; A. Wiedemann, on Herodotus, ii. 146; T. W. Allen and E. E. Sikes, on *Homeric Hymn to Dionysus*, i. 8. p. 4.

¹ As to Actaeon and his dogs, see Diodorus Siculus, iv. 3-5; Nonnus, *Dionys.* v. 287 *sqq.*; Palaephatus, *De incredib.* 3; Nonnus, in Westermann's *Mythographi Graeci, Appendix Narrationum*, 6, p. 360; Hyginus, *Fab.* 181; Ovid, *Metamorph.* iii. 138 *sq.*; Fulgentius, *Mytholog.* iii. 3; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 103 (Second Vatican Mythographer, 81). Hyginus and Ovid give lists of the dogs' names.

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. . . μετὰ ταύτην ἄλκιμα τέκνα,
Λυγκεὺς καὶ Βαλῖος¹ πόδας αἰνετός, ἠδ' Ἀμά-
ρυνθος.—

καὶ τούτους ὀνομαστὶ διηνεκεως κατέλεξε.²
καὶ τότε Ἀκταίων ἔθανεν Διὸς ἐννεσίησι.³
πρῶτοι γὰρ μέλαν αἷμα πῖον⁴ σφετέραιο ἄνακτος
Σπαρτός τ' Ὠμαργός⁵ τε Βορῆς τ' αἰψηροκέ-
λευθος.

οὔτοι δ'⁶ Ἀκταίου πρῶτοι φάγον αἷμα τ' ἔλαψαν.⁷
τοὺς δὲ μέτ' ἄλλοι πάντες ἐπέσσυθεν⁸ ἔμμε-
μαῶτες.—

ἀργαλέων ὀδύνων ἄκος ἔμμεναι ἀνθρώποισιν.]

V. Διόνυσος δὲ εὐρετῆς ἀμπέλου γενόμενος,
Ἥρας μανίαν αὐτῷ ἐμβαλοῦσης περιπλανᾶται

¹ Βαλῖος Mitscherlich: βανός A.

² καὶ τούτους ὀνομαστὶ διηνεκέως κατέλεξε Scaliger: καὶ οὗς ὀνομαστὶ διήνεγκεν . . ., ὡς καταλέξη Wagner.

³ καὶ τότε Ἀκταίων ἔθανεν Διὸς ἐννεσίησι Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker (except that he reads αἰνεσίησι for ἐννεσίησι). ἔθανεν is Aegius's correction of the MS. reading κτεῖναι (A) or κτεῖνε (PR^c). Wagner edits the passage thus: . . . τότε Ἀκταίων κτεῖναι Διὸς αἰνεσίησι. Bergk proposed to read κτεῖναν for κτεῖναι or κτεῖνε. ⁴ πῖον Scaliger: ἀπὸ A.

⁵ Ὠμαργος Bekker: ὦν ἀργός A: Οὐαργος Heyne: Ὀμαργος Bergk. ⁶ οὔτοι δ' R: οὗ δ' A.

⁷ ἔλαψαν Ruhnken: ἔδαψαν A.

⁸ ἐπέσσυθεν Scaliger: ἐπέσσυθον A.

¹ As to the discovery of the vine by Dionysus and the wanderings of the god, see Diodorus Siculus, iii. 62 sq., iv. 1. 6 sq., iv. 2. 5 sqq.; Strabo, xv. 1. 7-9, pp. 687 sq. The story of the rovings of Dionysus, and in particular of his journey to India, was probably suggested by a simple observation of the wide geographical diffusion of the vine. Wherever the plant was cultivated and wine made from the grapes, there it would be supposed that the vine-god must have tarried, dispensing the boon or the bane of his gifts to

. . . after her a mighty brood,
Lynceus and Balius goodly-footed, and Amaryn-
thus.—

And these he enumerated continuously by name.
And then Actaeon perished at the instigation of Zeus.
For the first that drank their master's black blood
Were Spartus and Omargus and Bores, the swift on
the track.

These first ate of Actaeon and lapped his blood.
And after them others rushed on him eagerly . . .
To be a remedy for grievous pains to men.

V. Dionysus discovered the vine,¹ and being
driven mad by Hera² he roamed about Egypt and

mortals. There seems to be some reason to think that the original home of the vine was in the regions to the south of the Black Sea, the Caucasus, and the Caspian Sea, where the plant still grows wild "with the luxuriant wildness of a tropical creeper, clinging to tall trees and producing abundant fruit without pruning or cultivation." See A. de Candolle, *Origin of Cultivated Plants* (London, 1884), pp. 191 *sqq.* Compare A. Engler, in Victor Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere in ihrem Übergang aus Asien*⁷ (Berlin, 1902), pp. 85 *sqq.* But these regions are precisely those which Dionysus was supposed to have traversed on his journeys. Certainly the idea of the god's wanderings cannot have been suggested, as appears to be sometimes imagined, by the expedition of Alexander the Great to India (see F. A. Voigt, in W. H. Roscher's *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, i. 1087), since they are described with geographical precision by Euripides, who died before Alexander the Great was born. In his famous play, *The Bacchae* (vv. 13-20), the poet introduces the god himself describing his journey over Lydia, Phrygia, Bactria, Media, and all Asia. And by Asia the poet did not mean the whole continent of Asia as we understand the word, for most of it was unknown to him; he meant only the southern portion of it from the Mediterranean to the Indus, in great part of which the vine appears to be native.

² Compare Euripides, *Cyclops*, 3 *sq.*

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Αἴγυπτόν τε καὶ Συρίαν. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον Πρωτεὺς αὐτὸν ὑποδέχεται βασιλεὺς Αἴγυπτίων, αὐθις δὲ εἰς Κύβελα τῆς Φρυγίας ἀφικνεῖται, κακεῖ καθαρθεὶς ὑπὸ Ῥέας καὶ τὰς τελετὰς ἐκμαθῶν, καὶ λαβὼν παρ' ἐκείνης τὴν στολὴν, [ἐπὶ Ἰνδοῦς]¹ διὰ τῆς Θράκης ἠπειέγετο. Λυκούργος δὲ παῖς Δρύαντος, Ἡδωνῶν βασιλεύων, οἱ Στρυμόνα ποταμὸν παροικοῦσι, πρῶτος ὑβρίσας ἐξέβαλεν αὐτόν. καὶ Διόνυσος μὲν εἰς θάλασσαν πρὸς Θέτιν τὴν Νηρέως κατέφυγε, Βάκχαι δὲ ἐγένοντο αἰχμάλωτοι καὶ τὸ συνεπόμενον Σατύρων πλήθος αὐτῶ. αὐθις δὲ αἱ Βάκχαι ἐλύθησαν ἐξαίφνης, Λυκούργω δὲ μανίαν ἐνεποίησε² Διόνυσος. ὁ δὲ μεμηνῶς Δρύαντα τὸν παῖδα, ἀμπέλου νομίζων κλῆμα κόπτειν, πελέκει πλήξας ἀπέ-

¹ ἐπὶ Ἰνδοῦς. These words are out of place here. Wagner is probably right in thinking that we should either omit them (with Hercher) or insert *στρατεύσας* after them, so as to give the meaning: "and after marching against the Indians he hastened through Thrace."

² ἐνεποίησε Heyne: ἐποίησε A.

¹ The visit of Dionysus to Egypt was doubtless invented to explain the close resemblance which the ancients traced between the worship of Osiris and Dionysus. See Herodotus, ii. 42, 49, and 144; Diodorus Siculus, i. 11. 3, i. 13. 5, i. 96. 5, iv. 1. 6; Plutarch, *Isis et Osiris*, 28, 34, and 35; Tibullus, i. 7. 29 *sqq.* For the same reason Nysa, the place where Dionysus was supposed to have been reared, was by some people believed to be in the neighbourhood of Egypt. See *Homeric Hymn to Dionysus*, i. 8 *sq.*; Diodorus Siculus, i. 15. 6, iv. 2. 3.

² For the association of Dionysus with Phrygia, see Euripides, *Bacchae*, 58 *sq.*, 78 *sqq.*, where the chorus of Bacchanals is represented escorting Dionysus from the mountains of Phrygia to Greece. According to one account, Dionysus was

Syria. At first he was received by Proteus, king of Egypt,¹ but afterwards he arrived at Cybela in Phrygia.² And there, after he had been purified by Rhea and learned the rites of initiation, he received from her the costume and hastened through Thrace against the Indians. But Lycurgus, son of Dryas, was king of the Edonians, who dwell beside the river Strymon, and he was the first who insulted and expelled him.³ Dionysus took refuge in the sea with Thetis, daughter of Nereus, and the Bacchanals were taken prisoners together with the multitude of Satyrs that attended him. But afterwards the Bacchanals were suddenly released, and Dionysus drove Lycurgus mad. And in his madness he struck his son Dryas dead with an axe, imagining that he was lopping a branch of a vine, and when he had cut off

reared by the great Phrygian goddess Rhea (Stephanus Byzantium, *s.v. Μάστραυρα*). These legends were probably intended to explain the resemblances between the Bacchic and the Phrygian religions, especially in respect of their wild ecstatic and orgiastic rites.

³ For the story of the hostility of Lycurgus to Dionysus, see Homer, *Il.* vi. 129 *sqq.*, with the Scholia; Sophocles, *Antigone*, 955 *sqq.*; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 273; Hyginus, *Fab.* 132; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 14; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 39 (First Vatican Mythographer, 122). According to Sophocles, it would seem that Lycurgus suffered nothing worse at the hands of his subjects than imprisonment in a cave, where his frenzy gradually subsided. According to Hyginus, Servius, and the First Vatican Mythographer, the furious king, in attempting to cut down the vines, lopped off one of his own feet or even both his legs. It appears to be a common belief that a woodman who cuts a sacred tree with an axe wounds himself in so doing. See W. Mannhardt, *Baumkultus*, pp. 36 *sq.* It is said that when the missionary Jerome of Prague was preaching to the heathen Lithuanians and persuading them to cut down their sacred woods, one of the converts,

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κτεινε, καὶ ἀκρωτηριάσας αὐτὸν ἐσωφρόνησε.¹
τῆς δὲ γῆς ἀκάρπου μενούσης, ἔχρησεν ὁ θεὸς
καρποφορήσειν αὐτήν, ἂν θανατωθῆ Λυκούργος.
Ἦδωνοὶ δὲ ἀκούσαντες εἰς τὸ Παγγαίου αὐτὸν

¹ ἐσωφρόνησε Aegius : ἐσωφρόνισε Δ.

moved by his exhortation, struck at an ancient oak with an axe, but wounded himself in the legs and fell to the ground. See Aeneas Sylvius, *Opera* (Bâle, 1571), p. 418 [wrongly numbered 420]. The accident to this zealous convert closely resembles the one which is said to have befallen the Edonian king in a similar attempt on the sacred vine.

¹ Greek murderers used to cut off the extremities, such as the ears and noses, of their victims, fasten them on a string, and tie the string round the necks and under the armpits of the murdered men. One motive assigned for this custom, and probably the original one, was the wish by thus mutilating the dead man to weaken him so that he, or rather his ghost, could not take vengeance on his murderer (*ἴνα, φασίν, ἀσθενῆς γένοιτο πρὸς τὸ ἀντιτίσασθαι τὸν φονέα*, Scholiast on Sophocles, *Electra*, 445; *διὰ τούτων ὥσπερ τὴν δύναμιν ἐκείνων [scil. τῶν ἀνααιρεθέντων] ἀφαιρούμενοι, διὰ τὸ μὴ παθεῖν ἐς ὕστερόν τι δεινὸν παρ' ἐκείνων*, Suidas, *s.v.* *μασχαλισθῆναι*). On this barbarous custom see the Scholiast on Sophocles, *l.c.*; Suidas, *l.c.*; Hesychius and Photius, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* *μασχαλίσματα*; Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 477. According to one account (Scholiast on Sophocles, *l.c.*), the murderer fastened the extremities of his victim about his own person, but the better attested and more probable account is that he tied them about the mutilated body of his victim. Compare E. Rohde, *Psyche*³, i. 322-326; R. C. Jebb, on Sophocles, *Electra*, 445, with the Appendix, pp. 211 sq. The practice is perhaps illustrated by an original drawing in the Ambrosian manuscript of the *Iliad*, which represents the Homeric episode of Dolon (*Il.* x. 314 sq.); in the drawing the corpse of the slain Dolon is depicted shorn of its feet and hands, which lie beside it, while Ulysses holds Dolon's severed head in his hand. See *Annali dell' Instituto di Correspondenza Archeologica* (Rome, 1875), tav. d'agg. R.; A. Baumeister,

his son's extremities,¹ he recovered his senses.² But the land remaining barren, the god declared oracularly that it would bear fruit if Lycurgus were put to death. On hearing that, the Edonians led him to

Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums, i. 460 sq., fig. 506. It appears to be a widespread belief that the ghost of one who has died a violent death is dangerous to his slayer, but that he can be rendered powerless for mischief by maiming his body in such a way as would have disabled him in life. For example, some of the Australian aborigines used to cut off the thumbs of the right hands of dead enemies to prevent their ghosts from throwing spears. See A. Oldfield, "The Aborigines of Australia," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, iii. (1865) p. 287. In Travancore the spirits of murderers who have been hanged are thought to be very mischievous; hence, in order to prevent them from doing harm, it used to be customary to cut off the heels of the criminal with a sword or to hamstring him as he swung on the gallows. See S. Mateer, *The Land of Charity* (London, (1871), pp. 203 sq. In Armenia, when a person falls sick soon after the death of a member of the family, it is supposed that the sickness is caused by the dead man, who cannot rest in his grave until he has drawn away one of his kinsfolk to the spirit land. To prevent this catastrophe, the body of the deceased is disinterred and decapitated, and to make assurance doubly sure the head is smashed or a needle is stuck into it and into the heart. See Manuk Abeghian, *Der armenische Volksglaube* (Leipsic, 1899), p. 11. In some parts of West Africa it is similarly customary to disinter and decapitate a corpse of a person whose ghost is supposed to be causing sickness, "because the deceased, having his head cut off, will not have the same strength as before, and consequently will not be in a position to trouble him (the patient)." See J. B. Labat, *Relation Historique de l'Ethiopie Occidentale* (Paris, 1732), i. 208.

² So Orestes, driven mad by the Furies of his murdered mother, is said to have recovered his senses on biting off one of his own fingers (Pausanias, viii. 34. 2). By the sacrifice he may be supposed to have appeased the anger of his mother's ghost, who was thought to be causing his madness. Compare *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*, iii. 240 sq.

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ἀπαγαγόντες ὄρος ἔδησαν, κάκει κατὰ Διονύσου
βούλησιν ὑπὸ ἵππων διαφθαρεῖς ἀπέθανε.

- 2 Διελθὼν δὲ Θράκην [καὶ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν ἅπασαν,
στήλας ἐκεῖ στήσας]¹ ἦκεν εἰς Θήβας, καὶ τὰς
γυναῖκας ἠνάγκασε καταλιπούσας τὰς οἰκίας
βακχεύειν ἐν τῷ Κιθαιρῶνι. Πενθεὺς δὲ γεννη-
θεὶς ἐξ Ἀγαυῆς Ἐχίονι, παρὰ Κάδμου εἰληφῶς
τὴν βασιλείαν, διεκώλυε ταῦτα γίνεσθαι, καὶ
παραγενόμενος εἰς Κιθαιρῶνα τῶν Βακχῶν κατά-
σκοπος ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς Ἀγαυῆς κατὰ μανίαν
ἐμελίσθη· ἐνόμισε γὰρ αὐτὸν θηρίον εἶναι. δεί-
ξας δὲ Θεβαίοις ὅτι θεὸς ἐστίν, ἦκεν εἰς Ἄργος,
κάκει² πάλιν οὐ τιμώντων αὐτὸν ἐξέμηγε τὰς
γυναῖκας. αἱ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι τοὺς ἐπιμαστιδίους
ἔχουσαι³ παῖδας τὰς σάρκας αὐτῶν ἐσιτοῦντο.
- 3 βουλόμενος δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰκαρίας εἰς Νάξον διακο-
μισθῆναι, Τυρρηνῶν ληστρικὴν ἐμισθώσατο τρι-
ήρη. οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐνθέμενοι Νάξον μὲν παρέπλεον,
ἠπείγοντο δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀπεμπολήσοντες.
ὁ δὲ τὸν μὲν ἰστὸν⁴ καὶ τὰς κώπας ἐποίησεν ὄφεις,
τὸ δὲ σκάφος ἔπλησε κισσοῦ καὶ βοῆς αὐλῶν· οἱ
δὲ ἐμμανεῖς γενόμενοι κατὰ τῆς θαλάττης ἔφυγον

¹ The words enclosed in brackets are probably an interpolation, as Heyne thought. Hercher omits them.

² *κάκεινων* Eberhard.

³ *ἔψουσαι* A. Ludwich, perhaps rightly. But we should expect *ἐψήσασαι*.

⁴ *ἰστὸν* Aegius: *ἰσθμὸν* A.

¹ The king thus done to death was perhaps supposed to die in the character of the god; for Dionysus himself was said to have been rent in pieces by the Titans. See *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, 3rd ed. ii. 98 sq.; *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, i. 24 sq.

Mount Pangaeum and bound him, and there by the will of Dionysus he died, destroyed by horses.¹

Having traversed Thrace and the whole of India and set up pillars there,² he came to Thebes, and forced the women to abandon their houses and rave in Bacchic frenzy on Cithaeron. But Pentheus, whom Agave bore to Echion, had succeeded Cadmus in the kingdom, and he attempted to put a stop to these proceedings. And coming to Cithaeron to spy on the Bacchanals, he was torn limb from limb by his mother Agave in a fit of madness; for she thought he was a wild beast.³ And having shown the Thebans that he was a god, Dionysus came to Argos, and there again, because they did not honour him, he drove the women mad, and they on the mountains devoured the flesh of the infants whom they carried at their breasts.⁴ And wishing to be ferried across from Icaria to Naxos he hired a pirate ship of Tyrrhenians. But when they had put him on board, they sailed past Naxos and made for Asia, intending to sell him. Howbeit, he turned the mast and oars into snakes, and filled the vessel with ivy and the sound of flutes. And the pirates went mad, and leaped into the sea, and were turned

² Compare J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, viii. 582 *sqq.*

³ In these lines Apollodorus has summarized the argument of the *Bacchae* of Euripides; for the death of Pentheus, see *vv.* 1043 *sqq.* Compare Hyginus, *Fab.* 184; Ovid, *Metamorph.* iii. 511 *sqq.*, especially 701 *sqq.*; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 103 (Second Vatican Mythographer, 83). Aeschylus wrote a tragedy on the subject of Pentheus (*Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck², pp. 60 *sq.*).

⁴ The reference is to the madness of the daughters of Proetus. See above, ii. 2. 2 note.

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καὶ ἐγένοντο δελφίνες. ὥς δὲ¹ μαθόντες αὐτὸν θεὸν ἄνθρωποι ἐτίμων, ὁ δὲ ἀναγαγὼν ἐξ Ἰαίδου τὴν μητέρα, καὶ προσαγορεύσας Θυώνην, μετ' αὐτῆς εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀνήλθεν.

¹ ὥς δὲ Müller, Westermann: δεῖ Heyne: ὡς δὲ Bekker, Hercher, Wagner.

¹ The story of Dionysus and the pirates is the theme of the Homeric Hymn No. VII. *To Dionysus*. Compare Ovid, *Metamorph.* iii. 581 sqq.; Hyginus, *Fab.* 134; *id. Astronom.* ii. 17; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* i. 67; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 39, 133 (First Vatican Mythographer, 123; Second Vatican Mythographer, 171)

² Compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 25. 4. Dionysus is said to have gone down to hell to fetch up his mother Semele at Lerna, where he plunged into the Alcyonian Lake, a pool which was supposed to be bottomless and therefore to afford an easy access to the nether world. See Pausanias ii. 37. 5; and for a description of the pool as it is at the present time, see my commentary on Pausanias, vol. v. pp. 604 sq. Never having been in hell before, Dionysus did not know how to go there, and he was reduced to the necessity of asking the way. A certain Prosymnus pointed it out to the deity on condition of receiving a certain reward. When Dionysus returned from the lower world, he found that his guide had died in the meantime; but he punctually paid the promised reward to the dead man at his grave with the help of a branch of fig wood, which he whittled into an appropriate shape. This story was told to explain the similar implements which figured prominently in the processions of Dionysus. See Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* ii. 34, pp. 29 sq., ed. Potter; Nonnus, in Westermann's *Mythographi Graeci, Appendix Narrationum.* xxii. 1, p. 368; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 212; Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes*, v. 28; Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 5. Pausanias calls the god's guide Polymnus, unless that form of the name is the mistake of a copyist for Prosymnus, as seems to be suggested by the epithet Prosymna, which was applied to Demeter in the sacred grove at Lerna, where Dionysus also had an image. See Pausanias, ii. 37. 1. However, Hyginus gives Hypolipnus as the name of the guide to hell. Every year the descent of the god through the deep water was

into dolphins.¹ Thus men perceived that he was a god and honoured him; and having brought up his mother from Hades and named her Thyone, he ascended up with her to heaven.²

celebrated with nocturnal rites on the reedy margin of the pool (Pausanias, ii. 37. 6). The pious Pausanias shrank from divulging the nature of the rites; but from Plutarch we learn that a lamb was thrown into the lake as an offering to the warder of hell, while on trumpets hidden in the god's leafy emblems the buglers blew blasts which, startling the stillness and darkness of night, were believed to summon up the lost Dionysus from the watery depths. See Plutarch, *Isis et Osiris*, 35. Perhaps in answer to this bugle call an actor, dressed in the vine-god's garb, may have emerged dripping from the pool to receive the congratulations of the worshippers on his rising from the dead. However, according to others, the resurrection of Dionysus and his mother took place, not in the gloomy swamp at Lerna, but on the beautiful, almost landlocked, bay of Troezen, where nowadays groves of oranges and lemons, interspersed with the dark foliage of tall cypresses, fringe the margin of the calm blue water at the foot of the rugged mountains. See Pausanias, ii. 31. 2. Plutarch has drawn a visionary picture of the scene of the ascension. It was, he says, a mighty chasm like the caves sacred to Bacchus, mantled with woods and green grass and blooming flowers of every sort, and exhaling a delicious, an intoxicating, perfume, while all about it the souls of the departed circled and stooped upon the wing like flights of birds, but did not dare to cross its tremendous depth. It was called the Place of Forgetfulness. See Plutarch, *De sera numinis vindicta*, 22, pp. 565 sq. A pretty story was told of the device by which Dionysus induced the grim warden of the dead to release the soul of his mother from the infernal gaol. It is said that Hades consented to set her free provided that her son would send of his best beloved to replace her shade in the world of shadows. Now of all the things in the world the dearest to Dionysus were the ivy, the vine, and the myrtle; so of these he sent the myrtle, and that is why the initiated in his rites wreathed their brows with myrtle leaves. See Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Frogs*, 330. The harrying of hell is the theme of Aristophanes's amusing comedy *The Frogs*.

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- 4 Ὁ δὲ Κάδμος μετὰ Ἀρμονίας Θήβας ἐκλιπὼν πρὸς Ἐγχελέας¹ παραγίνεται. τούτοις δὲ ὑπὸ Ἰλλυριῶν πολεμουμένοις ὁ θεὸς ἔχρησεν Ἰλλυριῶν κρατήσειν, ἐὰν ἡγεμόνας Κάδμον καὶ Ἀρμονίαν ἔχωσιν. οἱ δὲ πεισθέντες ποιοῦνται κατὰ Ἰλλυριῶν ἡγεμόνας τούτους καὶ κρατοῦσι. καὶ βασιλεύει Κάδμος Ἰλλυριῶν, καὶ παῖς Ἰλλυριὸς αὐτῷ γίνεται. αὐθις δὲ μετὰ Ἀρμονίας εἰς δράκοντα μεταβαλὼν εἰς Ἡλύσιον πεδίου ὑπὸ Διὸς ἐξέπεμψθη.
- 5 Πολύδωρος δὲ Θηβῶν βασιλεὺς γενόμενος Νυκτιίδα γαμεῖ, Νυκτέως <τοῦ>² Χθονίου θυγατέρα, καὶ γεννᾷ Λάβδακον. οὗτος ἀπώλετο, μετὰ³ Πενθέα ἐκείνῳ φρονῶν παραπλήσια. καταλιπόντος δὲ Λαβδάκου παῖδα ἐνιαυσιαῖον Λάιον, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφείλετο Λύκος, ἕως οὗτος ἦν παῖς, ἀδελφὸς ὢν Νυκτέως. ἀμφότεροι δὲ [ἀπὸ Εὐ-

¹ Ἐγχελέας R: ἀγχελέας A.

² τοῦ inserted by Aegius.

³ κατὰ Siebelis.

¹ As to the departure of Cadmus and Harmonia to Illyria and their transformation into snakes in that country, where their tomb was shown in later ages, see Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 516 sqq.; Dionysius Periegetes, *Orbis Descriptio*, 390 sqq., with the commentary of Eustathius on v. 391; Strabo, i. 2. 39, p. 46, vii. 7. 8, p. 326; Pausanias, ix. 5. 3; Athenaeus, xi. 5, p. 462 B; Stephanus Byzantius, s.v. Δυρράχιον; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, iv. 393 sqq.; Ovid, *Metamorph.* iv. 563-603; Hyginus, *Fab.* 6; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* iii. 290; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 48 (First Vatican Mythographer, 150). Euripides mentions the transformation of the couple into snakes, but without speaking of their banishment to Illyria (*Bacchae*, 1530 sq.), probably because there is a long

But Cadmus and Harmonia quitted Thebes and went to the Encheleans. As the Encheleans were being attacked by the Illyrians, the god declared by an oracle that they would get the better of the Illyrians if they had Cadmus and Harmonia as their leaders. They believed him, and made them their leaders against the Illyrians, and got the better of them. And Cadmus reigned over the Illyrians, and a son Illyrius was born to him. But afterwards he was, along with Harmonia, turned into a serpent and sent away by Zeus to the Elysian Fields.¹

Polydorus, having become king of Thebes, married Nycteis, daughter of Nycteus, son of Chthonius, and begat Labdacus, who perished after Pentheus because he was like-minded with him.² But Labdacus having left a one-year-old son, Laius, the government was usurped by Lycus, brother of Nycteus, so long as Laius was a child. Both of them³ had fled from

lacuna in this part of the text. According to Hyginus, the transformation of the two into serpents was a punishment inflicted by Ares on Cadmus for killing his sacred dragon which guarded the spring at Thebes, which Hyginus absurdly calls the Castalian spring. It is a common belief, especially among the Bantu tribes of South Africa, that human beings at death are turned into serpents, which often visit the old home. There is some reason to think that the ancestors of the Greeks may have shared this widespread superstition, of which the traditional transformation of Cadmus and Harmonia would thus be an isolated survival. See *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, 3rd ed. i. 82 *sqq.*

² Compare Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 8; Pausanias ii. 6. 2, ix. 5. 4 *sq.* Apollodorus implies that Labdacus was murdered by the Bacchanals because he set himself against the celebration of their orgiastic rites. But there seems to be no express mention of his violent death in ancient writers.

³ That is, the two brothers Lycus and Nycteus.

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βοίας]¹ φυγόντες, ἐπεὶ Φλεγυῶν ἀπέκτειναν τὸν Ἄρεος καὶ Δωτίδος τῆς Βοιωτίδος, Ἐρίαν² κατῶ-
 κουν, καὶ . . .³ διὰ τὴν πρὸς Πενθέα οἰκειότητα
 ἐγεγόνεσαν πολῖται. αἰρεθεῖς οὖν Λύκος πολέ-
 μαρχος ὑπὸ Θηβαίων ἐπέθετο⁴ τῇ δυναστείᾳ, καὶ
 βασιλεύσας ἔτη εἴκοσι,⁵ φονευθεὶς ὑπὸ Ζήθου καὶ
 Ἀμφίονος θνήσκει δι' αἰτίαν τήνδε. Ἀντιόπη
 θυγάτηρ ἦν Νυκτέως· ταύτη Ζεὺς συνῆλθεν. ἡ
 δὲ ὡς ἐγκυος ἐγένετο, τοῦ πατρὸς ἀπειλοῦντος εἰς
 Σικυῶνα ἀποδιδράσκει πρὸς Ἐπωπέα καὶ τούτῳ
 γαμείται. Νυκτεὺς δὲ ἀθυμήσας ἑαυτὸν φονεύει,
 δούς ἐντολὰς⁶ Λύκῳ παρὰ Ἐπωπέως καὶ παρὰ
 Ἀντιόπης λαβεῖν δίκας. ὁ δὲ στρατευσάμενος
 Σικυῶνα χειροῦται, καὶ τὸν μὲν Ἐπωπέα κτείνει,
 τὴν δὲ Ἀντιόπην ἤγαγεν αἰχμαλωτον. ἡ δὲ ἀγο-

¹ ἀπὸ Εὐβοίας A. These words are deleted by Hercher and Wagner. Heyne also preferred to omit them. See exegetical note. ² Ἐρίαν Heyne: Συρίαν A.

³ There seems to be a lacuna here, which Heyne proposed to supply by the words ἐκείθεν ἐλθόντες εἰς Θήβας. I translate accordingly.

⁴ ἐπέθετο E: ἐπετίθετο A. ⁵ εἴκοσι A: δεκαοκτώ E.

⁶ ἐντολὰς ERS: ἐντολήν A.

¹ This Phlegyas is supposed to be Phlegyas, king of Orchomenus, whom Pausanias (ix. 36. 1) calls a son of Ares and Chryse. If this identification is right, the words "from Euboea" appear to be wrong, as Heyne pointed out, since Orchomenus is not in Euboea but in Boeotia. But there were many places called Euboea, and it is possible that one of them was in Boeotia. If that was so, we may conjecture that the epithet "Boeotian," which, applied to Dotis, seems superfluous, was applied by Apollodorus to Euboea and has been misplaced by a copyist. If these conjectures are adopted, the text will read thus: "Both of them fled from Euboea in Boeotia because they had killed Phlegyas, son of

Euboea because they had killed Phlegyas, son of Ares and Dotis the Boeotian,¹ and they took up their abode at Hyria, and thence having come to Thebes, they were enrolled as citizens through their friendship with Pentheus. So after being chosen commander-in-chief by the Thebans, Lycus compassed the supreme power and reigned for twenty years, but was murdered by Zethus and Amphion for the following reason. Antiope was a daughter of Nycteus, and Zeus had intercourse with her.² When she was with child, and her father threatened her, she ran away to Epopeus at Sicyon and was married to him. In a fit of despondency Nycteus killed himself, after charging Lycus to punish Epopeus and Antiope. Lycus marched against Sicyon, subdued it, slew Epopeus, and led Antiope away captive. On the way she gave birth to two

Ares and Dotis, and they took up their abode at Hyria." As to the various places called Euboea, see Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v. Εὐβοία*; W. Pape, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, *s.v. Εὐβοία*.

² With the following story of Antiope and Dirce compare Pausanias, ii. 6. 1 *sqq.*, ix. 25. 3; J. Malalas, *Chronographia*, ii. pp. 45-49, ed. L. Dindorf; Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 1090; Nicolaus Damascenus, frag. 11, in *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, ed. C. Müller, iii. 365 *sq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 7 and 8; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 32, 99 *sq.* (First Vatican Mythographer, 97; Second Vatican Mythographer, 74). Euripides wrote a tragedy *Antiope*, of which Hyginus (*Fab.* 8) gives a summary. Many fragments of the play have been preserved. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck,³ pp. 410 *sqq.* In his version of the story Apollodorus seems to have followed Euripides. The legend is commemorated in the famous group of statuary called the Farnese bull, which is now in the museum at Naples. See A. Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, i. 107, fig. 113.

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μένη δύο γεννᾶ παῖδας ἐν Ἐλευθεραῖς τῆς Βοιωτίας, οὓς ἐκκειμένους εὐρῶν βουκόλος ἀνατρέφει, καὶ τὸν μὲν καλεῖ Ζῆθον τὸν δὲ Ἀμφίονα. Ζῆθος μὲν οὖν ἐπεμελεῖτο βουφορβίων,¹ Ἀμφίων δὲ κιθαρωδίαν ἤσκει, δόντος αὐτῷ λύραν Ἑρμοῦ. Ἀντιόπην δὲ ἠκίζετο Λύκος καθείρξας καὶ ἡ τούτου γυνὴ Δίρκη· λαθοῦσα δέ ποτε, τῶν δεσμῶν αὐτομάτως² λυθέντων, ἤκεν ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν παίδων ἔπαυλιν, δεχθῆναι πρὸς αὐτῶν θέλουσα. οἱ δὲ ἀναγνωρισάμενοι τὴν μητέρα, τὸν μὲν Λύκον κτείνουσι, τὴν δὲ Δίρκην δῆσαντες ἐκ ταύρου ῥίπτουσι θανοῦσαν εἰς κρήνην τὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνης καλουμένην Δίρκην. παραλαβόντες δὲ τὴν δυναστείαν τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἐτείχισαν, ἐπακολουθησάντων τῇ Ἀμφίονος λύρα τῶν λίθων, Λάϊον δὲ ἐξέβαλον. ὁ δὲ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ διατελῶν ἐπιξενοῦται Πέλοπι, καὶ τούτου παῖδα Χρῦσιππον ἀρματοδρομεῖν διδάσκων ἐρασθεὶς ἀναρπάζει.

¹ Βουφορβίων ES: Βουφοραίων A.

² αὐτομάτως Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher: αὐτομάτων ESA, Wagner.

¹ Compare Pausanias, ix. 5. 7 sq. The two brothers are said to have quarrelled, the robust Zethus blaming Amphion for his passionate addiction to music and urging him to abandon it for what he deemed the more manly pursuits of agriculture, cattle-breeding and war. The gentle Amphion yielded to these exhortations so far as to cease to strum the lyre. See Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* lxxiii. vol. ii. p. 254, ed. L. Dindorf; Horace, *Epist.* i. 18. 41-44; *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck², pp. 414-416, frag. 184-188. The discussion between the two brothers, the one advocating the practical life and the other the contemplative or artistic, seems to have been famous. It is illustrated by a fine relief in which we see Amphion standing and holding out his lyre eagerly for the admiration of his athletic brother, who sits

sons at Eleurethae in Boeotia. The infants were exposed, but a neatherd found and reared them, and he called the one Zethus and the other Amphion. Now Zethus paid attention to cattle-breeding, but Amphion practised minstrelsy, for Hermes had given him a lyre.¹ But Lycus and his wife Dirce imprisoned Antiope and treated her despitefully. Howbeit, one day her bonds were loosed of themselves, and unknown to her keepers she came to her sons' cottage, begging that they would take her in. They recognized their mother, and slew Lycus, but Dirce they tied to a bull, and flung her dead body into the spring that is called Dirce after her. And having succeeded to the sovereignty they fortified the city, the stones following Amphion's lyre²; and they expelled Laius.³ He resided in Peloponnese, being hospitably received by Pelops; and while he taught Chrysippus, the son of Pelops, to drive a chariot, he conceived a passion for the lad and carried him off.⁴

regarding it with an air of smiling disdain. See W. H. Roscher, *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, i. 311.

² Compare Homer, *Od.* xi. 260-265 (who does not mention the miracle of the music); Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 735-741; Pausanias, ix. 5. 6-8; Propertius, i. 9. 10, iv. 2. 3 *sq.*; Horace, *Odes*, iii. 11. 2, *Ars Poetica*, 394-396. Apollonius represents Zethus staggering under the load of a mountain, while Amphion strolls along drawing a cliff twice as large after him by singing to his golden lyre. He seems to have intended to suggest the febleness of brute strength by comparison with the power of genius.

³ As to the banishment and restoration of Laius, see Pausanias, ix. 5. 6 and 9; Hyginus, *Fab.* 9.

⁴ Compare Athenaeus, xiii. 79, pp. 602 *sq.*, who says that Laius carried off Chrysippus in his chariot to Thebes. Chrysippus is said to have killed himself for shame. See the Scholiast on Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 1760.

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- 6 Γαμεί δὲ Ζήθος μὲν Θήβην, ἀφ' ἧς ἡ πόλις Θήβαι, Ἀμφίων δὲ Νιόβην τὴν Ταυτάλου, ἡ γεννᾶ παῖδας μὲν ἑπτὰ, Σίπυλον Εὐπίνυτον Ἴσμηνὸν Δαμασίχθονα Ἀγήνορα Φαίδιμον Τάνταλον, θυγατέρας δὲ τὰς ἴσας, Ἐθοδαίαν (ἡ ὡς τινες Νέαιραν) Κλεόδοξαν Ἀστυόχην Φθίαν Πελοπίαν Ἀστυκράτειαν Ὠγγύϊαν. Ἡσίοδος δὲ

¹ For the story of Niobe and her children, see Homer, *Iliad*, xxiv. 602 *sqq.*; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 74; Pausanias, i. 21. 3, ii. 21. 9, v. 11. 2, v. 16. 4, viii. 2. 5 and 7; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, iv. 416 *sqq.*; Ovid, *Metamorph.* vi. 146 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 9 and 11; Lactantius Placidus on Statius, *Theb.* iii. 191; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 50 (First Vatican Mythographer, 156). Great diversity of opinion prevailed among the ancients with regard to the number of Niobe's children. Diodorus, Ovid, Hyginus, Lactantius Placidus, and the First Vatican Mythographer agree with Apollodorus as to the seven sons and seven daughters of Niobe, and from the Scholiast on Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 159, we learn that Aeschylus, Euripides, and Aristophanes in lost plays adopted the same numbers, but that Pherecydes agreed with Homer in reckoning six sons and six daughters, while Hellanicus allowed the lady no more than four sons and three daughters. On the other hand, Xanthus the Lydian, according to the same Scholiast, credited her with a score of children, equally divided between the two sexes. Herein he probably followed the authority of Hesiod (see Apollodorus, below), and the same liberal computation is said to have been accepted by Bacchylides, Pindar, and Mimnermus, while Sappho reduced the figure to twice nine, and Aleman to ten all told (Aulus Gellius, xx. 70; Aelian, *Varia Historia*, xii. 36). Aeschylus and Sophocles each wrote a tragedy *Niobe*, of which some fragments remain. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck², pp. 50 *sqq.*, 228 *sq.*; *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, ii. 94 *sqq.*, frag. 442-451. The subject is rendered famous by the fine group of ancient statuary now in the Uffizi gallery at Florence. See

Zethus married Thebe, after whom the city of Thebes is named; and Amphion married Niobe, daughter of Tantalus,¹ who bore seven sons, Sipylus, Eupinytus, Ismenus, Damasichthon, Agenor, Phaedimus, Tantalus, and the same number of daughters, Ethodaia (or, as some say, Neaera), Cleodoxa, Astyoche, Phthia, Pelopia, Astycratia, and Ogygia. But Hesiod says that they had ten sons and ten

A. Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, iii. 1674 *sqq.* Antiquity hesitated whether to assign the group to Scopas or Praxiteles (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxvi. 28), and modern opinion is still divided on the question. See my note on Pausanias, ii. 29. 9 (vol. iii. p. 201). The pathetic character of the group may perhaps be held to speak in favour of Scopas, who seems to have excelled in the portrayal of the sterner, sadder emotions, while Praxiteles dwelt by preference on the brighter, softer creations of the Greek religious imagination. This view of the sombre cast of the genius of Scopas is suggested by the subjects which he chose for the decoration of the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea (Pausanias, viii. 45. 5-7), and by the scanty remains of the sculptures which have been found on the spot. See my commentary on Pausanias, vol. iv. pp. 426 *sqq.* However, the late historian of Greek sculpture, Professor M. Collignon, denied that the original of this famous group, which he regarded as a copy, was either by Scopas or Praxiteles. He held that it belongs to an Asiatic school of sculpture characterized by picturesque grouping, and that it could not have been executed before the third century B.C. To the same school he would assign another famous group of sculpture, that of Dirce and the bull (above, iii. 5. 5 note). See M. Collignon, *Histoire de la Sculpture Grecque* (Paris, 1892-1897), ii. 532 *sqq.* The tomb of the children of Niobe was shown at Thebes (Pausanias, ix. 16. 7; compare Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 159 *sq.*); but according to Statius (*Theb.* vi. 124 *sq.*) the *Mater Dolorosa* carried the ashes of her dead children in twice six urns to be buried on her native Mount Sipylus. Thus the poet dutifully follows Homer in regard to the number of the children.

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δέκα μὲν υἱοὺς δέκα δὲ θυγατέρας, Ἡρόδωρος¹ δὲ δύο μὲν ἄρρενας τρεῖς δὲ θηλείας, Ὅμηρος δὲ ἕξ μὲν υἱοὺς ἕξ δὲ θυγατέρας φησὶ γενέσθαι. εὐτεκνος δὲ οὔσα Νιόβη τῆς Λητοῦς εὐτεκνοτέρα εἶπεν ὑπάρχειν. Λητῶ δὲ ἀγανακτήσασα τὴν τε Ἄρτεμιν καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα κατ' αὐτῶν παρώξυνε, καὶ τὰς μὲν θηλείας ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας κατετόξευσεν Ἄρτεμις, τοὺς δὲ ἄρρενας κοινῇ πάντας ἐν Κιθαίρωνι Ἀπόλλων κυνηγετοῦντας ἀπέκτεινεν. ἐσώθη δὲ τῶν μὲν ἄρρένων Ἀμφίων, τῶν δὲ θηλειῶν Χλωρίς ἢ πρεσβυτέρα, ἣ Νηλεὺς συνώκησε. κατὰ δὲ Τελέσιλλαν ἐσώθησαν Ἀμύκλας² καὶ Μελίβοια, ἐτοξεύθη δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ Ἀμφίων. αὐτὴ δὲ Νιόβη Θήβας ἀπολιποῦσα πρὸς τὸν πατέρα Τάνταλον ἤκεν εἰς Σίπυλον, κακεῖ Διὶ εὐξαμένη τὴν μορφὴν εἰς λίθον μετέβαλε, καὶ χεῖται δάκρυα νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν τοῦ λίθου.

7 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀμφίονος τελευτὴν Λάιος τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβε. καὶ γήμας θυγατέρα Μενικέως, ἣν ἔνιοι μὲν Ἰοκάστην ἔνιοι δὲ Ἐπικάστην λέγουσι, χρῆσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ μὴ γεννᾶν (τὸν

¹ Ἡρόδωρος Aegius: ἠρόδοτος A.

² Ἀμύκλας A, Westermann, Müller, Wagner: Ἀμύκλα Heyne, Bekker, Hercher.

¹ Compare Pausanias, ii, 21. 9, v. 16. 4, according to whom Meliboea was the original name of Chloris; but she turned pale with fear at the slaughter of her brothers and sisters, and so received the name of Chloris, that is, the Pale Woman. As to the marriage of Chloris with Neleus, see Homer, *Od.* xi. 281 *sqq.*

² The ancients differed as to the death of Amphion: According to one account, he went mad (Lucian, *De saltatione*, 41), and in attempting to attack a temple of Apollo,

daughters; Herodorus that they had two male children and three female; and Homer that they had six sons and six daughters. Being blessed with children, Niobe said that she was more blessed with children than Latona. Stung by the taunt, Latona incited Artemis and Apollo against them, and Artemis shot down the females in the house, and Apollo killed all the males together as they were hunting on Cithaeron. Of the males Amphion alone was saved, and of the females Chloris the elder, whom Neleus married. But according to Telesilla there were saved Amyclas and Meliboea,¹ and Amphion also was shot by them.² But Niobe herself quitted Thebes and went to her father Tantalus at Sipylus, and there, on praying to Zeus, she was transformed into a stone, and tears flow night and day from the stone.

After Amphion's death Laius succeeded to the kingdom. And he married a daughter of Menoeceus; some say that she was Jocasta, and some that she was Epicasta.³ The oracle had warned him not

doubtless in order to avenge the death of his sons on the divine murderer, he was shot dead by the deity (Hyginus, *Fab.* 9). According to Ovid (*Metamorph.* vi. 271 sq.), he stabbed himself for grief.

³ For the tragic story of Laius, Jocasta or Epicasta, and their son Oedipus, see Homer, *Od.* xi. 271-280, with the Scholiast on v. 271; Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 1-62; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 64; Pausanias, ix. 2. 4, ix. 5. 10 sq., x. 5. 3 sq.; Scholiast on Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 1760; Hyginus, *Fab.* 66 and 67. In Homer the mother of Oedipus is named Epicasta; later writers call her Jocasta. The mournful tale of Oedipus is the subject of Sophocles's two great tragedies, the *Oedipus Tyrannus* and the *Oedipus Coloneus*. It is also the theme of Seneca's tragedy *Oedipus*. From the Scholiast on Homer (*l.c.*) we learn that the story was told by Androction. Apollodorus's version of the legend closely follows

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γεννηθέντα γὰρ πατροκτόνον ἔσεσθαι) ὁ δὲ οἰνωθεὶς συνῆλθε τῇ γυναικί. καὶ τὸ γεννηθὲν ἐκθεῖναι δίδωσι νομῆι, περόναις διατρήσας τὰ σφυρά. ἀλλ' οὗτος μὲν ἐξέθηκεν εἰς Κιθαιρῶνα, Πολύβου δὲ βουκόλοι, τοῦ Κορινθίων βασιλέως, τὸ βρέφος εὐρόντες πρὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ γυναῖκα Περιβοίαν ἤνεγκαν. ἡ δὲ ἀνελοῦσα ὑποβάλλεται, καὶ θεραπεύσασα τὰ σφυρά Οἰδίπουν καλεῖ, τοῦτο θεμένη τὸ ὄνομα διὰ τὸ τοὺς πόδας ἀνοιδῆσαι. τελειωθείς δὲ ὁ παῖς, καὶ διαφέρων τῶν ἡλικίων ῥώμη,¹ διὰ φθόνον² ὠνειδίζετο ὑπόβλητος. ὁ δὲ πυνθανόμενος παρὰ³ τῆς Περιβοίας μαθεῖν οὐκ ἠδύνατο· ἀφικόμενος δὲ εἰς Δελφοὺς περὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἐπυνθάνετο γονέων. ὁ δὲ θεὸς εἶπεν αὐτῷ εἰς τὴν πατρίδα μὴ πορεύεσθαι· τὸν μὲν γὰρ πατέρα φονεύσειν, τῇ μητρὶ δὲ μιγήσεσθαι. τοῦτο ἀκούσας, καὶ νομίζων ἐξ ὧν ἐλέγετο γεγενῆσθαι,⁴ Κόρινθον μὲν ἀπέλιπεν, ἐφ' ἄρματος δὲ διὰ τῆς Φωκίδος φερόμενος συντυγχάνει κατὰ τινα στενὴν ὁδὸν ἐφ' ἄρματος ὀχουμένῳ Λαίῳ. καὶ Πολυφόντου⁵ (κῆρυξ

¹ ῥώμη E: ἐν ῥώμη A. ² φθόνον E: φόνον A.

³ παρὰ E: περὶ A.

⁴ γεγενῆσθαι E, Zenobius, *Cent.* ii. 68: γεγενῆσθαι A.

⁵ Πολυφόντου . . . κελεύοντος E: Πολυφόντη . . . καὶ κελεύσαντος A.

Sophocles and is reproduced by Zenobius (*Cent.* ii. 68) in a somewhat abridged form with certain verbal changes, but as usual without acknowledgment. Some parallel stories occur in the folk-lore of other peoples. See Appendix, "The Oedipus Legend."

¹ Sophocles calls her Merope (*Oedipus Tyrannus*, 775), and so does Seneca (*Oedipus*, 272, 661, 802). But, according to Pherecydes, the wife of Polybus was Medusa, daughter of Orsilochus (Scholiast on Sophocles, *l.c.*).

to beget a son, for the son that should be begotten would kill his father; nevertheless, flushed with wine, he had intercourse with his wife. And when the babe was born he pierced the child's ankles with brooches and gave it to a herdsman to expose. But the herdsman exposed it on Cithaeron; and the neatherds of Polybus, king of Corinth, found the infant and brought it to his wife Periboea.¹ She adopted him and passed him off as her own, and after she had healed his ankles she called him Oedipus, giving him that name on account of his swollen feet.² When the boy grew up and excelled his fellows in strength, they spitefully twitted him with being supposititious. He inquired of Periboea, but could learn nothing; so he went to Delphi and inquired about his true parents. The god told him not to go to his native land, because he would murder his father and lie with his mother. On hearing that, and believing himself to be the son of his nominal parents, he left Corinth, and riding in a chariot through Phocis he fell in with Laius driving in a chariot in a certain narrow road.³ And when Polyphontes,

¹ The name Oedipus was interpreted to mean "swollen foot." As to the piercing of the child's ankles, see Sophocles, *Oedipus Tyrannus*, 718; Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 26 sq.; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 64. 1; Pausanias, x. 5. 3; Hyginus, *Fab.* 66; Seneca, *Oedipus*, 812 sq.

² The "narrow road" is the famous Cleft Way (Pausanias, x. 5. 3 sq.) now called the Cross-road of Megas (*Stavrodromi tou Megas*), where the road from Daulis and the road from Thebes and Lebadea meet and unite in the single road ascending through the long valley to Delphi. At this point the pass, shut in on either hand by lofty and precipitous mountains, presents one of the wildest and grandest scenes in all Greece; the towering cliffs of Parnassus on the

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δὲ οὗτος ἦν Λαίου) κελεύοντας ἐκχωρεῖν καὶ δι' ἀπίθειαν καὶ ἀναβολὴν κτείναντος τῶν ἵππων τὸν ἕτερον, ἀγανακτήσας Οἰδίπους καὶ Πολυφόντην καὶ Λαίον ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ παρεγένετο εἰς
 8 Θήβας. Λαίον μὲν οὖν θάπτει βασιλεὺς Πλαταιέων¹ Δαμασίστρατος, τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν Κρέων ὁ Μενοικέως παραλαμβάνει. τούτου δὲ βασιλεύοντος οὐ μικρὰ συμφορὰ κατέσχε Θήβας. ἔπεμψε γὰρ Ἥρα Σφίγγα, ἣ μητρὸς μὲν Ἐχιδνῆς ἦν πατρὸς δὲ Τυφῶνος, εἶχε δὲ πρόσωπον μὲν γυναικός, στῆθος δὲ καὶ βάσιν καὶ οὐρὰν λέοντος καὶ πτέρυγας ὄρνιθος. μαθοῦσα δὲ αἰνιγμα παρὰ μουσῶν ἐπὶ τὸ Φίκιον ὄρος ἐκαθέζετο, καὶ τοῦτο προύτεινε Θηβαίους. ἦν δὲ τὸ αἰνιγμα· τί ἐστὶν ὃ μίαν ἔχον φωνὴν² τετράπουν καὶ δίπουν καὶ τρίπουν

¹ πλαταιέων E: πλατυμέων A. Wagner reports πλατυμέων to be the reading of E. But this is apparently a misprint for A. See Heyne *ad. l.*: “Πλατυμέων vitiose omnes codd.”

² φωνὴν A: μορφήν E. The reading φωνή is supported by the Argument to Sophocles, *Oedipus Tyrannus* (p. 6 ed. Jebb), the Argument to Euripides, *Phoenissae*, and the Scholium on verse 50 (*Scholia in Euripidem*, ed. E. Schwartz, vol. i. pp. 243 sq. 256), Athenaeus, x. 83, p. 456 B, and the *Palatine Anthology*, xiv. 64, in all of which passages the oracle is quoted with φωνή instead of μορφή. On the other hand the reading μορφή is supported by some MSS. of Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 7, though the editor, Müller, prints φωνή in the text.

northern side of the valley are truly sublime. Not a trace of human habitation is to be seen. All is solitude and silence, in keeping with the tragic memories of the spot. Compare my commentary on Pausanias, x. 5. 3 (vol. v. pp. 231 sq.). As to the Cleft Way or Triple Way, as it was also called, and the fatal encounter of the father and son at it, see Sophocles, *Oedipus Tyrannus*, 715 sqq., 1398 sqq.; Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 37 sqq.; Seneca, *Oedipus*, 276 sqq.

¹ Compare Pausanias, ix. 5. 4.

the herald of Laius, ordered him to make way and killed one of his horses because he disobeyed and delayed, Oedipus in a rage killed both Polyphontes and Laius, and arrived in Thebes. Laius was buried by Damasistratus, king of Plataea,¹ and Creon, son of Menoeceus, succeeded to the kingdom. In his reign a heavy calamity befell Thebes. For Hera sent the Sphinx,² whose mother was Echidna and her father Typhon; and she had the face of a woman, the breast and feet and tail of a lion, and the wings of a bird. And having learned a riddle from the Muses, she sat on Mount Phicium, and propounded it to the Thebans. And the riddle was this:—What is that which has one voice and yet becomes four-footed

² As to the Sphinx and her riddle, see Hesiod, *Theog.* 326 sq. (who says that she was the offspring of Echidna and Orthus); Sophocles, *Oedipus Tyrannus*, 391 sqq.; Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 45 sqq.; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 64. 3 sq.; Pausanias, ix. 26. 2-4; Scholiast on Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 45; Hyginus, *Fab.* 67; Seneca, *Oedipus*, 92 sqq. The riddle is quoted in verse by several ancient writers. See Athenaeus, x. 81, p. 456 B; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 7; *Anthologia Palatina*, xiv. 64; Argument to Sophocles, *Oedipus Tyrannus*, p. 6, ed. R. C. Jebb; Argument to Euripides, *Phoenissae*, and Scholiast on *id.* v. 50 (*Scholia in Euripiden*, ed. E. Schwartz, vol. i. pp. 243 sq. 256). Outside of Greece the riddle seems to be current in more or less similar forms among various peoples. Thus it is reported among the Mongols of the Selenga (R. G. Latham, *Descriptive Ethnology*, i. 325), and in Gascony (J. F. Bladé, *Contes populaires de la Gascogne*, i. 3-14). Further, it has been recently recorded, in a form precisely similar to the Greek, among the tribes of British Central Africa: the missionary who reports it makes no reference to the riddle of the Sphinx, of which he was apparently ignorant. See Donald Fraser, *Winning a primitive people* (London, 1914), p. 171, "What is it that goes on four legs in the morning, on two at midday, and on three in the evening? Answer: A man, who crawls on hands and knees in childhood, walks erect when grown, and with the aid of a stick in his old age."

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γίνεται; χρησμοῦ δὲ Θηβαίοις ὑπάρχοντος την-
καῦτα ἀπαλλαγῆσεσθαι τῆς Σφιγγὸς ἠνίκα ἂν τὸ
αἰνιγμα λύσωσι, συνιόντες εἰς ταῦτό¹ πολλάκις
ἐζήτουν² τί τὸ λεγόμενον ἐστίν, ἐπεὶ³ δὲ μὴ
εὔρισκον, ἀρπάσασα ἓνα κατεβίβρωσκε. πολλῶν⁴
δὲ ἀπολομένων, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον Αἴμονος τοῦ
Κρέοντος, κηρύσσει Κρέων τῷ τὸ αἰνιγμα λύσονται⁵
καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ τὴν Λαίου δώσειν γυναῖκα.
Οἰδίπους δὲ ἀκούσας ἔλυσεν, εἰπὼν τὸ αἰνιγμα τὸ
ὑπὸ τῆς Σφιγγὸς λεγόμενον ἄνθρωπον εἶναι γίνε-
σθαι⁶ γὰρ τετράπουν βρέφος ὄντα⁷ τοῖς τέτταρσιν
ὀχοῦμενον κώλοισι, τελειούμενον⁸ δὲ δίπουν,⁹ γηρῶν-
τα δὲ τρίτην προσλαμβάνειν βάσιν τὸ βάκτρον. ἡ
μὲν οὖν Σφιγξ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἑαυτὴν ἔρρι-
ψεν, Οἰδίπους δὲ καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβε
καὶ τὴν μητέρα ἔγημεν ἀγνωῶν, καὶ παῖδας ἐτέκ-
νωσεν ἐξ αὐτῆς Πολυνείκη¹⁰ καὶ Ἐτεοκλέα, θυγα-
τέρας δὲ Ἴσμήνην καὶ Ἀντιγόνην. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ
γεννηθῆναι τὰ τέκνα φασὶν ἐξ Εὐρυγανείας αὐτῷ
9 τῆς Ἐπέρφαντος.¹¹ φανέντων δὲ ὕστερον τῶν λαν-
θανόντων, Ἰοκάστη μὲν ἐξ ἀγχόνης ἑαυτὴν ἀνήρ-

¹ συνιόντες εἰς ταῦτό E: καὶ συνιόντες εἰς αὐτὸ A.

² ἐζήτουν E: ἐζήτει A.

³ ἐπεὶ Heyne, Müller, Wagner: ἐπὶν EA, Westermann, Bekker. ⁴ πολλῶν E: πολλάκις A.

⁵ λύσονται EA, Zenobius, *Cent.* ii. 68: λύσαντι Hercher.

⁶ γίνεσθαι E: γεννᾶσθαι A: γεννᾶσθαι <μὲν> Bekker.

⁷ ὄντα E, Wagner: wanting in A.

⁸ τελειούμενον δὲ τὸν ἄνθρωπον A, Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker: τὸν ἄνθρωπον omitted in E and by Hercher and Wagner. ⁹ δίπουν <εἶναι> Bekker.

¹⁰ πολυνείκη A, Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher: πολυνείκη E, Zenobius (*Cent.* ii. 68), Wagner. Both forms are attested by ancient writers. See W. Pape, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, s. v. Πολυνείκης.

¹¹ Ἐπέρφαντος Aegius: τεύθραντος A.

and two-footed and three-footed? Now the Thebans were in possession of an oracle which declared that they should be rid of the Sphinx whenever they had read her riddle; so they often met and discussed the answer, and when they could not find it the Sphinx used to snatch away one of them and gobble him up. When many had perished, and last of all Creon's son Haemon, Creon made proclamation that to him who should read the riddle he would give both the kingdom and the wife of Laius. On hearing that, Oedipus found the solution, declaring that the riddle of the Sphinx referred to man; for as a babe he is four-footed, going on four limbs, as an adult he is two-footed, and as an old man he gets besides a third support in a staff. So the Sphinx threw herself from the citadel, and Oedipus both succeeded to the kingdom and unwittingly married his mother, and begat sons by her, Polynices and Eteocles, and daughters, Ismene and Antigone.¹ But some say the children were borne to him by Eurygania, daughter of Hyperphas.² When the secret afterwards came to light, Jocasta hanged herself in a noose,³ and Oedipus

¹ Compare Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 55 *sqq.*; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 64. 4; Hyginus, *Fab.* 67.

² This account is adopted by Pausanias (ix. 5. 10 *sq.*) and by the Scholiast on Euripides (*Phoenissae*, 1760), who cites Pisander as his authority. According to another version, Oedipus, after losing Jocasta, married Astymedusa, who falsely accused her stepsons of attempting her virtue. See Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* iv. 376; Eustathius on Homer, *l.c.*, p. 369; Scholiast on Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 53.

³ Compare Homer, *Od.* xi. 277 *sqq.*; Sophocles, *Oedipus Tyrannus*, 1235 *sqq.* According to Seneca, in one passage (*Oedipus*, 1034 *sqq.*), Jocasta stabbed herself to death on the discovery of her incest. But Euripides makes Jocasta survive her two sons and stab herself to death on their dead bodies. See Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 1455-1459. Herein he was perhaps followed by Seneca in his tragedy

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τησεν, Οἰδίπους δὲ τὰς ὄψεις τυφλώσας ἐκ Θηβῶν ἤλαύνετο, ἀρὰς τοῖς παισὶ θέμενος, οἷ τῆς πόλεως αὐτὸν ἐκβαλλόμενον θεωροῦντες οὐκ ἐπήμυναν. παραγενόμενος δὲ σὺν Ἀντιγόῃ τῆς Ἀττικῆς εἰς Κολωνόν, ἔνθα τὸ τῶν Εὐμενίδων ἐστὶ τέμενος, καθίζει ἰκέτης, προσδεχθεὶς ὑπὸ Θησέως, καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον ἀπέθανεν.

VI. Ἐτεοκλῆς δὲ καὶ Πολυνείκης περὶ τῆς βασιλείας συντίθενται πρὸς ἀλλήλους, καὶ αὐτοῖς δοκεῖ τὸν ἕτερον παρ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἄρχειν. τινὲς μὲν οὖν λέγουσι πρῶτον ἄρξαντα Πολυνείκη¹ παραδοῦναι μετ' ἐνιαυτὸν τὴν βασιλείαν Ἐτεοκλεῖ, τινὲς δὲ πρῶτον Ἐτεοκλέα ἄρξαντα² μὴ βούλεσθαι παραδοῦναι τὴν βασιλείαν. φυγαδευθεὶς οὖν Πολυνείκης ἐκ Θηβῶν ἦκεν εἰς Ἄργος, τὸν τε

¹ ἄρξαντα Πολυνείκη Hercher, Wagner: ἄρξαντος Πολυνείκουσ Α.

² Ἐτεοκλέα ἄρξαντα Faber, Hercher, Wagner: ἔτεοκλέουσ ἄρξαντος Α.

Phoenissae, for in the fragments of that play (*vv.* 443 *sqq.*) Seneca represents Jocasta attempting to make peace between Eteocles and Polynices on the battlefield; but the conclusion of the play is lost. Similarly Statius describes how Jocasta vainly essayed to reconcile her warring sons, and how she stabbed herself to death on learning that they had fallen by each other's hands. See Statius, *Theb.* vii. 474 *sqq.*, xi. 634 *sqq.*

¹ A curious and probably very ancient legend assigned a different motive for the curses of Oedipus. It is said that his sons used to send him as his portion the shoulder of every sacrificial victim, but that one day by mistake they sent him the haunch (*ισχίον*) instead of the shoulder, which so enraged him that he cursed them, praying to the gods that his sons might die by each other's hands. This story was told by the author of the epic *Thebaid*. See Scholiast on Sophocles, *Oedipus Coloneus*, 1375; Zenobius, *Cent.* v.

was driven from Thebes, after he had put out his eyes and cursed his sons, who saw him cast out of the city without lifting a hand to help him.¹ And having come with Antigone to Colonus in Attica, where is the precinct of the Eumenides, he sat down there as a suppliant, was kindly received by Theseus, and died not long afterwards.²

VI. Now Eteocles and Polynices made a compact with each other concerning the kingdom and resolved that each should rule alternately for a year at a time.³ Some say that Polynices was the first to rule, and that after a year he handed over the kingdom to Eteocles; but some say that Eteocles was the first to rule, and would not hand over the kingdom. So, being banished from Thebes, Polynices came to Argos, taking with him the

43. A different cause of his anger is assigned by Athenaeus (xi. 14, pp. 465 *sq.*), also on the authority of the author of the *Thebaid*.

¹ The coming of Oedipus and Antigone to Colonus Hippius in Attica, together with the mysterious death of Oedipus, are the subject of Sophocles's noble tragedy, *Oedipus Coloneus*. As to the sanctuary of the Eumenides, see that play, *vv.* 36 *sqq.* The knoll of Colonus is situated over a mile from Athens, and it is doubtful whether the poet intended to place the death and burial of Oedipus at Colonus or at Athens itself, where in later times the grave of Oedipus was shown in a precinct of the Eumenides, between the Acropolis and the Areopagus (Pausanias, i. 28. 7). See my notes on Pausanias, i. 28. 7, i. 30. 2, vol. ii. pp. 366 *sq.*, 393 *sq.*; R. C. Jebb, on Sophocles, *Oedipus Coloneus*, pp. xxx. *sqq.*

² That is, they were to reign in alternate years. Compare Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 69 *sqq.*, 473 *sqq.*; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 65. 1; Zenobius, *Cent.* i. 30; Hyginus, *Fab.* 67; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 48 *sq.* (First Vatican Mythographer, 152). In this and the sequel Zenobius (*l.c.*) closely follows Apollodorus and probably copied from him.

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ὄρμον καὶ τὸν πέπλον ἔχων. ἐβασίλευε δὲ Ἄργους Ἄδραστος ὁ Ταλαοῦ· καὶ τοῖς τούτου βασιλείοις νύκτωρ προσπελάζει, καὶ συνάπτει μάχην Τυδεῖ τῷ Οἰνέως φεύγοντι Καλυδῶνα. γενομένης δὲ ἐξαίφνης βοῆς ἐπιφανεῖς Ἄδραστος διέλυσεν αὐτούς, καὶ μάντεώς τινος ὑπομνησθεῖς λέγοντος αὐτῷ κάπρω καὶ λέοντι συζευξαι τὰς θυγατέρας, ἀμφοτέρους εἴλετο νυμφίους· εἶχον γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσπίδων ὁ μὲν κάπρου προτομὴν ὁ δὲ λέοντος. γαμῆ δὲ Δηιπύλην μὲν Τυδεὺς Ἀργεῖην δὲ Πολυνείκης, καὶ αὐτοὺς Ἄδραστος ἀμφοτέρους εἰς τὰς πατρίδας ὑπέσχετο κατὰξιν. καὶ πρῶτον ἐπὶ Θήβας ἔσπευδε στρατεύεσθαι, καὶ τοὺς ἀριστέας συνήθροιζεν.

- 2 Ἀμφιάραος δὲ ὁ Ὀικλέους,¹ μάντις ὢν καὶ προειδὼς ὅτι δεῖ πάντας τοὺς στρατευσαμένους χωρὶς Ἀδράστου τελευτῆσαι, αὐτὸς τε ὤκνει στρατεύεσθαι καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀπέτρεπε. Πολυνείκης δὲ ἀφικόμενος πρὸς Ἴφιν τὸν Ἀλέκτορος ἠξίου μαθεῖν πῶς ἂν Ἀμφιάραος ἀναγκασθῆι στρα-

¹ Ὀικλέους Aegius: ἰοκλέους A.

¹ That is, the necklace and the robe which Cadmus had given to Harmonia at their marriage. See above, iii. 4. 2.

² See above i. 8. 5.

³ Adrastus received the oracle from Apollo. See Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 408 sqq., *Suppliants*, 132 sqq. In these passages the poet describes the nocturnal brawl between the two exiled princes at the gate of the palace, and their reconciliation by Adrastus. Compare Zenobius, i. 30; Hyginus, *Fab.* 69; and the elaborate description of Statius, *Theb.* i. 370 sqq. The words of the oracle given to Adrastus are quoted by the Scholiast on Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 409. According to one interpretation the boar on the shield of Tydeus referred to

necklace and the robe.¹ The king of Argos was Adrastus, son of Talaus; and Polynices went up to his palace by night and engaged in a fight with Tydeus, son of Oeneus, who had fled from Calydon.² At the sudden outcry Adrastus appeared and parted them, and remembering the words of a certain seer who told him to yoke his daughters in marriage to a boar and a lion,³ he accepted them both as bridegrooms, because they had on their shields, the one the forepart of a boar, and the other the forepart of a lion.⁴ And Tydeus married Deipyle, and Polynices married Argia⁵; and Adrastus promised that he would restore them both to their native lands. And first he was eager to march against Thebes, and he mustered the chiefs.

But Amphiarus, son of Oicles, being a seer and foreseeing that all who joined in the expedition except Adrastus were destined to perish, shrank from it himself and discouraged the rest. However, Polynices went to Iphis, son of Alector, and begged to know how Amphiarus could be compelled to go

the Calydonian boar, while the lion on the shield of Polynices referred to the lion-faced sphinx. Others preferred to suppose that the two chieftains were clad in the skins of a boar and a lion respectively. See Scholiast on Euripides, *l.c.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 69.

⁴ As to the devices which the Greeks painted on their shields, as these are described by ancient writers or depicted in vase-paintings, see G. H. Chase, "The Shield Devices of the Greeks," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, vol. xiii. pp. 61-127. From the evidence collected in this essay (pp. 98 and 112 *sq.*) it appears that both the boar and the lion are common devices on shields in vase-paintings.

⁵ Compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 65. 3; Scholiast on Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 409; Hyginus, *Fab.* 69; Statius, *Theb.* ii. 201 *sqq.*

τεύεσθαι· ὁ δὲ εἶπεν εἰ λάβοι τὸν ὄρμον Ἐριφύλη.
 Ἄμφιάρως μὲν οὖν ἀπέειπεν Ἐριφύλῃ παρὰ Πολυ-
 νείκους δῶρα λαμβάνειν, Πολυνείκης δὲ δοὺς αὐτῇ
 τὸν ὄρμον ἠξίου τὸν Ἄμφιάρων πείσαι στρατεύειν.
 ἦν γὰρ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ¹ γενομένης γὰρ ταύτης² πρὸς
 Ἄδραστον, διαλυσάμενος ὤμοσε, περὶ ὧν <ἄν>³
 Ἄδράστῳ⁴ διαφέρεται, διακρίνειν Ἐριφύλῃ⁵ συγ-
 χωρήσαι. ὅτε οὖν ἐπὶ Θήβας ἔδει στρατεύειν,
 Ἄδράστου μὲν παρακαλοῦντος Ἄμφιαράου δὲ
 ἀποτρέποντος, Ἐριφύλῃ τὸν ὄρμον λαβοῦσα ἔπει-
 σεν αὐτὸν σὺν Ἄδράστῳ⁶ στρατεύειν. Ἄμφιάρ-
 ρως δὲ ἀνάγκην ἔχων στρατεύεσθαι τοῖς παισὶν
 ἐντολὰς ἔδωκε τελειωθείσι τὴν τε μητέρα κτείνειν
 καὶ ἐπὶ Θήβας στρατεύειν.

- 3 Ἄδραστος δὲ συναθροίσας <στρατὸν>⁷ σὺν ἡγε-
 μόσιν ἑπτὰ πολεμεῖν ἔσπευδε Θήβας. οἱ δὲ ἡγε-
 μόνες ἦσαν οἶδε· Ἄδραστος Ταλαοῦ, Ἄμφιάρως

¹ ταύτη Heyne: ταύτης A.

² αὐτῆς corrupt: αὐτῷ μάχης Bekker: αὐτῷ διαφορᾶς Hercher. Perhaps we should read: αὐτῷ πρὸς Ἄδραστον διαφορᾶς. I have translated accordingly. Heyne conjectured μάχης, ἔριδος, or ἀμφισβητήσεως for αὐτῆς. Sommer conjectured στάσεως, which is perhaps supported by Diodorus Siculus, iv. 65. 6, Ἄμφιαράου πρὸς Ἄδραστον στασιάζοντος.

³ ἄν inserted by Bekker.

⁴ Ἄδράστῳ Emperius, Hercher, Wagner: Ἄδραστος A, Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker.

⁵ ἐριφύλῃ V: ἐριφύλῃν A.

⁶ αὐτὸν σὺν Ἄδράστῳ Wagner: τὸν ὦ ἔδραστων PR^b: τῷ ἄδράστῳ C: τὸν Ἄδραστον Heyne (regarding the words as an interpolation), Westermann (preferring to read τῷ Ἄδράστῳ συστρατεύειν): τὸν ἄνδρα Commelinus, Bekker, Hercher.

⁷ στρατὸν a conjecture of Heyne, accepted by Hercher and Wagner.

¹ For the story of the treachery of Eriphyle to her husband Amphiarus, see also Diodorus Siculus, iv. 65. 5 sq. ;

to the war. He answered that it could be done if Eriphyle got the necklace.¹ Now Amphiaraus had forbidden Eriphyle to accept gifts from Polynices; but Polynices gave her the necklace and begged her to persuade Amphiaraus to go to the war; for the decision lay with her, because once, when a difference arose between him and Adrastus, he had made it up with him and sworn to let Eriphyle decide any future dispute he might have with Adrastus.² Accordingly, when war was to be made on Thebes, and the measure was advocated by Adrastus and opposed by Amphiaraus, Eriphyle accepted the necklace and persuaded him to march with Adrastus. Thus forced to go to the war, Amphiaraus laid his commands on his sons, that, when they were grown up, they should slay their mother and march against Thebes.

Having mustered an army with seven leaders, Adrastus hastened to wage war on Thebes. The leaders were these³: Adrastus, son of Talaus;

Pausanias, v. 17. 7 sq., ix. 41. 2; Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* xi. 326 (who refers to Asclepiades as his authority); Hyginus, *Fab.* 73; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 49 (First Vatican Mythographer, 152). The story is alluded to but not told by Homer (*Od.* xi. 326 sq., xv. 247), Sophocles (*Electra*, 836 sqq.), and Horace (*Odes*, iii. 16. 11-13). Sophocles wrote a tragedy *Eriphyle*, which was perhaps the same as his *Epigoni*. See *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. i. pp. 129 sqq.

² Compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 65. 6; Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* xi. 326; Scholiast on Pindar, *Nem.* ix. 13 (30). As the sister of Adrastus (see above, i. 9. 13) and the wife of Amphiaraus, the traitress Eriphyle might naturally seem well qualified to act as arbiter between them.

³ For lists of the seven champions who marched against Thebes, see Aeschylus, *Seven against Thebes*, 375 sqq.; Sophocles, *Oedipus Coloneus*, 1309 sqq.; Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 1090 sqq. and *Suppliants*, 857 sqq.; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 65. 7; Hyginus, *Fab.* 70.

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᾽Οικλέους,¹ Καπανεύς Ἴππονόου, Ἴππομέδων Ἀριστομάχου, οἱ δὲ λέγουσι Ταλαοῦ. οὗτοι μὲν ἐξ ᾽Αργούς, Πολυνεΐκης <δὲ>² Οἰδίποδος ἐκ Θηβῶν, Τυδεὺς Οἰνέως Αἰτωλός, Παρθενοπαῖος Μελανίωνος Ἀρκάς. τινὲς δὲ Τυδέα μὲν καὶ Πολυνεΐκην οὐ καταριθμοῦσι, συγκαταλέγουσι δὲ τοῖς ἑπτὰ Ἐτέοκλον Ἴφιους καὶ Μηκιστέα.

- 4 Παραγενόμενοι δὲ εἰς Νεμέαν, ἧς ἐβασίλευε Λυκούργος, ἐζήτουν ὕδωρ. καὶ αὐτοῖς ἠγήσατο τῆς ἐπὶ κρήνην ὁδοῦ Ἵψιπύλη, νήπιον παῖδα [ὄντα]³ ᾽Οφέλτην ἀπολιπούσα, ὃν ἔτρεφεν Εὐρυδίκης ὄντα καὶ Λυκούργου. αἰσθόμεναι γὰρ αἱ

¹ ᾽Οικλέους Aegius : Ἰοκλέους A. ² δὲ inserted by Bekker.

³ ὄντα omitted by Hercher.

¹ The place of Eteoclus among the Seven Champions is recognized by Aeschylus (*Seven against Thebes*, 458 sqq.), Sophocles (*Oedipus Coloneus*, 1316), and Euripides in one play (*Suppliants*, 871 sqq.), but not in another (*Phoenissae*, 1090 sqq.); and he is omitted by Hyginus (*Fab.* 70). His right to rank among the Seven seems to have been acknowledged by the Argives themselves, since they included his portrait in a group of statuary representing the Champions which they dedicated at Delphi. See Pausanias, x. 10. 3.

² Brother of Adrastus. See i. 9. 13.

³ As to the meeting of the Seven Champions with Hypsipyle at Nemea, the death of Opheltes, and the institution of the Nemean games, see Scholia on Pindar, *Nem.*, *Argument*, pp. 424 sq. ed. Boeckh ; Bacchylides, *Epinic.* viii. [ix.] 10 sqq. ; Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* ii. 34, p. 29, ed. Potter, with the Scholiast ; Hyginus, *Fab.* 74 and 273 ; Statius, *Theb.* iv. 646-vi. ; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* iv. 717 ; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode. vol. i. p. 123 (Second Vatican Mythographer, 141). The institution of the Nemean games in honour of Opheltes or Archemorus was noticed by Aeschylus in a lost play. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck², p. 49. The judges at the Nemean games wore dark-coloured robes in mourning, it

Amphiaraus, son of Oicles; Capaneus, son of Hipponous; Hippomedon, son of Aristomachus, but some say of Talaus. These came from Argos; but Polynices, son of Oedipus, came from Thebes; Tydeus, son of Oeneus, was an Aetolian; Parthenopaeus, son of Melanion, was an Arcadian. Some, however, do not reckon Tydeus and Polynices among them, but include Eteoclus, son of Iphis,¹ and Mecisteus² in the list of the seven.

Having come to Nemea, of which Lycurgus was king, they sought for water; and Hypsipyle showed them the way to a spring, leaving behind an infant boy Opheltes, whom she nursed, a child of Eurydice and Lycurgus.³ For the Lemnian women, after-

is said, for Opheltes (Scholiast on Pindar, *Nem.*, *Argum.* p. 425, ed. Boeckh); and the crown of parsley bestowed on the victor is reported to have been chosen for the same sad reason (Servius, on Virgil, *Ecl.* vi. 68). However, according to another account, the crowns at Nemea were originally made of olive, but the material was changed to parsley after the disasters of the Persian war (Scholiast on Pindar, *l.c.*). The grave of Opheltes was at Nemea, enclosed by a stone wall; and there were altars within the enclosure (Pausanias, ii. 15, 3). Euripides wrote a tragedy *Hypsipyle*, of which many fragments have recently been discovered in Egyptian papyri. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck², pp. 594 sqq.; A. S. Hunt, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta Papyracea nuper reperta* (Oxford, no date, no pagination). In one of these fragments (col. iv. 27 sq.) it is said that Lycurgus was chosen from all Asopia to be the warder (*κληδοῦχος*) of the local Zeus. There were officials bearing the same title (*κλειδοῦχοι*) at Olympia (Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*³, vol. ii. p. 168, No. 1021) in Delos (Dittenberger, *Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, vol. i. p. 252, No. 170), and in the worship of Aesculapius at Athens (E. S. Roberts and E. A. Gardner, *Introduction to Greek Epigraphy*, Part ii. p. 410, No. 157). The duty from which they took their title was to keep the keys of the

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Λήμνιοι ὕστερον Θόαντα σεσωσμένον ἐκείνον μὲν ἔκτειναν, τὴν δὲ Ἑψιπύλην ἀπημπούλησαν· διὸ πραθεῖσα¹ ἐλάτρευε παρὰ Λυκούργῳ. δεικνυούσης δὲ τὴν κρήνην, ὁ παῖς ἀπολειφθεὶς ὑπὸ δράκοντος διαφθείρεται. τὸν μὲν οὖν δράκοντα ἐπιφανέντες οἱ μετὰ Ἀδράστου κτείνουσι, τὸν δὲ παῖδα θάπτουσι. Ἀμφιάραος δὲ εἶπεν ἐκείνοις τὸ σημεῖον τὰ μέλλοντα προμαντεύεσθαι· τὸν δὲ παῖδα Ἀρχέμορον ἐκάλεσαν.² οἱ δὲ ἔθεσαν ἐπ' αὐτῷ τὸν τῶν Νεμέων ἀγῶνα, καὶ ἵππῳ μὲν ἐνίκησεν Ἀδραστος, σταδίῳ δὲ Ἐτέοκλος, πυγμῇ Τυδεύς, ἄλματι³ καὶ δίσκῳ Ἀμφιάραος, ἀκοντίῳ Λαόδοκος, πάλῃ Πολυνεΐκης, τόξῳ Παρθενοπαῖος.

5 Ὡς δὲ ἦλθον εἰς τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα, πέμπουσι Τυδέα προερούντα Ἐτεοκλεῖ τῆς βασιλείας⁴ παραχωρεῖν Πολυνεΐκει, καθὰ συνέθεντο. μὴ προσέχοντος δὲ Ἐτεοκλέους, διάπειραν τῶν Θηβαίων

¹ πραθεῖσα Heyne (who also conjectured τρέφουσα or τροφεύουσα): πραφεῖσα P: τραφεῖσα A.

² ἐκάλεσεν Hercher.

³ ἄλματι Valckenar, Bekker, Hercher, Wagner: ἄρματι A, Heyne, Westermann.

⁴ τῆς βασιλείας Hercher: τὴν βασιλείαν Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Wagner (following apparently the MSS.).

temple. A fine relief in the Palazzo Spada at Rome represents the serpent coiled round the dead body of the child Opheltes and attacked by two of the heroes, while in the background Hypsipyle is seen retreating, with her hands held up in horror and her pitcher lying at her feet. See W. H. Roscher, *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, i. 473; A. Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, i. 113, fig. 119. The death of Opheltes or Archemorus is also the subject of a fine vase-painting, which shows the dead boy lying on a bier and attended by two women, one of whom is



wards learning that Thoas had been saved alive,¹ put him to death and sold Hypsipyle into slavery: wherefore she served in the house of Lycurgus as a purchased bondwoman. But while she showed the spring, the abandoned boy was killed by a serpent. When Adrastus and his party appeared on the scene, they slew the serpent and buried the boy; but Amphiaraus told them that the sign foreboded the future, and they called the boy Archemorus.² They celebrated the Nemean games in his honour; and Adrastus won the horse race, Eteoclus the foot race, Tydeus the boxing match, Amphiaraus the leaping and quoit-throwing match, Laodocus the javelin-throwing match, Polynices the wrestling match, and Parthenopæus the archery match.

When they came to Cithaeron, they sent Tydeus to tell Eteocles in advance that he must cede the kingdom to Polynices, as they had agreed among themselves. As Eteocles paid no heed to the

about to crown him with a wreath of myrtle, while the other holds an umbrella over his head to prevent, it has been suggested, the sun's rays from being defiled by falling on a corpse. Amongst the figures in the painting, which are identified by inscriptions, is seen the mother Eurydice standing in her palace between the suppliant Hypsipyle on one side and the dignified Amphiaraus on the other. See E. Gerhard, "Archemoros," *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* (Berlin, 1866-1868), i. 5 *sqq.*, with *Abbildungen*, taf. i.; K. Friederichs, *Praxiteles und die Niobegruppe* (Leipzig, 1855), pp. 123 *sqq.*; A. Baumeister, *op. cit.* i. 114, fig. 120.

¹ See above, i. 9. 17.

² That is, "beginner of doom"; hence "ominous," "foreboding." The name is so interpreted by Bacchylides (*Epinic.* viii. 14, *σᾶμα μέλλοντος φόβου*), by the Scholiast on Pindar (*Nem., Argum.* pp. 424 *sq.* ed. Boeckh), and by Lactantius Placidus in his commentary on Statius (*Theb.* iv. 717).

Τυδεὺς ποιούμενος, καθ' ἓνα προκαλούμενος πάντων περιεγένετο. οἱ δὲ πεντήκοντα ἄνδρας ὀπλίσαντες ἀπίοντα ἐνήδρευσαν αὐτόν· πάντας δὲ αὐτοὺς χωρὶς Μαίονος ἀπέκτεινε, κᾶπειτα ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἦλθεν.

- 6 Ἀργεῖοι δὲ καθοπλισθέντες προσήεσαν τοῖς τείχεσι, καὶ πυλῶν ἑπτὰ οὐσῶν Ἄδραστος μὲν παρὰ τὰς Ὀμολοῖδας πύλας ἔστη, Καπανεὺς δὲ παρὰ τὰς Ὀγυγίας, Ἀμφιάραος δὲ παρὰ τὰς Προιτίδας, Ἴππομέδων δὲ παρὰ τὰς Ὀγκαΐδας,¹ Πολυνείκης δὲ παρὰ τὰς Ὑψίστας, Παρθενοπαῖος <δὲ>² παρὰ τὰς Ἠλέκτρας, Τυδεὺς δὲ παρὰ τὰς Κρηνίδας. καθώπλισε δὲ καὶ Ἐτεοκλῆς Θηβαίους, καὶ καταστήσας ἡγεμόνας ἴσους ἴσοις ἔταξε, καὶ πῶς ἂν περιγένοιτο τῶν πολεμίων ἐμαντεύετο.
- 7 ἦν δὲ παρὰ Θηβαίοις μάντις Τειρεσίας Εὐήρους καὶ Χαρικλοῦς νύμφης, ἀπὸ γένους Οὐδαίου τοῦ Σπάρτου, γενόμενος τυφλὸς τὰς ὀράσεις. οὐ περι τῆς πηρώσεως καὶ τῆς μαντικῆς λέγονται λόγοι διάφοροι. ἄλλοι μὲν γὰρ αὐτόν ὑπὸ θεῶν φασὶ τυφλωθῆναι, ὅτι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἅ κρύπτειν ἤθελον ἐμήνυε, Φερεκύδης δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀθηνᾶς αὐτόν

¹ Ὀγκαΐδας Aegius : ὀχνηίδας A.

² δὲ inserted by Heyne.

¹ For the embassy of Tydeus to Thebes and its sequel, see Homer, *Il.* iv. 382–398, v. 802–808, with the Scholiast on v. 376 ; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 65. 4 ; Statius, *Theb.* ii. 307 sqq.

² The siege of Thebes by the Argive army under the Seven Champions is the subject of two extant Greek tragedies, the *Seven against Thebes* of Aeschylus, and the *Phoenissae* of Euripides. In both of them the attack on the seven gates by the Seven Champions is described. See the *Seven against Thebes*, 375 sqq. ; *Phoenissae*, 105 sqq., 1090 sqq. The siege is also the theme of Statius's long-winded and bombastic

message, Tydeus, by way of putting the Thebans to the proof, challenged them to single combat and was victorious in every encounter; and though the Thebans set fifty armed men to lie in wait for him as he went away, he slew them all but Maeon, and then came to the camp.¹

Having armed themselves, the Argives approached the walls²; and as there were seven gates, Adrastus was stationed at the Homoloidian gate, Capaneus at the Ogygian, Amphiaraus at the Proetidian, Hippomedon at the Oncaidian, Polynices at the Hypsistan,³ Parthenopæus at the Electran, and Tydeus at the Crenidian.⁴ Eteocles on his side armed the Thebans, and having appointed leaders to match those of the enemy in number, he put the battle in array, and resorted to divination to learn how they might overcome the foe. Now there was among the Thebans a soothsayer, Tiresias, son of Everes and a nymph Chariclo, of the family of Udaeus, the Spartan,⁵ and he had lost the sight of his eyes. Different stories are told about his blindness and his power of soothsaying. For some say that he was blinded by the gods because he revealed their secrets to men. But epic, the *Thebaid*. Compare also Diodorus Siculus, iv. 65. 7-9; Pausanias, i. 39. 2, ii. 20. 5, viii. 25. 4, x. 10. 3; Hyginus, *Fab.* 69, 70. The war was also the subject of two lost poems of the same name, the *Thebaid* of Callinus, an early elegiac poet, and the *Thebaid* of Antimachus, a contemporary of Plato. See *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel. pp. 9 *sqq.*, 275 *sqq.* As to the seven gates of Thebes, see Pausanias, ix. 8. 4-7, with my commentary (vol. iv. pp. 35 *sqq.*). The ancients were not entirely agreed as to the names of the gates.

¹ That is, "the Highest Gate."

² That is, "the Fountain Gate."

³ That is, one of the Sparti, the men who sprang from the dragon's teeth sown by Cadmus. See above, iii. 4. 1.

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τυφλωθήναι· οὔσαν γὰρ τὴν Χαρικλῶ προσφιλῆ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ¹. . . γυμνὴν ἐπὶ πάντα ἰδεῖν, τὴν δὲ ταῖς χερσὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ καταλαβομένην² πηρὸν ποιῆσαι, Χαρικλοῦς δὲ δεομένης ἀποκαταστήσαι πάλιν τὰς ὀράσεις, μὴ δυναμένην τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, τὰς ἀκοὰς διακαθάρασαν πᾶσαν ὀρνίθων φωνὴν ποιῆσαι συνεῖναι, καὶ σκῆπτρον αὐτῷ δωρήσασθαι κράνειον,³ ὃ φέρων ὁμοίως τοῖς βλέπουσιν ἐβάδιζεν. Ἡσίοδος δὲ φησιν ὅτι θεα-

¹ The lacuna was indicated by Heyne, who proposed to restore the passage as follows: οὔσαν γὰρ τῇ Χαρικλοῖ προσφιλῆ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν αὐτὴν γυμνὴν ἐπιστάντα (οἱ ἐπιβάντα) ἰδεῖν, "For Athena was a friend of Chariclo, and he came upon her and saw her naked." This gives the requisite sense, and probably represents very nearly the original reading of the passage. The friendship of Athena for the nymph Chariclo, the mother of Tiresias, is mentioned to explain the opportunity which Tiresias had of seeing the goddess naked.

² ταῖς χερσὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ καταλαβομένην. These words have been wrongly suspected or altered by the editors. Heyne proposed to omit τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς as a gloss or to rewrite the passage thus: τὴν δὲ ταῖς χερσὶ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτοῦ ὕδωρ καταβαλοῦσαν πηρὸν ποιῆσαι. Hercher wrote: τὴν δὲ ταῖς χερσὶ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτοῦ λαβομένην πηρὸν ποιῆσαι. They all apparently suppose that the goddess blinded Tiresias by scratching out his eyes. But she simply held her hands over the eyes of the prying intruder, and the mere touch of her divine fingers sufficed to blind him for ever. Compare Plato, *Theaetetus*, p. 165 BC: τί γὰρ χρήσει ἀφύκτω ἔρωτήματι, τὸ λεγόμενον ἐν φρεσὶ συνεχόμενος, ὅταν ἐρωτᾷ ἀνέκπληκτος (unabashed) ἀνὴρ, καταλαβὼν τῇ χειρὶ σοῦ τὸν ἕτερον ὀφθαλμόν, εἰ ὄρεῖ τὸ ἰμάτιον τῷ κατειλημμένῳ; If any change were desirable, it would be καταλαβοῦσαν for καταλαβομένην, but even this is not necessary. Compare Diodorus Siculus, iii. 37. 5 κατελάβοντο δεσμοῖς τὸ στόμιον (the mouth of a serpent's den).

³ κράνειον Aegius, Bekker, Hercher, Wagner: κυάνειον EA, Commelinus, Gale, Heyne, Westermann, Müller.

Pherecydes says that he was blinded by Athena¹; for Chariclo was dear to Athena . . . and Tiresias saw the goddess stark naked, and she covered his eyes with her hands, and so rendered him sightless. And when Chariclo asked her to restore his sight, she could not do so, but by cleansing his ears she caused him to understand every note of birds; and she gave him a staff of cornel-wood,² wherewith he walked like those who see. But Hesiod says that he

¹ The blinding of Tiresias by Athena is described by Callimachus in his hymn, *The Baths of Pallas*. He tells how the nymph Chariclo, mother of Tiresias, was the favourite attendant of Athena, who carried her with her wherever she went, often mounting the nymph in her own car. One summer day, when the heat and stillness of noon reigned in the mountains, the goddess and the nymph had stripped and were enjoying a cool plunge in the fair-flowing spring of Hippocrene on Mount Helicon. But the youthful Tiresias, roaming the hills with his dogs, came to slake his thirst at the bubbling spring and saw what it was not lawful to see. The goddess cried out in anger, and at once the eyes of the intruder were quenched in darkness. His mother, the nymph, reproached the goddess with blinding her son, but Athena explained that she had not done so, but that the laws of the gods inflicted the penalty of blindness on anyone who beheld an immortal without his or her consent. To console the youth for the loss of his sight the goddess promised to bestow on him the gifts of prophecy and divination, long life, and after death the retention of his mental powers undimmed in the world below. See Callimachus, *Baths of Pallas*, 57-133. In this account Callimachus probably followed Pherecydes, who, as we learn from the present passage of Apollodorus, assigned the same cause for the blindness of Tiresias. It is said that Erymanthus, son of Apollo, was blinded because he saw Aphrodite bathing. See Ptolemaeus Hephaest. *Nov. Hist.* i. in Westermann's *Mythographi Graeci*, p. 183.

² According to the MSS., it was a blue staff. See Critical Note. As to the cornel-tree in ancient myth and fable, see C. Boetticher, *Der Baumkultus der Hellenen* (Berlin, 1856), pp. 130 sqq.

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σάμενος περὶ Κυλλήνην ὄφεις συνουσιάζοντας
καὶ τούτους τρώσας ἐγένετο ἐξ ἀνδρὸς¹ γυνή,
πάλιν δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ὄφεις παρατηρήσας συνου-
σιάζοντας ἐγένετο ἀνήρ. διόπερ Ἡρα καὶ Ζεὺς

¹ ἀνδρὸς E : ἀνδρῶν A.

¹ This curious story of the double change of sex experienced by Tiresias, with the cause of it, is told also by Phlegon, *Mirabilia*, 4; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 683; Eustathius on Homer, *Od.* x. 492, p. 1665; Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* x. 494; Antoninus Liberalis, *Transform.* 17; Ovid, *Metamorph.* iii. 316 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 75; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* ii. 95; Fulgentius, *Mytholog.* ii. 8; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 5, 104, 169 (First Vatican Mythographer, 16; Second Vatican Mythographer, 84; Third Vatican Mythographer, iv. 8). Phlegon says that the story was told by Hesiod, Dicaearchus, Clitarchus, and Callimachus. He agrees with Apollodorus, Hyginus, Lactantius Placidus, and the Second Vatican Mythographer in laying the scene of the incident on Mount Cyllene in Arcadia; whereas Eustathius and Tzetzes lay it on Mount Cithaeron in Boeotia, which is more appropriate for a Theban seer. According to Eustathius and Tzetzes, it was by killing the female snake that Tiresias became a woman, and it was by afterwards killing the male snake that he was changed back into a man. According to Ovid, the seer remained a woman for seven years, and recovered his male sex in the eighth; the First Vatican Mythographer says that he recovered it after eight years; the Third Vatican Mythographer affirms that he recovered it in the seventh year. All the writers I have cited, except Antoninus Liberalis, record the verdict of Tiresias on the question submitted to him by Zeus and Hera, though they are not all agreed as to the precise mathematical proportion expressed in it. Further, they all, except Antoninus Liberalis, agree that the blindness of Tiresias was a punishment inflicted on him by Hera (Juno) because his answer to the question was displeasing to her. According to Phlegon, Hyginus, Lactantius Placidus, and the Second

beheld snakes copulating on Cyllene, and that having wounded them he was turned from a man into a woman, but that on observing the same snakes copulating again, he became a man.¹ Hence, when

Vatican Mythographer the life of Tiresias was prolonged by Zeus (Jupiter) so as to last seven ordinary lives.

The notion that it is unlucky to see snakes coupling appears to be widespread. In Southern India "the sight of two snakes coiled round each other in sexual congress is considered to portend some great evil" (E. Thurston, *Ethnographic Notes in Southern India*, Madras, 1906, p. 293). The Chins of North-eastern India think that "one of the worst omens that it is possible to see is two snakes copulating, and a man who sees this is not supposed to return to his house or to speak to anyone until the next sun has risen" (Bertram S. Carey and H. N. Tuck, *The Chin Hills*, vol. i. Rangoon, 1896, p. 199). "It is considered extremely unlucky for a Chin to come upon two snakes copulating, and to avoid ill-fortune he must remain outside the village that night, without eating cooked food; the next morning he may proceed to his house, but, on arrival there, must kill a fowl and, if within his means, hold a feast. If a man omits these precautions and is found out, he is liable to pay compensation of a big *mythun*, a pig, one blanket, and one bead, whatever his means, to the first man he brings ill-luck to by talking to him. Before the British occupation, if the man, for any reason, could not pay the compensation, the other might make a slave of him, by claiming a pig whenever one of his daughters married" (W. R. Head, *Haka Chin Customs*, Rangoon, 1917, p. 44). In the Himalayas certain religious ceremonies are prescribed when a person has seen snakes coupling (*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1884, pt. i. p. 101; the nature of the ceremonies is not described). In Timorlaut, one of the East Indian Islands, it is deemed an omen of great misfortune if a man dreams that he sees snakes coupling (J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluiik- en kroesharige rassen tusshen Selebes en Papua*, The Hague, 1886, p. 285). Similarly in Southern India there prevails "a superstitious belief that, if a person sees two crows engaged in sexual congress, he will die unless one of his relations sheds tears. To avert this catastrophe, false news as to the death are sent

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ἀμφισβητοῦντες πότερον τὰς γυναῖκας ἢ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἦδεσθαι μᾶλλον ἐν ταῖς συνουσίαις συμβαίνοι, τοῦτον ἀνέκριναν. ὁ δὲ ἔφη δέκα μοιρῶν περὶ τὰς συνουσίας οὐσῶν τὴν μὲν μίαν ἄνδρας ἦδεσθαι, τὰς δὲ ἑννέα¹ γυναῖκας. ὅθεν Ἡρα μὲν αὐτὸν ἐτύφλωσε, Ζεὺς δὲ τὴν μαντικὴν αὐτῷ ἔδωκεν.

[τὸ ὑπὸ Τειρεσίου λεχθὲν πρὸς Δία καὶ Ἡραν οἴην μὲν μοῖραν δέκα μοιρῶν τέρπεται ἀνὴρ, τὰς δὲ δέκ' ἐμπίπλησι γυνὴ τέρπουσα νόημα.]²

ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ πολυχρόνιος.

Οὗτος οὖν Θηβαίοις μαντευομένοις³ εἶπε νικήσειν, εἰ Μεινοικεὺς ὁ Κρέοντος Ἄρει σφάγιον αὐτὸν ἐπιδῶ. τοῦτο ἀκούσας Μεινοικεὺς ὁ Κρέοντος ἑαυτὸν πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἔσφαξε. μάχης δὲ γενομένης οἱ Καδμείοι μέχρι τῶν τειχῶν συνεδιώχθησαν, καὶ Καπανεὺς ἀρπάσας κλίμακα ἐπὶ τὰ τεῖχη δι' αὐτῆς ἀνήει, καὶ Ζεὺς αὐτὸν κεραυνοῖ.
8 τούτου δὲ γενομένου τροπῇ⁴ τῶν Ἀργείων γίνεται. ὡς δὲ ἀπώλλυντο πολλοί, δόξαν ἐκατέροις τοῖς

¹ δέκα . . . τὴν μὲν μίαν . . . τὰς δὲ ἑννέα Barth, Bekker, Hercher, Wagner: δεκαεννέα . . . τὰς μὲν ἑννέα . . . τὰς δὲ δέκα A, Heyne, Westermann, Müller.

² These verses are probably interpolated. They are repeated by the Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* x. 494, and by Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 683.

³ μαντευομένοις Heyne, Bekker, Hercher, Wagner: μαντευόμενος A, Westermann, Müller.

⁴ τροπῇ Heyne, Bekker, Hercher, Wagner: τρόπαιον A, Westermann.

by the post or telegraph, and subsequently corrected by a letter or telegram announcing that the individual is alive" (E. Thurston, *op. cit.* p. 278). A similar belief as to the dire effect of seeing crows coupling, and a similar mode of averting

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Hera and Zeus disputed whether the pleasures of love are felt more by women or by men, they referred to him for a decision. He said that if the pleasures of love be reckoned at ten, men enjoy one and women nine. Wherefore Hera blinded him, but Zeus bestowed on him the art of soothsaying.

The saying of Tiresias to Zeus and Hera.
Of ten parts a man enjoys one only ;
But a woman enjoys the full ten parts in her heart.¹

He also lived to a great age.

So when the Thebans sought counsel of him, he said that they should be victorious if Menoeceus, son of Creon, would offer himself freely as a sacrifice to Ares. On hearing that, Menoeceus, son of Creon, slew himself before the gates.² But a battle having taken place, the Cadmeans were chased in a crowd as far as the walls, and Capaneus, seizing a ladder, was climbing up it to the walls, when Zeus smote him with a thunderbolt.³ When that befell, the Argives turned to flee. And as many fell,

the calamity, are reported in the Central Provinces of India (M. R. Pedlow, "Superstitions among Hindoos in the Central Provinces," *The Indian Antiquary*, xxix. Bombay, 1900, p. 88).

¹ These lines are also quoted by Tzetzes (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 683) from a poem *Melampodia*; they are cited also by the Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* x. 494.

² As to the voluntary sacrifice of Menoeceus, see Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 911 *sqq.*; Pausanias, ix. 25. 1; Cicero, *Tuscul. Disput.* i. 48. 116; Hyginus, *Fab.* 68; Statius, *Theb.* x. 589 *sqq.*

³ As to the death of Capaneus, compare Aeschylus, *Seven against Thebes*, 423 *sqq.*; Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 1172 *sqq.*; *id. Suppliants*, 496 *sqq.*; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 65. 8; Hyginus, *Fab.* 71; Statius, *Theb.* x. 827 *sqq.*

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στρατεύμασιν Ἐτεοκλῆς καὶ Πολυνείκης περὶ τῆς βασιλείας μονομαχοῦσι, καὶ κτείνουσι ἀλλήλους. καρτερᾶς δὲ πάλιν γενομένης μάχης οἱ Ἄστακοῦ¹ παῖδες ἠρίστευσαν. Ἴσμαρος μὲν γὰρ Ἴππομέδοντα ἀπέκτεινε, Λεάδης δὲ Ἐτέοκλον, Ἀμφίδικος δὲ Παρθενοπαῖον. ὡς δὲ Εὐριπίδης φησί, Παρθενοπαῖον ὁ Ποσειδῶνος παῖς Περικλύμενος ἀπέκτεινε. Μελάνιππος δὲ ὁ λοιπὸς τῶν Ἄστακοῦ² παίδων εἰς τὴν γαστέρα Τυδέα τιτρώσκει. ἡμιθνήτος δὲ αὐτοῦ κειμένου παρὰ Διὸς αἰτησαμένη Ἀθηνᾶ φάρμακον ἤνεγκε, δι' οὗ ποιεῖν ἔμελλεν ἀθάνατον αὐτόν. Ἀμφιάραιος δὲ αἰσθόμενος τοῦτο, μισῶν Τυδέα ὅτι παρὰ τὴν ἐκείνου γνώμην εἰς Θήβας ἔπεισε τοὺς Ἀργεῖους στρατεύεσθαι, τὴν Μελανίππου κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμῶν ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ [τιτρωσκόμενος δὲ Τυδεὺς ἔκτεινεν αὐτόν].³ ὁ δὲ διελὼν τὸν ἐγκέφαλον ἐξερρόφησεν. ὡς δὲ εἶδεν Ἀθηνᾶ, μυσσαχθεῖσα τὴν εὐεργεσίαν ἐπέσχε τε καὶ ἐφθόν-

¹ Ἄστακοῦ Aegius: ἀστυάγους A.

² Ἄστακοῦ Westermann, Müller, Hercher, Wagner: ἀστυάγους A. Aegius, Commelinus, Gale, Heyne, and Bekker omit the noun, reading simply τῶν παίδων.

³ τιτρωσκόμενος δὲ Τυδεὺς ἔκτεινεν αὐτόν. These words are probably an interpolation, as Heyne rightly observed. They are omitted by Hercher.

¹ As to the single combat and death of Eteocles and Polynices, see Aeschylus, *Seven against Thebes*, 804 sqq.; Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 1356 sqq.; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 65. 8; Pausanias, ix. 5. 12; Hyginus, *Fab.* 71; Statius, *Theb.* xi. 447-579.

² According to Statius (*Theb.* ix. 455-539), Hippomedon was overwhelmed by a cloud of Theban missiles after being nearly drowned in the river Ismenus.

³ As to the death of Parthenopaeus, see Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 1153 sqq. In the *Thebaid*, also, Periclymenus was

Eteocles and Polynices, by the resolution of both armies, fought a single combat for the kingdom, and slew each other.¹ In another fierce battle the sons of Astacus did doughty deeds; for Ismarus slew Hippomedon,² Leades slew Eteoclus, and Amphidocus slew Parthenopaeus. But Euripides says that Parthenopaeus was slain by Periclymenus, son of Poseidon.³ And Melanippus, the remaining one of the sons of Astacus, wounded Tydeus in the belly. As he lay half dead, Athena brought a medicine which she had begged of Zeus, and by which she intended to make him immortal. But Amphiarus hated Tydeus for thwarting him by persuading the Argives to march to Thebes; so when he perceived the intention of the goddess he cut off the head of Melanippus and gave it to Tydeus, who, wounded though he was, had killed him. And Tydeus split open the head and gulped up the brains. But when Athena saw that, in disgust she grudged and withheld the intended benefit.⁴

represented as the slayer of Parthenopaeus. See Pausanias, ix. 18. 6.

⁴ Compare Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 1066; Scholiast on Pindar, *Nem.* x. 7 (12); Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* v. 126. All these writers say that it was Amphiarus, not Tydeus, who killed as well as decapitated Melanippus. Pausanias also (ix. 18. 1) represents Melanippus as slain by Amphiarus. Hence Heyne was perhaps right in rejecting as an interpolation the words "who, wounded though he was, had killed him." See the Critical Note. The story is told also by Statius (*Theb.* viii. 717-767) in his usual diffuse style; but according to him it was Capaneus, not Amphiarus, who slew and beheaded Melanippus and brought the gory head to Tydeus. The story of Tydeus's savagery is alluded to more than once by Ovid in his *Ibis* (427 *sq.*, 515 *sq.*), that curious work in which the poet has distilled the whole range of ancient mythology for the purpose of commination. With this tradition of

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ησεν. Ἀμφιάρᾳ δὲ φεύγοντι παρὰ ποταμὸν Ἴσμηνόν, πρὶν ὑπὸ Περικλυμένου τὰ νῶτα τρωθῆναι, Ζεὺς κεραυνὸν βαλὼν τὴν γῆν διέστησεν. ὁ δὲ σὺν τῷ ἄρματι καὶ τῷ ἠνιόχῳ Βάτωνι, ὡς δὲ ἔνιοι Ἑλάτωνι,¹ ἐκρύφθη, καὶ Ζεὺς ἀθάνατον αὐτὸν

¹ Ἑλάτωνι Sommer, Wagner: ἐλάττωνι R^a: ἐλάττωνον B: ἐλάττω C: Ἑλαττωνῶ Heyne, Westermann, Müller: Ἑλατωνῶ Bekker: Ἑλάτῳ L. Dindorf, Hercher.

cannibalism on the field of battle we may compare the custom of the ancient Scythians, who regularly decapitated their enemies in battle and drank of the blood of the first man they slew (Herodotus iv. 64). It has indeed been a common practice with savages to swallow some part of a slain foe in order with the blood, or flesh, or brains to acquire the dead man's valour. See for example L. A. Millet-Mureau, *Voyage de la Perouse autour du Monde* (Paris, 1797), ii. 272 (as to the Californian Indians); Fay-Cooper Cole, *The Wild Tribes of Davao District, Mindanao* (Chicago, 1913), pp. 94, 189 (as to the Philippine Islanders). I have cited many more instances in *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, ii. 148 sqq. The story of the brutality of Tydeus to Melanippus may contain a reminiscence of a similar custom. From the Scholiast on Homer (*l.c.*) we learn that the story was told by Pherecydes, whom Apollodorus may be following in the present passage. The grave of Melanippus was on the road from Thebes to Chalcis (Pausanias, ix. 18. 1), but Clisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon, "fetched Melanippus" (ἐπηγάγετο τὸν Μελάνιππον) to Sicyon and dedicated a precinct to him in the Prytaneum or town-hall; moreover, he transferred to Melanippus the sacrifices and festal honours which till then had been offered to Adrastus, the foe of Melanippus. See Herodotus, v. 67. It is probable that Clisthenes, in "fetching Melanippus," transferred the hero's bones to the new shrine at Sicyon, following a common practice of the ancient Greeks, who were as anxious to secure the miraculous relics of heroes as modern Catholics are to secure the equally miraculous relics of saints. The most famous case of such a translation of holy bones was that of Orestes, whose remains were removed from

Amphiarus fled beside the river Ismenus, and before Periclymenus could wound him in the back, Zeus cleft the earth by throwing a thunderbolt, and Amphiarus vanished with his chariot and his charioteer Baton, or, as some say, Elato;¹ and Zeus made him immortal.

Tegea to Sparta (Herodotus, i. 67 *sq.*). Pausanias mentions many instances of the practice. See the Index to my translation of Pausanias, *s. v.* "Bones," vol. vi. p. 31. It was, no doubt, unusual to bury bones in the Prytaneum, where was the Common Hearth of the city (Pollux, ix. 40; *Corpus Inscriptioinum Atticarum*, ii. 467, lines 6, 73; my note on Pausanias, viii. 53. 9, vol. iv. pp. 441 *sq.*); but at Mantinea there was a round building called the Common Hearth in which Antinoe, daughter of Cepheus, was said to be buried (Pausanias, viii. 9. 5); and the graves of not a few heroes and heroines were shown in Greek temples. See Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.*, iii. 45, pp. 39 *sq.*, ed. Potter. The subject of relic worship in antiquity is exhaustively treated by Fried. Pfister, *Der Reliquienkult im Altertum* (Giessen, 1909-1912).

¹ Compare Pindar, *Nem.* ix. 24 (59) *sqq.*, x. 8 (13) *sq.*; Euripides, *Suppliants*, 925 *sqq.*; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 65. 8; Strabo, ix. 2. 11, p. 404; Pausanias, i. 34. 2, ii. 23. 2, ix. 8. 3, ix. 19. 4; Statius, *Theb.* vii. 789-823. The reference to Periclymenus clearly proves that Apollodorus had here in mind the first of these passages of Pindar. Pausanias repeatedly mentions Baton as the charioteer of Amphiarus (ii. 23. 2, v. 17. 8, x. 10. 3). Amphiarus was believed to be swallowed up alive, with his chariot and horses, and so to descend to the nether world. See Euripides, *Suppliants*, 925 *sqq.*; Statius, *Theb.* viii. 1 *sqq.*; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 49 (First Vatican Mythographer, 152). Hence Sophocles speaks of him as reigning fully alive in Hades (*Electra*, 836 *sqq.*). Moreover, Amphiarus was deified (Pausanias, viii. 2. 4; Cicero, *De divinatione*, i. 40. 88), and as a god he had a famous oracle charmingly situated in a little glen near Oropus in Attica. See Pausanias, i. 34, with my commentary (vol. ii. pp. 466 *sqq.*). The exact spot where Amphiarus disappeared into the earth was shown not far from Thebes on the road to Potniae. It

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ἐποίησεν. Ἄδραστον δὲ μόνου ἵππος διέσωσεν Ἄρειων· τοῦτον ἐκ Ποσειδῶνος ἐγέννησε Δημήτηρ εἰκασθεῖσα ἐρινύι κατὰ τὴν συνουσίαν.

VII. Κρέων δὲ τὴν Θηβαίων βασιλείαν παραλαβὼν τοὺς τῶν Ἀργείων νεκροὺς ἔρριψεν ἀτάφους, καὶ κηρύξας μηδένα θάπτειν φύλακας κατέστησεν. Ἀντιγόνη δέ, μία τῶν Οἰδίποδος θυγατέρων, κρύφα τὸ Πολυνείκουσ σῶμα κλέψασα ἔθαψε, καὶ φωραθεῖσα ὑπὸ Κρέοντος αὐτοῦ¹ τῷ τάφῳ ζῶσα² ἐνεκρύφθη.³ Ἄδραστος δὲ εἰς Ἀθήνας ἀφικόμενος

¹ αὐτῶ R : αὐτὴν A.

² ζῶσα R : ζῶσαν A.

³ ἐνεκρύφθη R : ἐνεκρύψατο R^e in margin, C.

was a small enclosure with pillars in it. See Pausanias, ix. 8. 3. As the ground was split open by a thunderbolt to receive Amphiaraus (Pindar, *Nem.* ix. 24 (59) *sqq.*, x. 8 (13) *sq.*), the enclosure with pillars in it was doubtless one of those little sanctuaries, marked off by a fence, which the Greeks always instituted on ground struck by lightning. See below, note on iii. 7. 1.

¹ Arion, the swift steed of Adrastus, is mentioned by Homer, who alludes briefly to the divine parentage of the animal (*Il.* xxiii. 346 *sq.*), without giving particulars as to the quaint and curious myth with which he was probably acquainted. That myth, one of the most savage of all the stories of ancient Greece, was revealed by later writers. See Pausanias, viii. 25. 4-10, viii. 42. 1-6; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 153; compare Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xxiii. 346. The story was told at two places in the highlands of Arcadia: one was Thelpusa in the beautiful vale of the Ladon; the other was Phigalia, where the shallow cave of the goddess mother of the horse was shown far down the face of a cliff in the wild romantic gorge of the Neda. The cave still exists, though the goddess is gone: it has been converted into a tiny chapel of Christ and St. John. See my commentary on Pausanias, vol. iv. pp. 406 *sq.* According to Diodorus Siculus (iv. 65. 9) Adrastus returned to Argos. But Pausanias says (i. 43. 1) that he died at Megara of old age and grief at his son's death, when he was leading back his beaten army from Thebes:

Adrastus alone was saved by his horse Arion. That horse Poseidon begot on Demeter, when in the likeness of a Fury she consorted with him.¹

VII. Having succeeded to the kingdom of Thebes, Creon cast out the Argive dead unburied, issued a proclamation that none should bury them, and set watchmen. But Antigone, one of the daughters of Oedipus, stole the body of Polynices, and secretly buried it, and having been detected by Creon himself, she was interred alive in the grave.² Adrastus fled to Athens³ and took refuge at the altar of

Pausanias informs us also that Adrastus was worshipped, doubtless as a hero, by the Megarians. Hyginus (*Fab.* 242) tells a strange story that Adrastus and his son Hipponou threw themselves into the fire in obedience to an oracle of Apollo.

² Apollodorus here follows the account of Antigone's heroism and doom as they are described by Sophocles in his noble tragedy, the *Antigone*. Compare Aeschylus, *Seven against Thebes*, 1005 sqq. A different version of the story is told by Hyginus (*Fab.* 72). According to him, when Antigone was caught in the act of performing funeral rites for her brother Polynices, Creon handed her over for execution to his son Haemon, to whom she had been betrothed. But Haemon, while he pretended to put her to death, smuggled her out of the way, married her, and had a son by her. In time the son grew up and came to Thebes, where Creon detected him by the bodily mark which all descendants of the Sparti or Dragon-men bore on their bodies. In vain Hercules interceded for Haemon with his angry father. Creon was inexorable; so Haemon killed himself and his wife Antigone. Some have thought that in this narrative Hyginus followed Euripides, who wrote a tragedy *Antigone*, of which a few fragments survive. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck², pp. 404 sqq.

³ As to the flight of Adrastus to Athens, and the intervention of the Athenians on his behalf see Isocrates, *Panegyric*, §§ 54–58, *Panathen.* §§ 168–174; Pausanias, i. 39. 2; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 29; Statius, *Theb.* xii. 464 sqq. (who sub-

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ἐπὶ τὸν ἔλεον βωμὸν κατέφυγε, καὶ ἱκετηρίαν θεῖς ἠξίου θάπτειν τοὺς νεκροὺς. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι μετὰ Θησέως στρατεύσαντες αἰροῦσι Θήβας καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς τοῖς οἰκείοις διδῶσι θάψαι. τῆς Καπανέως δὲ καιομένης πυρᾶς, Εὐάδνη,¹ ἢ Καπανέως μὲν γυνὴ θυγάτηρ δὲ Ἴφιος, ἑαυτὴν ἐμβαλοῦσα² συγκατεκαίετο.³

¹ Εὐάδνη R: εὐαϊδνη A.

² ἐμβαλοῦσα Heyne: βαλοῦσα A, Zenobius, *Cent.* i. 30.

³ συγκατεκαύθη, Zenobius, *Cent.* i. 30, Hercher.

stitutes Argive matrons as suppliants instead of Adrastus). The story is treated by Euripides in his extant play *The Suppliants*, which, on the whole, Apollodorus follows. But whereas Apollodorus, like Statius, lays the scene of the supplication at the altar of Mercy in Athens, Euripides lays it at the altar of Demeter in Eleusis (*Suppliants*, 1 sq.). In favour of the latter version it may be said that the graves of the fallen leaders were shown at Eleusis, near the Flowery Well (Pausanias, i. 39. 1 sq.; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 29); while the graves of the common soldiers were at Eleutheræ, which is on the borders of Attica and Boeotia, on the direct road from Eleusis to Thebes (Euripides, *Suppliants*, 756 sq.; Plutarch, *l.c.*). Tradition varied also on the question how the Athenians obtained the permission of the Thebans to bury the Argive dead. Some said that Theseus led an army to Thebes, defeated the Thebans, and compelled them to give up the dead Argives for burial. This was the version adopted by Euripides, Statius, and Apollodorus. Others said that Theseus sent an embassy and by negotiations obtained the voluntary consent of the Thebans to his carrying off the dead. This version, as the less discreditable to the Thebans, was very naturally adopted by them (Pausanias, i. 39. 2) and by the patriotic Boeotian Plutarch, who expressly rejects Euripides's account of the Theban defeat. Isocrates, with almost incredible fatuity, adopts both versions in different passages of his writings and defends himself for so doing (*Panathen.* §§ 168-174). Lysias, without expressly mentioning the flight of Adrastus to Athens, says that the Athenians

Mercy,¹ and laying on it the suppliant's bough² he prayed that they would bury the dead. And the Athenians marched with Theseus, captured Thebes, and gave the dead to their kinsfolk to bury. And when the pyre of Capaneus was burning, his wife Evadne, the daughter of Iphis, threw herself on the pyre, and was burned with him.³

first sent heralds to the Thebans with a request for leave to bury the Argive dead, and that when the request was refused, they marched against the Thebans, defeated them in battle, and carrying off the Argive dead buried them at Eleusis. See Lysias, ii. 7-10.

¹ As to the altar of Mercy at Athens see above ii. 8. 1; Pausanias, i. 17. 1, with my note (vol. ii. pp. 143 sq.); Diodorus Siculus, xiii. 22. 7; Statius, *Theb.* xii. 481-505. It is mentioned in a late Greek inscription found at Athens (*Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum*, iii. No. 170; G. Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca ex lapidibus collecta*, No. 792). The altar, though not mentioned by early writers, was in later times one of the most famous spots in Athens. Philostratus says that the Athenians built an altar of Mercy as the thirteenth of the gods, and that they poured libations on it, not of wine, but of tears (*Epist.* 39). In this fancy he perhaps copied Statius (*Theb.* xii. 488, "*lacrymis altaria sudant*").

² The branch of olive which a suppliant laid on the altar of a god in token that he sought the divine protection. See Andocides, *De mysteriis*, 110 sqq.; R. C. Jebb, on Sophocles, *Oedipus Tyrannus*, 3.

³ For the death of Evadne on the pyre of her husband Capaneus, see Euripides, *Suppliants*, 1034 sqq.; Zenobius, *Cent.* i. 30; Propertius, i. 15. 21 sq.; Ovid, *Tristia*, v. 14. 38; *id.* *Pont.* iii. 1. 111 sq.; Hyginus, *Fab.* 243; Statius, *Theb.* xii. 800 sq. with the note of Lactantius Placidus on v. 801; Martial, iv. 75. 5. Capaneus had been killed by a thunderbolt as he was mounting a ladder at the siege of Thebes. See Apollodorus, iii. 6. 7. Hence his body was deemed sacred and should have been buried, not burned, and the grave fenced off; whereas the other bodies were all consumed on a single pyre. See Euripides, *Suppliants*, 934-938, where *συμπήξας τάφον*

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- 2 Μετὰ δὲ ἔτη δέκα οἱ τῶν ἀπολομένων παῖδες,
κληθέντες ἐπίγονοι, στρατεύειν ἐπὶ Θήβας προση-

refers to the fencing in of the grave. So the tomb of Semele, who was also killed by lightning, seems to have stood within a sacred enclosure. See Euripides, *Bacchae*, 6–11. Yet, inconsistently with the foregoing passage, Euripides appears afterwards to assume that the body of Capaneus was burnt on a pyre (*vv.* 1000 *sqq.*). The rule that a person killed by a thunderbolt should be buried, not burnt, is stated by Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* ii. 145) and alluded to by Tertullian (*Apologeticus*, 48). An ancient Roman law, attributed to Numa, forbade the celebration of the usual obsequies for a man who had been killed by lightning. See Festus, *s.v.* "Occisum," p. 178, ed. C. O. Müller. It is true that these passages refer to the Roman usage, but the words of Euripides (*Suppliants*, 934–938) seem to imply that the Greek practice was similar, and this is confirmed by Artemidorus, who says that the bodies of persons killed by lightning were not removed but buried on the spot (*Onirocrit.* ii. 9). The same writer tells us that a man struck by lightning was not deemed to be disgraced, nay, he was honoured as a god; even slaves killed by lightning were approached with respect, as honoured by Zeus, and their dead bodies were wrapt in fine garments. Such customs are to some extent explained by the belief that Zeus himself descended in the flash of lightning; hence whatever the lightning struck was naturally regarded as holy. Places struck by lightning were sacred to Zeus the Descender (*Zeὺς καταβάρης*) and were enclosed by a fence. Inscriptions marking such spots have been found in various parts of Greece. See Pollux, ix. 41; Pausanias, v. 14. 10, with my note (*vol.* iii. p. 565, *vol.* v. p. 614). Compare E. Rohde, *Psyche*², i. 320 *sq.*; H. Usener, "Keraunos," *Kleine Schriften*, iv. 477 *sqq.* (who quotes from Clemens Romanus and Cyrillus more evidence of the worship of persons killed by lightning); Chr. Blinkenberg, *The Thunderweapon in Religion and Folklore* (Cambridge, 1911), pp. 110 *sq.*

Among the Ossetes of the Caucasus a man who has been killed by lightning is deemed very lucky, for they believe that he has been taken by St. Elias to himself. So the survivors raise cries of joy and sing and dance about him. His

Ten years afterwards the sons of the fallen, called the Epigoni, purposed to march against Thebes to

relations think it their duty to join in these dances and rejoicings, for any appearance of sorrow would be regarded as a sin against St. Elias and therefore punishable. The festival lasts eight days. The deceased is dressed in new clothes and laid on a pillow in the exact attitude in which he was struck and in the same place where he died. At the end of the celebrations he is buried with much festivity and feasting, a high cairn is erected on his grave, and beside it they set up a tall pole with the skin of a black he-goat attached to it, and another pole, on which hang the best clothes of the deceased. The grave becomes a place of pilgrimage. See Julius von Klaproth, *Reise in den Kaukasus und nach Georgien* (Halle and Berlin, 1814), ii. 606; A. von Haxthausen, *Transkaukasien* (Leipsic, 1856), ii. 21 sq. Similarly the Kafirs of South Africa "have strange notions respecting the lightning. They consider that it is governed by the *umshologu*, or ghost, of the greatest and most renowned of their departed chiefs, and who is emphatically styled the *inkosi*; but they are not at all clear as to which of their ancestors is intended by this designation. Hence they allow of no lamentation being made for a person killed by lightning, as they say that it would be a sign of disloyalty to lament for one whom the *inkosi* had sent for, and whose services he consequently needed; and it would cause him to punish them, by making the lightning again to descend and do them another injury." Further, rites of purification have to be performed by a priest at the kraal where the accident took place; and till these have been performed, none of the inhabitants may leave the kraal or have intercourse with other people. Meantime their heads are shaved and they must abstain from drinking milk. The rites include a sacrifice and the inoculation of the people with powdered charcoal. See "Mr. Warner's Notes," in Col. Maclean's *Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs* (Cape Town, 1866), pp. 82-84. Sometimes, however, the ghosts of persons who have been killed by lightning are deemed to be dangerous. Hence the Omahas used to slit the soles of the feet of such corpses to prevent their ghosts from walking about. See J. Owen Dorsey, "A Study of Siouan Cults," *Eleventh*

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ροῦντο, τὸν τῶν πατέρων θάνατον τιμωρήσασθαι βουλόμενοι. καὶ μαντευομένοις αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς ἐθέσπισε νίκην Ἀλκμαίωνος ἡγουμένου. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀλκμαίων ἠγείσθαι τῆς στρατείας οὐ βουλόμενος πρὶν τίσασθαι τὴν μητέρα, ὅμως στρατεύεται· λαβούσα γὰρ Ἐριφύλη παρὰ Θερσάνδρου τοῦ Πολυνείκουσ τὸν πέπλον συνέπεισε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας στρατεύεσθαι. οἱ δὲ ἡγεμόνα Ἀλκμαίωνα ἐλόμενοι Θῆβας ἐπολέμουν. ἦσαν δὲ οἱ στρατευόμενοι οἷδε· Ἀλκμαίων καὶ Ἀμφίλοχος Ἀμφιαράου, Αἰγιαλεὺς Ἀδράστου, Διομήδης Τυδέως, Πρόμαχος Παρθενοπαίου, Σθένελος Καπανέως, Θέρσανδρος Πολυνεῖκουσ, Εὐρύαλος¹ Μηκιστέωσ.

3 οὗτοι πρῶτον μὲν πορθοῦσι τὰς πέριξ κώμασ, ἔπειτα τῶν Θηβαίων ἐπελθόντων Λαοδάμαντοσ

¹ Εὐρύαλοσ Heyne: Εὐρύπυλοσ Α.

Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology (Washington, 1894), p. 420. For more evidence of special treatment accorded to the bodies of persons struck dead by lightning, see A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast* (London, 1890), p. 39 sq.; *id.* *The Yoruba-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast* (London, 1894), p. 49; Rev. J. H. Weeks, "Notes on some customs of the Lower Congo people," *Folk-Lore*, xx. (1909), p. 475; Rendel Harris, *Boanerges* (Cambridge, 1913), p. 97; A. L. Kitching, *On the backwaters of the Nile* (London, 1912), pp. 264 sq. Among the Barundi of Central Africa, a man or woman who has been struck, but not killed, by lightning becomes thereby a priest or priestess of the god Kiranga, whose name he or she henceforth bears and of whom he or she is deemed a bodily representative. And any place that has been struck by lightning is enclosed, and the trunk of a banana-tree or a young fig-tree is set up in it to serve as the temporary abode of the deity who manifested himself in the lightning. See H. Meyer, *Die Barundi* (Leipsic, 1916), pp. 123, 135.

avenge the death of their fathers ;¹ and when they consulted the oracle, the god predicted victory under the leadership of Alcmaeon. So Alcmaeon joined the expedition, though he was loath to lead the army till he had punished his mother ; for Eriphyle had received the robe from Thersander, son of Polynices, and had persuaded her sons also² to go to the war. Having chosen Alcmaeon as their leader, they made war on Thebes. The men who took part in the expedition were these : Alcmaeon and Amphilo- chus, sons of Amphiaraus ; Aegialeus, son of Adras- tus ; Diomedes, son of Tydeus ; Promachus, son of Parthenopæus ; Sthenelus, son of Capaneus ; Ther- sander, son of Polynices ; and Euryalus, son of Mecis- teus. They first laid waste the surrounding villages ; then, when the Thebans advanced against them, led

¹ The war of the Epigoni against Thebes is narrated very similarly by Diodorus Siculus (iv. 66). Compare Pausanias, ix. 5. 13 sq., ix. 8. 6, ix. 9. 4 sq. ; Hyginus, *Fab.* 70. There was an epic poem on the subject, called *Epigoni*, which some people ascribed to Homer (Herodotus, iv. 32 ; *Biographi Graeci*, ed. A. Westermann, pp. 42 sq.), but others attributed it to Antimachus (Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Peace*, 1270). Compare *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, pp. 13 sq. Aeschylus and Sophocles both wrote tragedies on the same subject and with the same title, *Epigoni*. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck², pp. 19, 173 sq. ; *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, i. 129 sqq.

² The sons of Eriphyle were Alcmaeon and Amphilo- chus, as we learn immediately. The giddy and treacherous mother persuaded them, as she had formerly persuaded her husband Amphiaraus, to go to the war, the bauble of a neck- lace and the gewgaw of a robe being more precious in her sight than the lives of her kinsfolk. See above, iii. 6. 2 ; and as to the necklace and robe, see iii. 4. 2, iii. 6. 1 and 2 ; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 66. 3.

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τοῦ Ἐτεοκλέους ἡγουμένου γενναίως μάχονται. καὶ Λαοδάμας μὲν Αἰγιάλεα κτείνει, Λαοδάμαντα δὲ Ἀλκμαίων. καὶ μετὰ τὸν τούτου θάνατον Θηβαῖοι συμφεύγουσιν εἰς τὰ τεῖχη. Τειρεσίου δὲ εἰπόντος αὐτοῖς πρὸς μὲν Ἀργείους κήρυκα περὶ διαλύσεως ἀποστέλλειν, αὐτοὺς δὲ φεύγειν, πρὸς μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους κήρυκα πέμπουσιν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀναβιβάσαντες ἐπὶ τὰς ἀπήνας τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἔφευγον. νύκτωρ δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν λεγομένην Τιλφοῦσσαν¹ κρήνην παραγενομένων αὐτῶν, Τειρεσίας ἀπὸ ταύτης πιὼν αὐτοῦ τὸν βίον κατέστρεψε. Θηβαῖοι δὲ ἐπὶ πολὺ διελθόντες, 4 πόλιν Ἐστιαίαν κτίσαντες κατώκησαν. Ἀργεῖοι δὲ ὕστερον τὸν δρασμὸν τῶν Θηβαίων μαθόντες εἰσίασιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ συναθροίζουσι τὴν λείαν, καὶ καθαιροῦσι τὰ τεῖχη. τῆς δὲ λείας μέρος εἰς Δελφοὺς πέμπουσιν Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ τὴν Τειρεσίου θυγατέρα Μαντώ· ἠῦξαντο γὰρ αὐτῷ Θῆβας ἐλόντες τὸ κάλλιστον τῶν λαφύρων ἀναθήσειν.

5 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Θηβῶν² ἄλωσιν αἰσθόμενος Ἀλκμαίων καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ δῶρα εἰληφυῖαν Ἐριφύλην

¹ Τιλφοῦσσαν Heyne : τραφουσίαν A.

² Θηβῶν Heyne : θηβαίων A.

¹ The battle was fought at a place called Glisas, where the graves of the Argive lords were shown down to the time of Pausanias. See Pausanias, ix. 5. 13, ix. 8. 6, ix. 9. 4, ix. 19. 2; Scholiast on Pindar, *Pyth.* viii. 48 (68), who refers to Hellanicus as his authority.

² According to a different account, King Laodamas did not fall in the battle, but after his defeat led a portion of the Thebans away to the Illyrian tribe of the Encheleans, the same people among whom his ancestors Cadmus and Harmonia had found their last home. See Herodotus, v. 61;

by Laodamas, son of Eteocles, they fought bravely,¹ and though Laodamas killed Aegialeus, he was himself killed by Alcmaeon,² and after his death the Thebans fled in a body within the walls. But as Tiresias told them to send a herald to treat with the Argives, and themselves to take to flight, they did send a herald to the enemy, and, mounting their children and women on the wagons, themselves fled from the city. When they had come by night to the spring called Tilphussa, Tiresias drank of it and expired.³ After travelling far the Thebans built the city of Hestiaea and took up their abode there. But the Argives, on learning afterwards the flight of the Thebans, entered the city and collected the booty, and pulled down the walls. But they sent a portion of the booty to Apollo at Delphi and with it Manto, daughter of Tiresias; for they had vowed that, if they took Thebes, they would dedicate to him the fairest of the spoils.⁴

After the capture of Thebes, when Alcmaeon learned that his mother Eriphyle had been bribed

Pausanias, ix. 5. 13, ix. 8. 6. As to Cadmus and Harmonia in Illyria, see above, iii. 5. 4.

³ See Pausanias, ix. 33. 1, who says that the grave of Tiresias was at the spring. But there was also a cenotaph of the seer on the road from Thebes to Chalcis (Pausanias, ix. 18. 4). Diodorus Siculus (iv. 67. 1) agrees with Pausanias and Apollodorus in placing the death of Tiresias at Mount Tilphusium, which was beside the spring Tilphussa, in the territory of Haliartus.

⁴ Compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 66. 6 (who gives the name of Tiresias's daughter as Daphne, not Manto); Pausanias, vii. 3. 3, ix. 33. 2; Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 308

APOLLODORUS

τὴν μητέρα μᾶλλον ἠγανάκτησε, καὶ χρήσαντος Ἀπόλλωνος αὐτῷ τὴν μητέρα ἀπέκτεινεν. ἔνιοι μὲν λέγουσι σὺν Ἀμφιλόχῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ κτείνειν τὴν Ἐριφύλην, ἔνιοι δὲ ὅτι μόνος. Ἀλκμαίωνα δὲ μετῆλθεν ἔρινος τοῦ μητρῶου φόνου, καὶ μεμηνὼς πρῶτον μὲν εἰς Ἀρκαδίαν πρὸς Ὀικλέα¹ παραγίνεται, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ εἰς Ψωφίδα πρὸς Φηγέα. καθαρθεὶς δὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ Ἀρσινόην γαμει τὴν τούτου θυγατέρα, καὶ τὸν τε ὄρμον καὶ τὸν πέπλον ἔδωκε ταύτῃ. γενομένης δὲ ὕστερον τῆς γῆς δι' αὐτὸν ἀφόρου, χρήσαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς Ἀχελῶν ἀπιεῖναι καὶ παρ' ἐκείνον παλινδικίαν λαμβάνειν,² τὸ μὲν πρῶτον πρὸς Οἰνέα παραγίνεται εἰς Καλυδῶνα καὶ ξενίζεται παρ' αὐτῷ,³ ἔπειτα ἀφικόμενος εἰς Θεσπρωτοὺς τῆς χώρας ἀπελαύνεται. τελευταῖον δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀχελώου πηγὰς παραγενόμενος καθαίρεται τε ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου θυγατέρα

¹ Ὀικλέα Aegius: ἰοκλέα A.

² παρ' ἐκείνον παλινδικίαν λαμβάνειν Bekker: παρ' ἐκείνον πάλιν † διαλαμβάνειν Wagner: παρ' ἐκείνον πόλιν διαλαμβάνειν Heyne, Westermann, Müller: παρ' ἐκείνου πάλιν διαλαμβάνειν Hercher. The MSS. (A) read ἐκείνον. Aegius changed πάλιν into πόλιν. Heyne conjectured πάλιν νοῦν ἀπολαμβάνειν. Perhaps we should read παρ' ἐκείνου καθάρσια λαμβάνειν. Compare Pherecydes, cited by the Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xiv. 120.

³ αὐτῷ Westermann, Müller: αὐτῶν R: αὐτοῦ A: αὐτοῦ Heyne, Bekker, Hercher, Wagner.

¹ That is, as well as to the undoing of his father Amphiarus. See above, iii. 6. 2.

² Compare Thucydides, ii. 102. 7 *sqq.*; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 65. 7; Pausanias, viii. 24. 7 *sqq.*; Ovid, *Metamorph.* ix. 407 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 73. Sophocles and Euripides both wrote tragedies called *Alcmaeon*, or rather *Alcmeon*, for that appears to be the more correct spelling of the name. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck², pp. 153

to his undoing also,¹ he was more incensed than ever, and in accordance with an oracle given to him by Apollo he killed his mother.² Some say that he killed her in conjunction with his brother Amphiloehus, others that he did it alone. But Alcmaeon was visited by the Fury of his mother's murder, and going mad he first repaired to Oicles³ in Arcadia, and thence to Phegeus at Psophis. And having been purified by him he married Arsinoe, daughter of Phegeus,⁴ and gave her the necklace and the robe. But afterwards the ground became barren on his account,⁵ and the god bade him in an oracle to depart to Achelous and to stand another trial on the river bank.⁶ At first he repaired to Oeneus at Calydon and was entertained by him; then he went to the Thesprotians, but was driven away from the country; and finally he went to the springs of Achelous, and was purified by him,⁷ and *sq.*, 379 *sqq.*; *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. i. pp. 68 *sqq.*

³ Oicles was the father of Amphiaras, and therefore the grandfather of Alcmaeon. See i. 8. 2.

⁴ Pausanias (viii. 24. 8) and Propertius (i. 15. 19) call her Alpheisiboea.

⁵ So Greece is said to have been afflicted with a dearth on account of a treacherous murder committed by Pelops. See below, iii. 12. 6. Similarly the land of Thebes was supposed to be visited with barrenness of the soil, of cattle, and of women because of the presence of Oedipus, who had slain his father and married his mother. See Sophocles, *Oedipus Tyrannus*, 22 *sqq.*, 96 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 67. The notion that the shedding of blood, especially the blood of a kinsman, is an offence to the earth, which consequently refuses to bear crops, seems to have been held by the ancient Hebrews, as it is still apparently held by some African peoples. See *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*, i. 82 *sqq.*

⁶ The text is here uncertain. See the Critical Note.

⁷ Achelous here seems to be conceived partly as a river and partly as a man, or rather a god.

APOLLODORUS

Καλλιρρόην λαμβάνει, καὶ ὃν Ἀχελῶος προσέ-
 χωσε τόπον κτίσας κατώκησε. Καλλιρρόης δὲ
 ὕστερον τὸν τε ὄρμον καὶ τὸν πέπλον ἐπιθυμούσης
 λαβεῖν, καὶ λεγούσης οὐ συνοικήσειν αὐτῷ εἰ μὴ
 λάβοι ταῦτα, παραγενόμενος εἰς Ψωφίδα Ἀлк-
 μαίων Φηγεῖ λέγει τεθεσπίσθαι τῆς μανίας ἀπαλ-
 λαγὴν ἑαυτῷ,¹ τὸν ὄρμον ὅταν εἰς Δελφοὺς κομίσας
 ἀναθῆ καὶ τὸν πέπλον. ὁ δὲ πιστεύσας δίδωσι
 μηνύσαντος δὲ θεράποντος ὅτι Καλλιρρόη ταῦτα
 λαβὼν ἐκόμizεν, ἐνεδρευθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν Φηγέως παῖ-
 δων ἐπιτάξαντος τοῦ Φηγέως ἀναιρεῖται. Ἀρσινόη
 δὲ μεμφομένην οἱ τοῦ Φηγέως παῖδες ἐμβιβά-
 σαντες εἰς λάρνακα κομίζουσιν εἰς Τεγέαν καὶ
 διδόασι δούλην Ἀγαπήγορι, καταψευσάμενοι αὐτῆς
 6 τὸν Ἀλκμαίωνος φόνον. Καλλιρρόη δὲ τὴν Ἀлк-
 μαίωνος ἀπώλειαν μαθοῦσα, πλησιάζοντος αὐτῇ
 τοῦ Διός, αἰτεῖται τοὺς γεγενημένους παῖδας ἐξ
 Ἀλκμαίωνος αὐτῇ γενέσθαι τελείους, ἵνα τὸν τοῦ
 πατρὸς τίσωνται φόνον. γενόμενοι δὲ ἐξαίφνης οἱ
 παῖδες τέλειοι ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκδικίαν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐξήεσαν.
 κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ καιρὸν οἳ τε Φηγέως παῖδες
 Πρόνοος καὶ Ἀγήνωρ, εἰς Δελφοὺς κομίζοντες
 ἀναθεῖναι τὸν ὄρμον καὶ τὸν πέπλον, καταλύουσι
 πρὸς Ἀγαπήγορα, καὶ οἱ τοῦ Ἀλκμαίωνος παῖδες

¹ ἑαυτῷ Heyne : ἑαυτῷ R : ἑαυτοῦ A.

¹ Compare Thucydides, ii. 102. 7 *sqq.* ; Pausanias, viii. 24. 8 *sq.* As to the formation of new land by the deposit of alluvial soil at the mouth of the Achelous, compare Herodotus, ii. 10.

² According to Ephorus, or his son Demophilus, this oracle was really given to Alcmaeon at Delphi. See Athenaeus,

received Callirrhoe, his daughter, to wife. Moreover he colonized the land which the Achelous had formed by its silt, and he took up his abode there.¹ But afterwards Callirrhoe coveted the necklace and robe, and said she would not live with him if she did not get them. So away Alcmaeon hied to Psophis and told Phegeus how it had been predicted that he should be rid of his madness when he had brought the necklace and the robe to Delphi and dedicated them.² Phegeus believed him and gave them to him. But a servant having let out that he was taking the things to Callirrhoe, Phegeus commanded his sons, and they lay in wait and killed him.³ When Arsinoe upbraided them, the sons of Phegeus clapped her into a chest and carried her to Tegea and gave her as a slave to Agapenor, falsely accusing her of Alcmaeon's murder. Being apprized of Alcmaeon's untimely end and courted by Zeus, Callirrhoe requested that the sons she had by Alcmaeon might be full-grown in order to avenge their father's murder. And being suddenly full-grown, the sons went forth to right their father's wrong.⁴ Now Pronous and Agenor, the sons of Phegeus,⁵ carrying the necklace and robe to Delphi to dedicate them, turned in at the house of Agapenor at the same time as Amphoterus and

vi. 22, p. 232 D-F, where the words of the oracle are quoted.

¹ His grave was overshadowed by tall cypresses, called the Maidens, in the bleak upland valley of Psophis. See Pausanias, viii. 24. 7. A quiet resting-place for the matricide among the solemn Arcadian mountains after the long fever of the brain and the long weary wanderings. The valley, which I have visited, somewhat resembles a Yorkshire dale, but is far wilder and more solitary.

⁴ Compare Ovid, *Metamorph.* ix. 413 *sqq.*

⁵ Pausanias (viii. 24. 10) calls them Temenus and Axion.

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Ἀμφότερός τε καὶ Ἀκαρνάν¹ καὶ ἀνελόντες τοὺς τοῦ πατρὸς φονέας, παραγενόμενοί τε εἰς Ψωφίδα καὶ παρελθόντες εἰς τὰ βασίλεια τὸν τε Φηγέα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ κτείνουσι. διωχθέντες δὲ ἄχρι Τεγέας ἐπιβοηθησάντων Τεγεατῶν καὶ τιῶν Ἀργείων ἐσώθησαν, εἰς φυγὴν τῶν Ψωφιδίων τρα-
7 πέντων. δηλώσαντες δὲ τῇ μητρὶ ταῦτα, τὸν τε ὄρμον καὶ τὸν πέπλον ἔλθόντες εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀνέ-
θεντο κατὰ πρόσταξιν Ἀχελφίου. πορευθέντες δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἡπειρον συναθροίζουσιν οἰκήτορας καὶ κτίζουσιν Ἀκαρνανίαν.

Εὐριπίδης δὲ φησιν Ἀλκμαίωνα κατὰ τὸν τῆς
μανίας χρόνον ἐκ Μαντοῦς Τειρεσίου παῖδας δύο
γεννησάσθαι, Ἀμφίλοχον καὶ θυγατέρα Τισιφώνην,
κομίσαντα δὲ εἰς Κόρινθον τὰ βρέφη δοῦναι
τρέφειν Κορινθίων βασιλεῖ Κρέοντι, καὶ τὴν μὲν
Τισιφώνην διενεγκούσαν εὐμορφίᾳ ὑπὸ τῆς Κρέ-
οντος γυναικὸς ἀπεμποληθῆναι, δεδοικίας μὴ
Κρέων αὐτὴν γαμετὴν ποιήσῃται. τὸν δὲ Ἀλκ-
μαίωνα ἀγοράσαντα ταύτην ἔχειν οὐκ εἰδότα τὴν
ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέρα θεράπαιναν, παραγενόμενον δὲ
εἰς Κόρινθον ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν τέκνων ἀπαίτησιν καὶ
τὸν υἱὸν κομίσασθαι. καὶ Ἀμφίλοχος κατὰ

¹ According to Pausanias (viii. 24. 10, ix. 41. 2), it was the sons of Phegeus, not the sons of Alcmaeon, who dedicated the necklace at Delphi. The necklace, or what passed for it, was preserved at Delphi in the sanctuary of Forethought Athens as late as the Sacred War in the fourth century B.C., when it was carried off, with much more of the sacred treasures, by the unscrupulous Phocian leader, Phayllus. See Parthenius, *Narrat.* 25 (who quotes Phylarchus as his authority); Athenaeus, vi. 22, p. 232 D E (who quotes

Acarnan, the sons of Alcmaeon; and the sons of Alcmaeon killed their father's murderers, and going to Psophis and entering the palace they slew both Phegeus and his wife. They were pursued as far as Tegea, but saved by the intervention of the Tegeans and some Argives, and the Psophidians took to flight. Having acquainted their mother with these things, they went to Delphi and dedicated the necklace and robe¹ according to the injunction of Achelous. Then they journeyed to Epirus, collected settlers, and colonized Acarnania.²

But Euripides says³ that in the time of his madness Alcmaeon begat two children, Amphiloachus and a daughter Tisiphone, by Manto, daughter of Tiresias, and that he brought the babes to Corinth and gave them to Creon, king of Corinth, to bring up; and that on account of her extraordinary comeliness Tisiphone was sold as a slave by Creon's spouse, who feared that Creon might make her his wedded wife. But Alcmaeon bought her and kept her as a handmaid, not knowing that she was his daughter, and that coming to Corinth to get back his children he recovered his son also. And Amphiloachus colonized

the thirtieth book of the history of Ephorus as his authority).

² Compare Thucydides, ii. 102. 9; Pausanias, viii. 24. 9, who similarly derive the name of Acarnania from Acarnan, son of Alcmaeon. Pausanias says that formerly the people were called Curetes.

³ The reference is no doubt to one of the two lost tragedies which Euripides composed under the title *Alcmaeon*. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck², pp. 479 *sqq.*

APOLLODORUS

χρησμούς Ἄπόλλωνος Ἀμφιλοχικὸν Ἄργος ᾤκισεν.¹

VIII. Ἐπανάγωμὲν δὲ νῦν πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸν Πελασγόν, ὃν Ἀκουσίλαος μὲν Διὸς λέγει καὶ Νιόβης, καθάπερ ὑπέθεμεν, Ἡσίοδος δὲ αὐτόχθονα. τούτου καὶ τῆς Ὠκεανοῦ θυγατρὸς Μελιβοίας, ἣ καθάπερ ἄλλοι λέγουσι νύμφης Κυλλήνης, παῖς Λυκάων ἐγένετο, ὃς βασιλεύων Ἀρκάδων ἐκ πολλῶν γυναικῶν πεντήκοντα παῖδας ἐγέννησε· Μελαινέα² Θεσπρωτὸν Ἐλικά Νύκτιμον Πευκέτιον, Καύκωνα Μηκιστέα Ὀπλέα Μακαρέα Μάκεδνον, Ὀρον³ Πόλιχον Ἀκόντην Εὐαίμονα Ἀγκύορα, Ἀρχεβάτην Καρτέρωνα Αἰγαίωνα Πάλλαντα Εὐμόνα, Κάνηθον Πρόθοον Λίνον Κορέθοντα⁴ Μαίναλον, Τηλεβόαν Φύσιον Φάσσον Φθίον Λύκιον, Ἀλίφηρον Γενέτορα Βουκολίωνα Σωκλέα Φινέα, Εὐμήτην Ἀρπαλέα Πορθέα Πλάτωνα Αἴμονα, Κύναιθον Λέοντα Ἀρπάλυκον Ἡραιέα Τιτάναν, Μαντινέα⁵ Κλείτορα Στύμφαλον Ὀρχομένον. . . οὗτοι πάντα ἀνθρώπους ὑπερέβαλλον⁶

¹ ᾤκισεν Wagner (compare Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 980, Ἀμφίλοχος τὸ κληθὲν Ἄργος Ἀμφιλοχικὸν . . . κατόκησε, where, however, some MSS. read κατόκησε): ᾤκησεν A, Aegius, Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher.

² Μελαινέα Wagner (comparing Pausanias, viii. 3. 3, viii. 26. 8); μάλλανον R^a: μαίλαννον B: μαίλαννον C: Μαίναλον Aegius, Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher. But Μαίναλος is mentioned a few lines below.

³ Ὀρον. Heyne conjectured Οἰνωτρὸν (compare Pausanias, viii. 3. 5).

⁴ Ὀρεσθέα Hercher (comparing Pausanias, viii. 3. 1).

⁵ Μαντινέα Heyne (compare Pausanias, viii. 3. 4): μαντινοῦν A.

⁶ ὑπερέβαλλον E: ὑπερέβαλον A, Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 481.

Amphilochian Argos in obedience to oracles of Apollo.¹

VIII. Let us now return to Pelasgus, who, Acusilaus says, was a son of Zeus and Niobe, as we have supposed,² but Hesiod declares him to have been a son of the soil. He had a son Lycaon³ by Meliboea, daughter of Ocean or, as others say, by a nymph Cyllene; and Lycaon, reigning over the Arcadians, begat by many wives fifty sons, to wit: Melaeneus, Thesprotus, Helix, Nyctimus, Peucetius, Caucon, Mecisteus, Hopleur, Macareus, Macednus, Horus, Polichus, Acontes, Evaemon, Ancyor, Archebates, Carteron, Aegaeon, Pallas, Eumon, Canethus, Prothous, Linus, Coretho, Maenalus, Teleboas, Physisus, Phassus, Phthius, Lycius, Halipherus, Genetor, Bucolion, Socleus, Phineus, Eumetes, Harpaleus, Portheus, Plato, Haemo, Cynaethus, Leo, Harpalycus, Heraeus, Titanas, Mantineus, Clitor, Stymphalus, Orchomenus, These exceeded all men in pride

¹ Amphilochian Argos was a city of Aetolia, situated on the Ambracian Gulf. See Thucydides, ii. 68. 3, who represents the founder Amphilochus as the son of Amphiarus, and therefore as the brother, not the son, of Alcmaeon. As to Amphilochus, son of Amphiarus, see above, iii. 7. 2.

² See above, ii. 1. 1.

³ The following passage about Lycaon and his sons, down to and including the notice of Deucalion's flood, is copied, to a great extent verbally, by Tzetzes (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 481), who mentions Apollodorus by name as his authority. For another and different list of Lycaon's sons, see Pausanias, viii. 3. 1 *sqq.*, who calls Nyctimus the eldest son of Lycaon, whereas Apollodorus calls him the youngest (see below). That the wife of Pelasgus and mother of Lycaon was Cyllene is affirmed by the Scholiast on Euripides, *Orestes*, 1645.

APOLLODORUS

ὑπερηφανία καὶ ἀσεβεία. Ζεὺς δὲ αὐτῶν βουλό-
μενος τὴν ἀσέβειαν πειρᾶσαι εἰκασθεὶς ἀνδρὶ
χερνήτη παραγίνεται. οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ξένια¹
καλέσαντες, σφάξαντες ἓνα τῶν ἐπιχωρίων παῖδα,
τοῖς ἱεροῖς τὰ τούτου σπλάγχνα συναναμίξαντες
παρέθεσαν, συμβουλεύσαντος τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου
ἀδελφοῦ Μαινώλου. Ζεὺς δὲ <μυσαχθεὶς>² τὴν

¹ ξένια Hercher: ξενία A, Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 481, Wagner.

² μυσαχθεὶς inserted by Aegius (compare Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 481).

¹ With this and what follows compare Nicolaus Damas-
cenus, *frag.* 43 (*Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, ed.
C. Müller, iii. 378; Suidas, *s.v.* Λυκάων): "Lycaon, son of
Pelagus and king of Arcadia, maintained his father's insti-
tutions in righteousness. And wishing like his father to
wean his subjects from unrighteousness he said that Zeus
constantly visited him in the likeness of a stranger to view
the righteous and the unrighteous. And once, as he himself
said, being about to receive the god, he offered a sacrifice.
But of his fifty sons, whom he had, as they say, by many
women, there were some present at the sacrifice, and wishing
to know if they were about to give hospitality to a real god,
they sacrificed a child and mixed his flesh with that of the
victim, in the belief that their deed would be discovered if
the visitor was a god indeed. But they say that the deity
caused great storms to burst and lightnings to flash, and
that all the murderers of the child perished." A similar
version of the story is reported by Hyginus (*Fab.* 176), who
adds that Zeus in his wrath upset the table, killed the sons
of Lycaon with a thunderbolt, and turned Lycaon himself
into a wolf. According to this version of the legend, which
Apollodorus apparently accepted, Lycaon was a righteous
king, who ruled wisely like his father Pelagus before him
(see Pausanias, viii. 1. 4-6), but his virtuous efforts to benefit
his subjects were frustrated by the wickedness and impiety
of his sons, who by exciting the divine anger drew down
destruction on themselves and on their virtuous parent, and

and impiety; and 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, at the instigation of the elder brother Maenalus.¹ But Zeus in disgust upset the

even imperilled the existence of mankind in the great flood. But according to another, and perhaps more generally received, tradition, it was King Lycaon himself who tempted his divine guest by killing and dishing up to him at table a human being; and, according to some, the victim was no other than the king's own son Nyctimus. See Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* ii. 36, p. 31, ed. Potter; Nonnus, *Dionys.* xviii. 20 *sqq.*; Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes*, iv. 24. Some, however, said that the victim was not the king's son, but his grandson Arcas, the son of his daughter Callisto by Zeus. See Eratosthenes, *Cataster.* 8; Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 4; *Scholia in Caesaris Germanici Aratea*, p. 387 (in Martianus Capella, ed. Fr. Eyssenhardt). According to Ovid (*Metamorph.* i. 218 *sqq.*), the victim was a Molossian hostage. Others said simply that Lycaon set human flesh before the deity. See Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* xi. 128; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 5 (First Vatican Mythographer, 17). For this crime Zeus changed the wicked king into a wolf, according to Hyginus, Ovid, the Scholiast on Caesar Germanicus, and the First Vatican Mythographer; but, on the other hand, Clement of Alexandria, Nonnus, Eratosthenes, and Arnobius say nothing of such a transformation. The upsetting of the table by the indignant deity is recorded by Eratosthenes (*l.c.*) as well as by Hyginus (*l.c.*) and Apollodorus. A somewhat different account of the tragical occurrence is given by Pausanias, who says (viii. 2. 3) that Lycaon brought a human babe to the altar of Lycaean Zeus, after which he was immediately turned into a wolf.

These traditions were told to explain the savage and cruel rites which appear to have been performed in honour of Lycaean Zeus on Mount Lycaeus down to the second century of our era or later. It seems that a human victim

APOLLODORUS

μὲν τράπεζαν ἀνέτρεψεν, ἔνθα νῦν Τραπεζοῦς
καλεῖται ὁ τόπος, Λυκάονα δὲ καὶ τοὺς τούτου
παῖδας ἐκεραύνωσε, χωρὶς τοῦ νεωτάτου Νυκτίμου·

was sacrificed, and that his inward parts (σπλάγχθον), mixed with that of animal victims, was partaken of at a sort of cannibal banquet by the worshippers, of whom he who chanced to taste of the human flesh was believed to be changed into a wolf and to continue in that shape for eight years, but to recover his human form in the ninth year, if in the meantime he had abstained from eating human flesh. See Plato, *Republic*, viii. 16, p. 565 DE; Pausanias, viii. 2. 6. According to another account, reported by Varro on the authority of a Greek writer Euanthes, the werewolf was chosen by lot, hung his clothes on an oak-tree, swam across a pool, and was then transformed into a wolf and herded with wolves for nine years, afterwards recovering his human shape if in the interval he had not tasted the flesh of man. In this account there is no mention of cannibalism. See Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* viii. 81; Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, xviii. 17. A certain Arcadian boxer, named Damarchus, son of Dinnytas, who won a victory at Olympia, is said to have been thus transformed into a wolf at the sacrifice of Lycaean Zeus and to have been changed back into a man in the tenth year afterwards. Of the historical reality of the boxer there can be no reasonable doubt, for his statue existed in the sacred precinct at Olympia, where it was seen by Pausanias; but in the inscription on it, which Pausanias copied, there was no mention made of the man's transformation into a wolf. See Pausanias, vi. 8. 2. However, the transformation was recorded by a Greek writer, Scopas, in his history of Olympic victors, who called the boxer Demaenatus, and said that his change of shape was caused by his partaking of the inward parts of a boy slain in the Arcadian sacrifice to Lycaean Zeus. Scopas also spoke of the restoration of the boxer to the human form in the tenth year, and mentioned that his victory in boxing at Olympia was subsequent to his experiences as a wolf. See Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* viii. 82; Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, xviii. 17. The continuance of human sacrifice in the rites of Lycaean Zeus on Mount Lycaeus is hinted at by Pausanias

table at the place which is still called Trapezus,¹ and blasted Lycaon and his sons by thunderbolts, all but Nyctimus, the youngest; for Earth was quick enough

(viii. 38. 7) in the second century of our era, and asserted by Porphyry (*De abstinentia*, ii. 27; Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelii*, iv. 16. 6) in the third century.

From these fragmentary notices it is hardly possible to piece together a connected account of the rite; but the mention of the transformation of the cannibal into a wolf for eight or nine years suggests that the awful sacrifice was offered at intervals either of eight or of nine years. If the interval was eight years, it would point to the use of that eight years' cycle which played so important a part in the ancient calendar of the Greeks, and by which there is reason to think that the tenure of the kingship was in some places regulated. Perhaps the man who was supposed to be turned into a wolf acted as the priest, or even as the incarnation, of the Wolf God for eight or nine years till he was relieved of his office at the next celebration of the rites. The subject has been learnedly discussed by Mr. A. B. Cook (*Zeus*, i. 63-99). He regards Lycaean Zeus as a god of light rather than of wolves, and for this view there is much to be said. See my note on Pausanias, viii. 38. 7 (vol. iv. pp. 385 sq.). The view would be confirmed if we were sure that the solemn sacrifice was octennial, for the octennial period was introduced in order to reconcile solar and lunar time, and hence the religious rites connected with it would naturally have reference to the great celestial luminaries. As to the octennial period, see the note on ii. 5. 11. But with this view of the festival it is difficult to reconcile the part played by wolves in the myth and ritual. We can hardly suppose, with some late Greek writers, that the ancient Greek word for a year, *λυκάβας*, was derived from *λύκος*, "a wolf," and *βαίω*, "to walk." See Aelian, *Nat. Anim.* x. 26; Artemidorus, *Onirocrit.* ii. 12; Eustathius, on Homer, *Od.* xiv. 161, p. 1756.

¹ As to the town of Trapezus, see Pausanias, viii. 3. 3, viii. 5. 4, viii. 27. 4-6, viii. 29. 1, viii. 31. 5. The name is derived by Apollodorus from the Greek *trapeza*, "a table." Compare Eratosthenes, *Cataster.* 8.

APOLLODORUS

φθάσασα¹ γὰρ ἡ Γῆ καὶ τῆς δεξιᾶς τοῦ Διὸς
 2 ἐφαψαμένη τὴν ὄργην κατέπαυσε. Νυκτίμου δὲ
 τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβόντος ὁ ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος
 κατακλυσμὸς ἐγένετο. τοῦτον ἔνιοι διὰ τὴν τῶν
 Λυκάουος παίδων δυσσέβειαν εἶπον γεγενῆσθαι.

Εὖμηλος δὲ καὶ τινες ἕτεροι λέγουσι Λυκάουι
 καὶ θυγατέρα Καλλιστῶ γενέσθαι. Ἡσίοδος μὲν
 γὰρ αὐτὴν μίαν εἶναι τῶν νυμφῶν λέγει, Ἄσιος
 δὲ Νυκτέως, Φερκεύδης δὲ Κητέως. αὐτὴ σύν-
 θηρος Ἀρτέμιδος οὔσα, τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκείνη στολὴν
 φοροῦσα, ὤμοσεν αὐτῇ² μείναι παρθένος. Ζεὺς δὲ
 ἐρασθεὶς ἀκούση συνευνάζεται, εἰκασθεὶς, ὡς μὲν
 ἔνιοι λέγουσιν, Ἀρτέμιδι, ὡς δὲ ἔνιοι, Ἀπόλλωνι.
 βουλόμενος δὲ Ἥραν λαθεῖν³ εἰς ἄρκτον μετε-
 μόρφωσεν αὐτήν. Ἥρα δὲ ἔπεισεν Ἀρτεμιν ὡς
 ἄγριον θηρίον κατατοξεῦσαι. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ λέγοντες
 ὡς Ἀρτεμις αὐτὴν κατετόξευσεν ὅτι τὴν παρ-

¹ φθάσασα E, Wagner: ἀνασχούσα A, Aegius, Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher (inserting τὰς χεῖρας from Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 481, ἡ Γῆ ἀνασχούσα τὰς χεῖρας). But τὰς χεῖρας is wanting in EA.

² αὐτῇ Gale, Müller, Bekker, Wagner: αὐτοῦ A.

³ λαθεῖν E: λαβεῖν A.

¹ See above, i. 7. 2.

² As to the love of Zeus for Callisto, daughter of Lycaon, her transformation into a bear, and finally into the constellation of the Bear, see Pausanias, i. 25. 1, viii. 3. 6 sq.; Eratosthenes, *Cataster.* 1; Libanius, in Westermann's *Mythographi Graeci, Appendix Narrationum*, 34, p. 374; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 481; Hyginus, *Fab.* 155, 176, and 177; Ovid, *Metamorph.* ii. 409-507; Servius on Virgil, *Georg.* i. 138; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* iii. 685; *Schol. in Caesaris Germanici Aratea*, p. 381, ed. F. Eyssenhardt (in his edition of Martianus Capella); *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 5 (First Vatican

to lay hold of the right hand of Zeus and so appease his wrath. But when Nyctimus succeeded to the kingdom, there occurred the flood in the age of Deucalion;¹ some said that it was occasioned by the impiety of Lycaon's sons.

But Eumelus and some others say that Lycaon had also a daughter Callisto;² though Hesiod says she was one of the nymphs, Asius that she was a daughter of Nycteus, and Pherecydes that she was a daughter of Ceteus.³ She was a companion of Artemis in the chase, wore the same garb, and swore to her to remain a maid. Now Zeus loved her and, having assumed the likeness, as some say, of Artemis, or, as others say, of Apollo, he shared her bed against her will, and wishing to escape the notice of Hera, he turned her into a bear. But Hera persuaded Artemis to shoot her down as a wild beast. Some say, however, that Artemis shot her down because she did not keep her

Mythographer, 17), vol. ii. p. 94 (Second Vatican Mythographer, 58). The transformation of Callisto into a bear is variously ascribed to the amorous Zeus himself, to the jealous Hera, and to the indignant Artemis. The descent of the Arcadians from a bear-woman through a son Arcas, whose name was popularly derived from the Greek *arktos*, "a bear," has sometimes been adduced in favour of the view that the Arcadians were a totemic people with the bear for their totem. See Andrew Lang, *Myth, Ritual and Religion* (London, 1887), ii. 211 *sqq.*

³ The Tegean historian Araethus also described the mother of Arcas as the daughter of Ceteus; according to him she was the granddaughter, not the daughter, of Lycaon, and her name was Megisto, not Callisto. But he agreed in the usual tradition that the heroine had been transformed into a bear, and he seems to have laid the scene of the transformation at Nonacris in northern Arcadia. See Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 1. According to a Scholiast on Euripides (*Orestes*, 1646), Callisto, mother of Arcas, was a daughter of Ceteus by Stilbe.

θενίαν οὐκ ἐφύλαξεν. ἀπολομένης δὲ Καλλιστοῦς Ζεὺς τὸ βρέφος ἀρπάσας ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ δίδωσιν ἀνατρέφειν Μαίᾳ, προσαγορεύσας Ἀρκάδα· τὴν δὲ Καλλιστῶ καταστερίσας ἐκάλεσεν ἄρκτον.

IX. Ἀρκάδος δὲ καὶ Λεανείρας τῆς Ἀμύκλου ἢ Μεγανείρας¹ τῆς Κρόκωνος, ὡς δὲ Εὐμηλος λέγει, νύμφης Χρυσοπελείας, ἐγένοντο παῖδες Ἐλατος καὶ Ἀφείδας. οὗτοι τὴν γῆν ἐμερίσαντο, τὸ δὲ πᾶν κράτος εἶχεν Ἐλατος, ὃς ἐκ Λαοδίκης τῆς Κινύρου Στύμφαλον καὶ Περέα τεκνοῖ, Ἀφείδας δὲ Ἀλεὸν καὶ Σθενέβοιαν, ἣν γαμῆ Προῖτος. Ἀλεοῦ δὲ καὶ Νεαίρας τῆς Περέως θυγάτηρ μὲν Αὖγη, υἱοὶ δὲ Κηφεὺς καὶ Λυκούργος. Αὖγη² μὲν οὖν ὑφ' Ἡρακλέους φθαρεῖσα κατέκρυψε τὸ βρέφος ἐν τῷ τεμένει τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, ἣς εἶχε τὴν ἱερωσύνην. ἀκάρπου δὲ τῆς γῆς μενούσης, καὶ μνηνόντων τῶν χρησμῶν εἶναί τι ἐν τῷ τεμένει τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς δυσσέβημα, φωραθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς παρεδόθη Ναυπλίῳ ἐπὶ θανάτῳ παρ' οὗ Τεύθρας ὁ Μυσῶν δυνάστης παραλαβὼν αὐτὴν ἔγημε.³ τὸ δὲ βρέφος ἐκτεθὲν ἐν ὄρει Παρθενίῳ θηλὴν ὑποσχούσης ἐλάφου Τήλεφος ἐκλήθη, καὶ τραφεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν Κορύθου⁴ Βουκόλων καὶ ζητήσας τοὺς γονέας ἦκεν εἰς Δελφοὺς, καὶ μαθὼν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, παραγενόμενος εἰς Μυσίαν θετὸς παῖς Τεύθραντος γίνεται· καὶ τελευτῶντος αὐτοῦ διάδοχος τῆς δυναστείας γίνεται.

¹ Μετανείρας C. Keil, Hercher.

² Αὖγη Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher, Wagner; αὐτη A.

³ ἔγημε Bekker, Hercher, Wagner: ἔφθειρε A.

⁴ Κορύθου Aegius, Heyne (comparing Diodorus Siculus, iv. 33. 11): κόρινθον P: κόρινθος A.

maidenhood. When Callisto perished, Zeus snatched the babe, named it Arcas, and gave it to Maia to bring up in Arcadia; and Callisto he turned into a star and called it the Bear.

IX. Arcas had two sons, Elatus and Aphidas, by Leanira, daughter of Amyclas, or by Meganira, daughter of Croco, or, according to Eumelus, by a nymph Chrysopelia.¹ These divided the land between them, but Elatus had all the power, and he begat Stymphalus and Pereus by Laodice, daughter of Cinyras, and Aphidas had a son Aleus and a daughter Stheneboea, who was married to Proetus. And Aleus had a daughter Auge and two sons, Cephæus and Lycurgus, by Neaera, daughter of Pereus. Auge was seduced by Hercules² and hid her babe in the precinct of Athena, whose priesthood she held. But the land remaining barren, and the oracles declaring that there was impiety in the precinct of Athena, she was detected and delivered by her father to Nauplius to be put to death, and from him Teuthras, prince of Mysia, received and married her. But the babe, being exposed on Mount Parthenius, was suckled by a doe and hence called Telephus. Bred by the neatherds of Corythus, he went to Delphi in quest of his parents, and on information received from the god he repaired to Mysia and became an adopted son of Teuthras, on whose death he succeeded to the principedom.

¹ As to the sons of Arcas, and the division of Arcadia among them, see Pausanias, viii. 4. 1 *sqq.* According to Pausanias, Arcas had three sons, Azas, Aphidas, and Elatus by Erato, a Dryad nymph; to Azas his father Arcas assigned the district of Azania, to Aphidas the city of Tegea, and to Elatus the mountain of Cyllene.

² For the story of Auge and Telephus, see above, ii. 7. 4.

APOLLODORUS

2 Λυκούργου δὲ καὶ Κλεοφύλης ἢ Εὐρυνόμης Ἀγκαῖος καὶ Ἐποχος καὶ Ἀμφιδάμας καὶ Ἴασος.¹ Ἀμφιδάμαντος δὲ Μελανίων καὶ θυγάτηρ Ἀντιμάχη, ἣν Εὐρυσθεὺς ἔγημεν. Ἴασου δὲ καὶ Κλυμένης τῆς Μινύου Ἀταλάντη ἐγένετο. ταύτης ὁ πατὴρ ἄρρένων παίδων ἐπιθυμῶν ἐξέθηκεν αὐτήν, ἄρκτος δὲ φοιτῶσα πολλάκις θηλὴν ἐδίδου, μέχρις οὐ εὐρόντες κυνηγοὶ παρ' ἑαυτοῖς ἀνέτρεφον. τελεία δὲ Ἀταλάντη γενομένη παρθένον ἑαυτὴν ἐφύλαττε, καὶ θηρεύουσα ἐν ἐρημίᾳ καθωπλισμένη διατέλει. βιάζεσθαι δὲ αὐτὴν ἐπιχειροῦντες Κένταυροι Ροϊκός² τε καὶ Ὑλαῖος κατατοξευθέντες ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἀπέθανον. παρεγένετο δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἀριστέων καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Καλυδώνιον κάπρον, καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐπὶ Πελία τεθέντι³ ἀγῶνι ἐπάλαισε Πηλεῖ καὶ ἐνίκησεν.

¹ Ἴασος Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher, Wagner: ἰδαῖος A.

² γρ. ροϊκος R^c P (added by the first hand in the margin): λύκος ER^a B: λυκούργος C. ³ τεθέντι E: τιθέντι A.

¹ Compare Pausanias, viii. 4. 10, who mentions only the first two of these four sons.

² For the story of Atalanta, and how her suitor won her by the bait of the golden apples, see Theocritus, iii. 40-42; Hyginus, *Fab.* 185; Ovid, *Metamorph.* x. 560-680; Servius on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 113; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 14, 91 (First Vatican Mythographer, 39; Second Vatican Mythographer, 47). As Apollodorus points out, there was a difference of opinion as to the name of Atalanta's father. According to Callimachus (*Hymn to Artemis*, 215) and the First and Second Vatican Mythographers (*Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 54, 124), he was Iasius; according to Aelian (*Var. Hist.* xiii. 1), he was Iasion. Propertius (i. 1. 10) seems to agree with Apollodorus that her father was Iasus, for he calls Atalanta by the patronymic Iasis. But

Lycurgus had sons, Ancaeus, Epochus, Amphidamas, and Iasus,¹ by Cleophyle or Eurynome. And Amphidamas had a son Melanion and a daughter Antimache, whom Eurystheus married. And Iasus had a daughter Atalanta² by Clymene, daughter of Minyas. This Atalanta was exposed by her father, because he desired male children; and a she-bear came often and gave her suck, till hunters found her and brought her up among themselves. Grown to womanhood, Atalanta kept herself a virgin, and hunting in the wilderness she remained always under arms. The centaurs Rhoecus and Hylaeus tried to force her, but were shot down and killed by her. She went moreover with the chiefs to hunt the Calydonian boar, and at the games held in honour of Pelias she wrestled with

according to Diodorus Siculus (iv. 34. 4, iv. 65. 4), Pausanias (viii. 35. 10), Hyginus, and Ovid, her father was Schoeneus. Hesiod also called him Schoeneus (see Apollodorus, below), and the later writers just mentioned probably accepted the name on his authority. According to Euripides, as we learn from Apollodorus (see below), the name of the heroine's father was Maenalus. The suckling of Atalanta by the bear, and the unsuccessful assault on her by the two centaurs, Hylaeus and Rhoecus, are described, with a wealth of picturesque detail, by Aelian (*Var. Hist.* xiii. 1), who does not, however, mention her wedding race. The suitor who won the coy maiden's hand by throwing down the golden apples is called Hippomenes by most writers (Theocritus, Hyginus, Ovid, Servius, First and Second Vatican Mythographers). Herein later writers may have followed Euripides, who, as we learn from Apollodorus (see below), also called the successful suitor Hippomanes. But by Propertius (i. 1. 9) and Ovid (*Ars Amat.* ii. 188) the lover is called Milanion, which nearly agrees with the form Melanion adopted by Apollodorus. Pausanias seems also to have agreed with Apollodorus on this point, for he tells us (iii. 12. 9) that Parthenopaeus, who was a son of Atalanta (see below), had Melanion for his father.

APOLLODORUS

ἀνευρούσα δὲ ὕστερον τοὺς γονέας, ὡς ὁ πατήρ
 γαμῆν αὐτὴν ἔπειθεν ἀπιούσα εἰς σταδιαῖον τόπον
 καὶ πήξασα μέσον σκόλοπα τρίπηχυν, ἐντεῦθεν
 τῶν μνηστευομένων τοὺς δρόμους προιεῖσα¹ ἔτρό-
 χαζε καθωπλισμένη· καὶ καταληφθέντι μὲν αὐτοῦ²
 θάνατος ὠφείλετο, μὴ καταληφθέντι δὲ γάμος.
 ἤδη δὲ πολλῶν ἀπολομένων³ Μελανίων αὐτῆς ἐρασ-
 θεῖς ἦκεν ἐπὶ τὸν δρόμον, χρύσεια μῆλα κομίζων
 παρ' Ἀφροδίτης, καὶ διωκόμενος ταῦτα ἔρριπτεν.
 ἡ δὲ ἀναιρουμένη τὰ ριπτόμενα⁴ τὸν δρόμον ἐνι-
 κήθη. ἔγνημεν οὖν αὐτὴν Μελανίων. καὶ ποτε
 λέγεται θηρεύοντας αὐτοὺς εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὸ τέμε-
 νος Διός, καὶ κεῖ συνουσιάζοντας εἰς λέοντας⁵ ἀλλα-
 γῆναι. Ἡσιόδος δὲ καὶ τινες ἕτεροι τὴν Ἀταλάντην
 οὐκ Ἰάσου ἀλλὰ Σχοινέως εἶπον, Εὐριπίδης δὲ

¹ προιεῖσα Heyne, Müller, Hercher, Wagner: προιούσα A, Westermann, Bekker. If the manuscript reading προιούσα were retained, the meaning would be that in the race Atalanta was given a start and her suitors had to overtake her; whereas from the express testimony of Hyginus (*Fab.* 185), confirmed by the incident of the golden apples, we know that on the contrary it was the suitors who were given a start, while Atalanta followed after them.

² αὐτοῦ Bekker, Hercher, Wagner: αὐτῷ EA, Westermann, Müller.

³ ἀπολομένων Bekker, Hercher, Wagner: ἀπολλυμένων EA.

⁴ ριπτόμενα EL: ριπτούμενα A.

⁵ λέοντας E: πλείοντας A.

¹ According to Ovid (*Metamorph.* x. 644 sqq.) the goddess brought the golden apples from her sacred field of Tamasus, the richest land in Cyprus; there in the midst of the field grew a wondrous tree, its leaves and branches resplendent with crackling gold, and from its boughs Aphrodite plucked three golden apples. But, according to others, the apples came from the more familiar garden of the Hesperides. See

Peleus and won. Afterwards she discovered her parents, but when her father would have persuaded her to wed, she went away to a place that might serve as a race-course, and, having planted a stake three cubits high in the middle of it, she caused her wooers to race before her from there, and ran herself in arms; and if the wooer was caught up, his due was death on the spot, and if he was not caught up, his due was marriage. When many had already perished, Melanion came to run for love of her, bringing golden apples from Aphrodite,¹ and being pursued he threw them down, and she, picking up the dropped fruit, was beaten in the race. So Melanion married her. And once on a time it is said that out hunting they entered into the precinct of Zeus, and there taking their fill of love were changed into lions.² But Hesiod and some others have said that Atalanta was not a daughter of Iasus, but of Schoeneus; and Euripides

Servius on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 113; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 14 (First Vatican Mythographer, i. 39).

² The sacrilege and its punishment are recorded also by Hyginus (*Fab.* 185), Servius (on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 113), and the First Vatican Mythographer (*Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 14, fab. 39). The reason why the lovers were turned into a lion and a lioness for their impiety is explained by the ancient mythographers to be that lions do not mate with each other, but with leopards, so that after their transformation the lovers could never repeat the sin of which they had been guilty. For this curious piece of natural history they refer to Pliny's *Natural History*; but all that Pliny, in the form in which he has come down to us, appears to affirm on this subject is, that when a lioness forgot her dignity with a leopard, her mate easily detected and vigorously punished the offence (*Nat. Hist.* viii. 43). What would have happened if the lion had similarly misbehaved with a leopardess is not mentioned by the natural historian.

APOLLODORUS

Μαινάλου, καὶ τὸν γήμαντα αὐτὴν οὐ Μελανίωνα
ἀλλὰ Ἴππομένην. ἐγέννησε δὲ ἐκ Μελανίωνος
Ἄταλάντη ἢ Ἄρεος Παρθενοπαίου, ὃς ἐπὶ Θήβας
ἐστρατεύσατο.

¹ See above, note on p. 399. It may have been in his lost tragedy, *Meleager*, that Euripides named the father and husband of Atalanta. She is named in one of the existing fragments (No. 530) of the play. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. Nauck², pp. 525 *sqq.*

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says that she was a daughter of Maenalus, and that her husband was not Melanion but Hippomenes.¹ And by Melanion, or Ares, Atalanta had a son Parthenopæus, who went to the war against Thebes.²

² See above, iii. 6. 3. According to others, the father of Parthenopæus was neither Melanion nor Ares, but Meleager. See Hyginus, *Fab.* 70, 99, and 270; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 54, 125 (First Vatican Mythographer, 174; Second Vatican Mythographer, 144).

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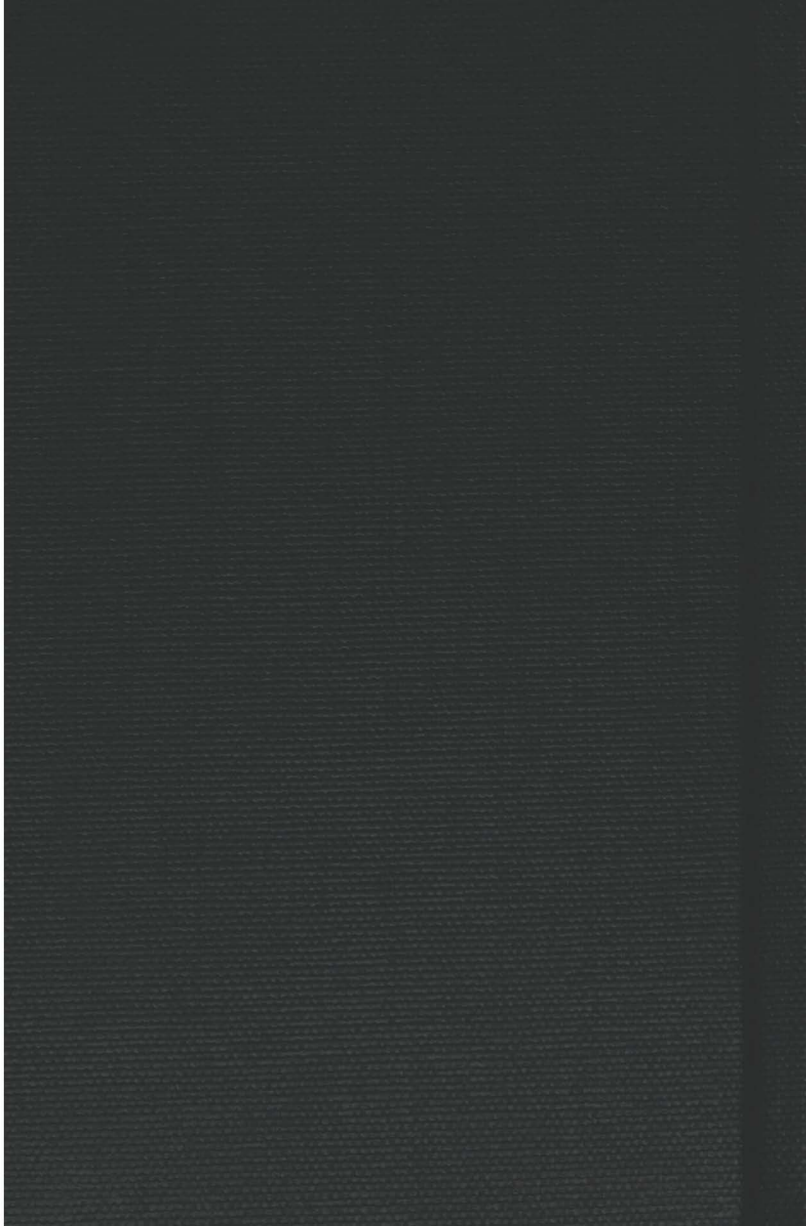
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VOL. II.

B

ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΩΡΟΥ

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΗ

Γ

Χ. Ἄτλαντος δὲ καὶ τῆς Ὠκεανοῦ Πληϊόνης
ἐγένοντο θυγατέρες ἑπτὰ ἐν Κυλλήνῃ τῆς Ἀρκα-
δίας, αἱ Πληϊάδες προσαγορευθεῖσαι, Ἀλκυνόη
Μερόπη Κελαινὴ Ἥλέκτρα Στερόπη Ταυγέτη

¹ As to the Pleiades, see Aratus, *Phaenomena*, 254-268; Eratosthenes, *Cataster.* 23; Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, xiii. 551 sqq.; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xviii. 486; Scholiast on Pindar, *Nem.* ii. 10 (16); Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iii. 226; Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 21; *id. Fab.* 192; Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 105, iv. 169-178; Servius on Virgil, *Georg.* i. 138, and on *Aen.* i. 744; *Scholia in Caesaris Germanici Aratea*, p. 397, ed. F. Eyssenhardt (in his edition of Martianus Capella); *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 73 (First Vatican Mythographer, 234). There was a general agreement among the ancients as to the names of the seven Pleiades. Aratus, for example, gives the same names as Apollodorus and in the same order. However, with the exception of Maia, a different list of names is given by the Scholiast on Theocritus (xiii. 25), who tells us further, on the authority of Callimachus, that they were the daughters of the queen of the Amazons. As their father was commonly said to be Atlas, they were sometimes called Atlantides (Apollodorus, below; Diodorus Siculus, iii. 60. 4; compare Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 382). But there was much diversity of opinion as to the origin of the name Pleiades. Some derived it from the name of their mother

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BOOK III.—*continued*

X. **ATLAS** and **Pleione**, daughter of **Ocean**, had seven daughters called the **Pleiades**, born to them at **Cyllene** in **Arcadia**, to wit: **Alcyone**, **Merope**, **Celaeno**, **Electra**, **Sterope**, **Taygete**, and **Maia**.¹ Of these,

Pleione; but the most probable view appears to be that the name comes from *πλεῖν*, "to sail," because in the Mediterranean area these stars were visible at night during the summer, from the middle of May till the beginning of November, which coincided with the sailing season in antiquity. This derivation of the name was recognized by some of the ancients (Servius on Virgil, *Georg.* i. 138). With regard to the number of the **Pleiades**, it was generally agreed that there were seven of them, but that one was invisible, or nearly so, to the human eye. Of this invisibility two explanations were given. Some thought that **Electra**, as the mother of **Dardanus**, was so grieved at the fall of **Troy** that she hid her face in her hands; the other was that **Merope**, who had married a mere man, **Sisyphus**, was so ashamed of her humble, though honest, lot by comparison with the guilty splendour of her sisters, who were all of them paramours of gods, that she dared not show herself. These alternative and equally probable theories are stated, for example, by **Ovid** and **Hyginus**. The cause of the promotion of the maidens to the sky is said to have been that for seven or even twelve years the hunter **Orion** pursued them with his unwelcome attentions, till **Zeus** in pity removed pursuer and pursued alike to heaven, there to shine as stars for ever and

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Μαῖα. τούτων Στερόπην μὲν Οἰνόμαος ἔγημε, Σίσυφος <δὲ>¹ Μερόπην. δυσι δὲ ἐμίχθη Ποσειδῶν, πρώτη μὲν Κελαινοῖ, ἐξ ἧς Λύκος ἐγένετο, ὃν Ποσειδῶν ἐν μακάρων ᾤκισε² νήσοις, δευτέρα δὲ Ἀλκυόνη, ἣ θυγατέρα μὲν ἐτέκνωσεν Αἴθουσαν τὴν Ἀπόλλωνι Ἐλευθῆρα τεκοῦσαν,³ υἱοὺς δὲ Ἑρμῆα καὶ Ἑρμήνορα. Ἑρμῆος μὲν οὖν καὶ Κλονίης νύμφης Νυκτεὺς καὶ Λύκος, Νυκτέως δὲ καὶ Πολυξοῦς Ἀντιόπη, Ἀντιόπης δὲ καὶ Διὸς Ζῆθος καὶ Ἀμφίων. ταῖς δὲ λοιπαῖς Ἀτλαντίσι Ζεὺς συνοουσιάζει.

2 Μαῖα μὲν οὖν ἡ πρεσβυτάτη Διὶ συνελθοῦσα ἐν ἄντρῳ τῆς Κυλλήνης Ἑρμῆν τίκτει. οὗτος ἐν σπαργάνοις⁴ ἐπὶ τοῦ λίκνου κείμενος, ἐκδὺς εἰς

¹ δὲ added by Bekker. ² ᾤκισε Faber: ᾤκησε A.

³ The MSS (A) add καλλίστην, which is retained by Westermann, Müller, and Bekker, but omitted by Hercher and Wagner and regarded as a marginal gloss by Heyne.

⁴ σπαργάνοις Heyne (conjecture), Bekker, Hercher: πρώτοις A, Heyne (in text), Westermann: στρωτοῖς Valckenar, Müller: πρώτοις <σπαργάνοις> Wagner.

to continue the endless pursuit. The bashful or mournful Pleiad, who hid her light, is identified by modern astronomers with Celaeno, a star of almost the seventh magnitude, which can be seen now, as in antiquity, in clear moonless nights by persons endowed with unusually keen sight. See A. von Humboldt, *Cosmos*, translated by E. Sabine, iii. 47 sq.

¹ Compare Pausanias, v. 10. 6. According to another account, Sterope or Asterope, as she is also called, was not the wife but the mother of Oenomaus by the god Ares. See Eratosthenes, *Cataster.* 23; Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 21; *id. Fab.* 84 and 159; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 73 (First Vatican Mythographer, 234).

² See above. iii. 5. 5.

Sterope was married to Oenomaus,¹ and Merope to Sisyphus. And Poseidon had intercourse with two of them, first with Celaeno, by whom he had Lycus, whom Poseidon made to dwell in the Islands of the Blest, and second with Alcyone, who bore a daughter, Aethusa, the mother of Eleuther by Apollo, and two sons Hyrieus and Hyperenor. Hyrieus had Nycteus and Lycus by a nymph Clonia; and Nycteus had Antiope by Polyxo; and Antiope had Zethus and Amphon by Zeus.² And Zeus consorted with the other daughters of Atlas.

Maia, the eldest, as the fruit of her intercourse with Zeus, gave birth to Hermes in a cave of Cyllene.³ He was laid in swaddling-bands on the winnowing fan,⁴ but he slipped out and made his way to Pieria

³ The following account of the birth and youthful exploits of Hermes is based, whether directly or indirectly, on the beautiful Homeric Hymn IV, *To Hermes*, though it differs from the hymn on a few minor points, as to which Apollodorus may have used other sources. Compare *The Homeric Hymns*, ed. T. W. Allen and E. E. Sikes, pp. 130 sq. Among the other literary sources to which Apollodorus may have had recourse was perhaps Sophocles's satyric play *Ichneutae* or *The Trackers*. See below.

⁴ Compare the Homeric *Hymn to Hermes*, 21, 63, 150 sq., 254, 290, 358; Sophocles, *Ichneutae*, 269 (*The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, ii. 258). So Dionysus at birth is said to have been laid on a winnowing-fan (Servius on Virgil, *Georg.* i. 166): hence he got the surname of "He of the Winnowing-fan" (Δικνίτης, Plutarch, *Isis et Osiris*, 35). These traditions as to the gods merely reflected an ancient Greek custom of placing new-born children in winnowing-fans "as an omen of wealth and fruitfulness" (πλούτον καὶ καρπὸν οἰωνιζόμενοι). See the Scholiast on Callimachus, *Hymn* I, 48 (*Callimachea*, ed. O. Schneider, i. 109). As to the symbolism of the custom, see W. Mannhardt, "Kind und Korn," *Mythologische Forschungen*, pp. 351-374; Miss J. E. Harrison, "Mystica Vannus Iacchi," *Journal of Hellenic*

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Πιερίαν παραγίνεται, καὶ κλέπτει βόας ἄς ἔνεμεν
Ἀπόλλων. ἵνα δὲ μὴ φωραθείη ὑπὸ τῶν ἰχνῶν,

Studies, xxiii. (1903), pp. 292–324. The custom was not confined to ancient Greece, but has been widely practised in India and other parts of the east down to modern times. The motives assigned or implied for it are various. Sometimes it seems to have been intended to ensure the wealth and prosperity of the infant, sometimes to guard it against the evil eye and other dangerous influences. See *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, i. 5–11. To quote a single example, among the Brahuis of Baluchistan, “most good parents keep their babe for the first six days in a *chaj*, or winnowing-basket, that God may vouchsafe them full as many children as the basket can hold grain . . . But some folk will have nothing to do with a winnowing-basket; it harbours epilepsy, they say, though how or why I am at a loss to think. So they lay the child in a sieve, that good luck may pour upon him as abundantly as grain pours through a sieve” (Denys Bray, *The Life-History of a Brāhūī*, London, 1913, p. 13). The substitution of a corn-sieve for a winnowing-fan seems to be common elsewhere.

¹ Compare *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, 68 *sqq.*; Antoninus Liberalis, *Transform.* 23; Ovid, *Metamorph.* ii. 680 *sqq.* The theft of cattle by the infant Hermes was the subject of Sophocles’s satyric drama *Ichneutae* or *The Trackers*, of which some considerable fragments have been discovered in recent years. The scene of the play is laid on Mount Cyllene. Apollo appears and complains of the loss of the cattle, describes how he has come from Thessaly and through Boeotia in search of them, and offers a reward to anyone who will help him to find the missing beasts. The proclamation reaches the ears of Silenus, who hurries to the scene of action and warmly proffers the services of himself and his Satyrs in the search, only stipulating that the reward shall take the solid shape of cash down. His offer being accepted, the Satyrs at once open on the scent like sleuth-hounds and soon discover confused tracks of cattle pointing in different directions. But in the very heat of this discovery they are startled by a strange sound, the like of which they had never heard before. It is, in fact, the muffled sound of the lyre

and stole the kine which Apollo was herding.¹ And lest he should be detected by the tracks, he put

played by the youthful Hermes in the cave. At this point the nymph Cyllene issues from the cavern and upbraids the wild creatures with the hubbub they are raising in the stillness of the green wooded hills. The Satyrs tender a humble apology for their intrusion, but request to know the meaning of the strange sounds that proceed from the bowels of the earth. In compliance with their request the nymph explains how Zeus had secretly begotten Hermes on Maia in the cave, how she herself was acting temporarily as nurse to the child, how the infant grew at an astonishing and even alarming rate, and how, being detained in the cave by his father's orders, he devoted his leisure hours to constructing out of a dead beast a curious toy which emitted musical notes. Being pressed for a fuller explanation she describes how Hermes made the lyre out of a tortoise shell, how the instrument was "his only balm of grief, his comforter," and how the child was transported with delight at the ravishing sweetness of the tones which spoke to him from the dead beast. Unmoved by this touching description, the Satyrs at once charge the precocious infant with having stolen the cattle. His nurse indignantly repels the charge, stoutly declaring that the poor child had inherited no propensity to thieving either from its father or from its mother, and recommending his accusers to go and look for the thief elsewhere, since at their age, with their long beards and bald heads, they ought to know better than to trump up such ridiculous accusations, for which they may yet have to smart. The nurse's passionate defence of her little charge makes no more impression on the Satyrs than her previous encomium on his musical talent: indeed their suspicions are quickened by her reference to the hides which the infant prodigy had used in the construction of the lyre, and they unhesitatingly identify the skins in question with those of the missing cattle. Strong in this conviction, they refuse to budge till the culprit has been made over to them. At this point the Greek text begins to fail; we can just catch a few disjointed fragments of a heated dialogue between the nurse and the satyrs; the words "cows," "thief," "rascal," and so forth, occur with painful iteration, then all is silence. See *The Fragments of Sophocles*,

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ὑποδήματα τοῖς ποσὶ περιέθηκε, καὶ κομίσας εἰς Πύλον τὰς μὲν λοιπὰς εἰς σπήλαιον ἀπέκρυψε, δύο δὲ καταθύσας τὰς μὲν βύρσας πέτραις καθήλωσε, τῶν δὲ κρεῶν τὰ μὲν κατηνάλωσεν ἐψήσας τὰ δὲ κατέκαυσε· καὶ ταχέως εἰς Κυλλήνην ὄχητο. καὶ εὐρίσκει πρὸ τοῦ ἄντρου νεμομένην χελωνήν. ταύτην ἐκκαθάρας, εἰς τὸ κύτος χορδὰς ἐντείνας ἐξ ὧν ἔθυσσε βοῶν καὶ ἐργασάμενος λύραν εὔρε καὶ πληκτρον. Ἀπόλλων δὲ τὰς βόας ζητῶν εἰς Πύλον ἀφικνεῖται, καὶ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἀνέκρινεν. οἱ δὲ ἰδεῖν μὲν παῖδα ἐλαύνοντα ἔφασκον, οὐκ ἔχειν δὲ εἰπεῖν ποῖ ποτε ἠλάβησαν διὰ τὸ μὴ εὐρεῖν ἶχνος δύνασθαι. μαθὼν δὲ ἐκ τῆς μαντικῆς τὸν κεκλοφότα πρὸς Μαΐαν εἰς Κυλλήνην παραγίνεται, καὶ τὸν Ἑρμῆν ἠτιᾶτο. ἡ δὲ ἐπέδειξεν αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς σπαργάνοις. Ἀπόλλων δὲ αὐτὸν πρὸς Δία κομίσας τὰς βόας ἀπῆτει. Διὸς δὲ κελεύοντος ἀποδοῦναι ἤρνεῖτο. μὴ πείθων δὲ ἄγει τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα εἰς Πύλον καὶ τὰς βόας ἀποδίδωσιν. ἀκούσας δὲ τῆς λύρας ὁ Ἀπόλλων ἀντιδίδωσι τὰς βόας. Ἑρμῆς δὲ ταύτας νέμων σύριγγα πάλιν πηξάμενος ἐσύριζεν. Ἀπόλλων δὲ καὶ

ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. i. pp. 224–270. From this seemingly simple piece of mild buffoonery Miss J. E. Harrison would extract a ritual of serious and indeed solemn significance, of which, however, she admits that the author of the play was himself probably quite unconscious. See her learned essay in *Essays and Studies presented to William Ridgeway*, ed. E. C. Quiggin (Cambridge, 1913), pp. 136 *sqq.*

¹ In the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* (115 *sqq.*) we are told that Hermes roasted the flesh of two oxen and divided it into twelve portions (for the twelve gods), but that in spite of hunger he ate none of it himself.

shoes on their feet and brought them to Pylus, and hid the rest in a cave; but two he sacrificed and nailed the skins to rocks, while of the flesh he boiled and ate some,¹ and some he burned. And quickly he departed to Cyllene. And before the cave he found a tortoise browsing. He cleaned it out, strung the shell with chords made from the kine he had sacrificed, and having thus produced a lyre he invented also a plectrum.² But Apollo came to Pylus³ in search of the kine, and he questioned the inhabitants. They said that they had seen a boy driving cattle, but could not say whither they had been driven, because they could find no track. Having discovered the thief by divination,⁴ Apollo came to Maia at Cyllene and accused Hermes. But she showed him the child in his swaddling-bands. So Apollo brought him to Zeus, and claimed the kine; and when Zeus bade him restore them, Hermes denied that he had them, but not being believed he led Apollo to Pylus and restored the kine. Howbeit, when Apollo heard the lyre, he gave the kine in exchange for it. And while Hermes pastured them, he again made himself a shepherd's pipe and piped on it.⁵ And

² Compare Sophocles, *Ichneutae*, 278 sqq. (*The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, ii. 259). In the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, 22 sqq., the invention of the lyre by Hermes precedes his theft of the cattle.

³ In the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* (185 sqq.) it is to Onchestus in Boeotia, not to Pylus, that Apollo goes at first to inquire after the missing cattle.

⁴ Compare the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, 213 sq., where it is said that Apollo discovered Hermes to be the thief through observing a certain long-winged bird.

⁵ Compare the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, 511 sq., where, however, nothing is said about an attempt of Apollo to get the pipes from Hermes, or about an exchange of the pipes for

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ταύτην βουλόμενος λαβεῖν, τὴν χρυσοῦν ῥάβδον ἐδίδου ἢν ἐκέκτητο βουκολῶν. ὁ δὲ καὶ ταύτην λαβεῖν ἀντὶ τῆς σύριγγος ἤθελε καὶ τὴν μαντικὴν ἐπελθεῖν· καὶ δοὺς διδάσκειται τὴν διὰ τῶν ψήφων μαντικὴν. Ζεὺς δὲ αὐτὸν κήρυκα ἑαυτοῦ καὶ θεῶν ὑποχθονίων τίθησι.

- 3 Ταῦγέτη δὲ ἐκ Διὸς <ἐγέννησε>¹ Λακεδαίμονα, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ Λακεδαίμων ἢ χώρα καλεῖται. Λακεδαίμονος δὲ καὶ Σπάρτης τῆς Εὐρώτα, ὅς ἦν ἀπὸ Λέλεγος αὐτόχθονος καὶ νύμφης νηίδος Κλεοχαρείας, Ἀμύκλας καὶ Εὐρυδίκη, ἣν ἔγημεν Ἀκρίσιος. Ἀμύκλα δὲ καὶ Διομήδης τῆς Λαπίθου Κυνόρτης καὶ Ἰάκινθος. τοῦτον εἶναι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐρώμενον λέγουσιν, ὃν δίσκῳ βαλὼν ἄκων ἀπέκτεινε.

¹ ἐγέννησε conjecturally supplied by Hercher. A verb is certainly wanted. It may have been ἔτεκε.

the golden wand. However, there is a lacuna in the hymn after verse 526, and the missing passage may have contained the exchange in question and the request of Hermes for the gift of divination, both of which are mentioned by Apollodorus but omitted in the hymn as it stands at present. See Allen and Sikes on the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, 526 sq., in their edition of the Homeric Hymns, p. 190.

¹ For the gift of the golden wand, see *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, 527 sqq.

² Compare the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, 552 sqq. The reference is to the divining pebbles called *thriai*, which were personified as three winged sisters who dwelt on Parnassus, and are said to have been the nurses of Apollo. See Zenobius, *Cent.* v. 75; Callimachus, *Hymn to Apollo*, 45, with the Scholiast; *Etymologicum Magnum*, p. 455. 45, s.v. θρία; Hesychius, s.v. θριαί; *Anecdota Graeca*, ed. Im. Bekker, i. 265. 11, s.v. Θριάσιον πεδίον. According to one account, the divining pebbles were an invention of Athena, which so disgusted Apollo that Zeus caused that mode of divination to fall into discredit, though it had been in high repute before;

wishing to get the pipe also, Apollo offered to give him the golden wand which he owned while he herded cattle.¹ But Hermes wished both to get the wand for the pipe and to acquire the art of divination. So he gave the pipe and learned the art of divining by pebbles.² And Zeus appointed him herald to himself and to the infernal gods.

Taygete had by Zeus a son Lacedaemon, after whom the country of Lacedaemon is called.³ Lacedaemon and Sparta, daughter of Eurotas (who was a son of Lelex,⁴ a son of the soil, by a Naiad nymph Cleocharia), had a son Amyclas and a daughter Eurydice, whom Acrisius married. Amyclas and Diomede, daughter of Lapithus, had sons, Cynortes and Hyacinth.⁵ They say that this Hyacinth was beloved of Apollo and killed by him involuntarily with the

and Apollo vented his spite at the practitioners of a rival art by saying that "There be many that cast pebbles, but few prophets." See Zenobius, *l.c.*; Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* *Θπλα*. This tradition may perhaps be accepted as evidence that in time the simple mode of divination by pebbles went out of fashion, being cast into the shade by the far more stately and imposing ritual of the frenzied prophetesses at Delphi, whose wild words were accepted as the very utterances of the deity. However, we are informed that in the temple at Delphi there were divining pebbles in a bowl on a tripod, and that when an inquirer applied to the oracle, the pebbles danced about in the bowl, while the inspired priestess prophesied. See Nonnus, in Westermann's *Mythographi Graeci*, Appendix Narrationum, No. 67, p. 384; Suidas, *s.v.* *Πυθώ*. As to Greek divination by pebbles, see A. Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire de la Divination dans l'Antiquité*, i. 192, *sqq.*; and my note on Pausanias, vii. 25. 10 (vol. iv. pp. 172 *sqq.*).

³ Compare Pausanias, iii. 1. 2; Scholiast on Euripides, *Orestes*, 626.

⁴ According to Pausanias (iii. 1. 1), Eurotas was a son of Myles, who was a son of Lelex.

⁵ Compare Pausanias, iii. 1. 3.

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Κυνόρτου δὲ Περιήρης, ὃς γαμῆι Γοργοφόνην τὴν Περσέως, καθάπερ Στησίχορός φησι, καὶ τίκει Τυνδάρεων Ἰκάριον Ἀφαρέα Λευκίππον. Ἀφαρέως μὲν οὖν καὶ Ἀρήνης τῆς Οἰβάλου¹ Λυγκεὺς τε καὶ Ἴδας καὶ Πεῖσος· κατὰ πολλοὺς δὲ Ἴδας ἐκ Ποσειδῶνος λέγεται. Λυγκεὺς δὲ ὀξυδερκία διήνεγκεν, ὡς καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ γῆν θεωρεῖν. Λευκίππου δὲ θυγατέρες ἐγένοντο Ἰλάειρα καὶ Φοίβη· ταύτας ἀρπάσαντες ἔγημαν Διόσκουροι. πρὸς δὲ ταύταις Ἀρσινόην ἐγέννησε. ταύτη μίγνυται Ἀπόλλων, ἣ δὲ Ἀσκληπιὸν γεννᾷ. τινὲς δὲ Ἀσκληπιὸν οὐκ ἐξ Ἀρσινόης τῆς Λευκίππου λέγουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐκ Κορωνίδος τῆς Φλεγύου ἐν

¹ Οἰβάλου Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 511, Aegius: οἰβάδου A.

¹ See above, i. 3. 3; Nicander, *Ther.* 901 *sqq.*, with the Scholiast on v. 902; Pausanias, iii. 1. 3, iii. 19. 5; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, i. 241 *sqq.*; Ovid, *Metamorph.* x. 161–219; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxi. 66; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 37, 135 *sq.* (First Vatican Mythographer, 117; Second Vatican Mythographer, 181). The tomb of Hyacinth was shown at Amyclae under the great image of Apollo; a bronze door opened into the tomb, and sacrifices were there offered to him as a hero. See Pausanias, iii. 19. 3. Compare *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, Third Edition, i. 313 *sqq.*

² See above, i. 9. 5, where Apollodorus represents Perieres as the son of Aeolus (compare i. 7. 3), though he adds that many people regarded him as the son of Cynortas. See below iii. 10. 4 note.

³ Compare Pindar, *Nem.* x. 62 (116) *sq.*; Pausanias, iv. 2. 7 (who seems to have misunderstood the foregoing passage of Pindar); Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 553; Hyginus, *Fab.* 14, p. 42, ed. Bunte.

⁴ See below, iii. 11. 2.

cast of a quoit.¹ Cynortes had a son Perieres, who married Gorgophone, daughter of Perseus, as Stesichorus says, and she bore Tyndareus, Icarius, Aphareus, and Leucippus.² Aphareus and Arene, daughter of Oebalus, had sons Lynceus and Idas and Pisu; but according to many, Idas is said to have been gotten by Poseidon. Lynceus excelled in sharpness of sight, so that he could even see things under ground.³ Leucippus had daughters, Hilaira and Phoebe: these the Dioscuri carried off and married.⁴ Besides them Leucippus begat Arsinoe: with her Apollo had intercourse, and she bore Aesculapius. But some affirm that Aesculapius was not a son of Arsinoe, daughter of Leucippus, but that he was a son of Coronis, daughter of Phlegyas in Thessaly.⁵

⁵ The ancients were divided with regard to the mother of Aesculapius, some maintaining that she was a Messenian woman Arsinoe, daughter of Leucippus, others that she was a Thessalian woman Coronis, daughter of Phlegyas. See the Scholiast on Pindar, *Pyth.* iii. 8 (14), who quotes authorities on both sides: amongst the champions of Arsinoe were Asclepiades and an Argive writer named Socrates. The claims of the Messenian Arsinoe were naturally supported by patriotic Messenians, who looked on the god and his sons as in a sense their fellow countrymen. See Pausanias, ii. 26. 3-7, iv. 3. 2, iv. 31. 12. Apollodorus apparently accepted the Messenian view. But on the other side a long array of authorities declared in favour of Coronis, and her claim to be the mother of the god had the powerful support of the priesthood of Aesculapius at Epidaurus, one of the principal seats of the worship of the healing god. See the *Homeric Hymn to Aesculapius*, xvi. 1 *sqq.*; Pindar, *Pyth.* iii. 8 (14) *sqq.*; Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonaut.* iv. 616 *sq.*; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 71. 1, v. 74. 6; Pausanias, ii. 26. 3-7; Hyginus, *Fab.* 202; *id.* *Astronom.* ii. 40; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 617; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* iii. 506; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 17 and 37 (First Vatican Mythographer, 46 and 115). Pausanias,

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Θεσσαλία. καί φασιν ἐρασθῆναι ταύτης Ἀπόλλωνα καί εὐθὺς συνελθεῖν. τὴν δὲ¹ παρὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς γνώμην [ἐλομένην]² Ἰσχυρὶ τῷ Καινέως ἀδελφῷ συνοικεῖν. Ἀπόλλων δὲ τὸν μὲν ἀπαγγεῖλαντα κόρακα καταράται, ὃν³ τέως λευκὸν ὄντα ἐποίησε μέλανα, αὐτὴν δὲ ἀπέκτεινε. καιομένης δὲ αὐτῆς⁴ ἀρπάσας τὸ βρέφος ἐκ τῆς πυρᾶς πρὸς Χείρωνα τὸν Κένταυρον ἤνεγκε, παρ

¹ τὴν δὲ Aegius, Heyne, Müller, Hercher, Wagner: τοῦ δὲ A, Westermann, Bekker.

² ἐλομένην Heyne, Müller, Wagner: ἐλομένου A, Bekker: ἐλωμένου R^a: ἐρωμένου Sevinus, Westermann. Hercher omits the word, perhaps rightly.

³ ὃν Faber. The MSS. read ὃς or ὡς.

⁴ αὐτῆς A, Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher; ταύτης RR^a, Wagner.

who expressly rejects the claim of Arsinoe, quotes in favour of Coronis a Delphic oracle, which he regards as decisive: for who should know the true mother of Aesculapius better than his own father Apollo? The testimony of the deity for once was quite unambiguous. It ran thus:—

“O born to be the world’s great joy, Aesculapius,
 Offspring of love, whom Phlegyas’ daughter, fair Coronis,
 bore to me
 In rugged Epidaurus.”

See Pausanias, ii. 26. 7. In modern times the stones of Epidaurus, if we may say so, have risen up to testify to the truth of this oracle. For in the course of the modern excavations at the great Epidaurian sanctuary of Aesculapius there was discovered a limestone tablet inscribed with a hymn in honour of Apollo and Aesculapius, in which the family tree of the junior god is set out with the utmost precision, and it entirely confirms the Delphic oracle. The author of the hymn was a certain native of Epidaurus, by name Isyllus, a man of such scrupulous accuracy that before publishing his hymn he took the precaution of submitting it to the fount of knowledge at Delphi with an inquiry whether the god would sanction its

And they say that Apollo loved her and at once consorted with her, but that she, against her father's judgment, preferred and cohabited with Ischys, brother of Caeneus. Apollo cursed the raven that brought the tidings and made him black instead of white, as he had been before; but he killed Coronis. As she was burning, he snatched the babe from the pyre and brought it to Chiron, the centaur,¹ by

publication. The deity granted his permission in very cordial terms; hence we may look on the hymn as an authentic document bearing the *imprimatur* of the Delphic Apollo himself. In it the pedigree of Aesculapius is traced as follows: Father Zeus bestowed the hand of the Muse Erato on Malus in holy matrimony (*ὁσίοισι γάμοις*). The pair had a daughter CleopHEMA, who married Phlegyas, a native of Epidaurus; and Phlegyas had by her a daughter Aegla, otherwise known as Coronis, whom Phoebus of the golden bow beheld in the house of her grandfather Malus, and falling in-love he got by her a child, Aesculapius. See 'Εφημερίς ἀρχαιολογική, iii. (1885) coll. 65 sqq.; H. Collitz and F. Bechtel, *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften*, iii. 1, pp. 162 sqq., No. 3342.

¹ The story how Coronis played her divine lover false and was killed by him, and how the god rescued his child from the burning pyre and carried him to Chiron, is told by Pindar, *Pyth.* iii. 8 (14) sqq. Compare the Scholia on this passage of Pindar, especially on v. 27 (48); Pausanias, ii. 26. 6 (according to whom it was Hermes, not Apollo, who snatched the child from the burning pyre); Hyginus, *Fab.* 202; *id.* *Astronom.* ii. 40; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* iii. 506; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 17, 37, and 118 (First Vatican Mythographer, 46 and 115; Second Vatican Mythographer, 128). All these writers, except Pindar and Pausanias, relate the story of the tell-tale raven and his punishment. The story is also told by Ovid (*Metamorph.* ii. 534 sqq.) and Antoninus Liberalis (*Transform.*, 20), but neither of them mentions Aesculapius. It was narrated by Pherecydes, who may have been the source from which the other writers drew their information. See Scholiast on Pindar, *Pyth.* iii. 34 (59). The name of the

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ᾧ¹ καὶ τὴν ἰατρικὴν καὶ τὴν κυνηγετικὴν τρεφο-
 μενος ἐδιδάχθη. καὶ γενόμενος χειρουργικὸς καὶ
 τὴν τέχνην ἀσκήσας ἐπὶ πολὺ οὐ μόνον ἐκώλυέ
 τινας ἀποθνήσκειν, ἀλλ' ἀνήγειρε καὶ τοὺς ἀποθα-
 νόντας· παρὰ γὰρ Ἀθηναῖς λαβὼν τὸ ἐκ τῶν
 φλεβῶν τῆς Γοργόνας ῥυέν αἷμα, τῷ μὲν ἐκ τῶν
 ἀριστερῶν ῥυέντι πρὸς φθορὰν ἀνθρώπων ἐχρήτο,
 τῷ δὲ ἐκ τῶν δεξιῶν πρὸς σωτηρίαν, καὶ διὰ
 τούτου² τοὺς τεθνηκότας ἀνήγειρεν. [εὖρον³ δέ
 τινας λεγομένους ἀναστήναι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, Καπανέα
 καὶ Λυκοῦργον, ὡς Στησίχορός φησιν <έν> Ἐρι-
 φύλῃ, Ἴππόλυτον, ὡς ὁ τὰ Ναυπακτικὰ συγ-

¹ ᾧ A : οὗ Hercher, Wagner.

² διὰ τούτου A, Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker,
 Hercher: διὰ τούτο ES, Wagner (but wrongly, since διὰ with
 the accusative is never used to express the instrument).

³ As Heyne pointed out, the following list of persons
 raised from the dead by Aesculapius is probably a marginal
 gloss which has crept into the text. Nowhere else does
 Apollodorus speak of himself in the first person or indeed
 make any reference to himself.

human lover of Coronis is given as Ischys, son of Elatus, by
 Pindar and Pausanias in agreement with Apollodorus. But
 Antoninus Liberalis calls him Alcyoneus; Lactantius Pla-
 cidus and the Second Vatican Mythographer call him Lycus;
 and the First Vatican Mythographer describes him (*Fab.* 115)
 simply as the son of Elatus. As to the connexion of Coronis
 with the raven or the crow in Greek legendary lore, see my
 note on Pausanias, ii. 17. 11 (vol. iii. pp. 72 sq.). Compare
 D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson, *Glossary of Greek Birds*, p. 93.

¹ Compare Zenobius, *Cent.* i. 18, who probably copied
 Apollodorus. According to Euripides (*Ion*, 999 sqq.), Pallas
 gave Erichthonius two drops of the Gorgon's blood, one of
 them a deadly poison, the other a powerful medicine for the
 healing of diseases.

² For other lists of dead men whom Aesculapius is said
 to have restored to life, see Sextus Empiricus, p. 658, ed.

whom he was brought up and taught the arts of healing and hunting. And having become a surgeon, and carried the art to a great pitch, he not only prevented some from dying, but even raised up the dead; for he had received from Athena the blood that flowed from the veins of the Gorgon, and while he used the blood that flowed from the veins on the left side for the bane of mankind, he used the blood that flowed from the right side for salvation, and by that means he raised the dead.¹ I found some who are reported to have been raised by him,² to wit, Capaneus and Lycurgus,³ as Stesichorus says in the *Eriphyle*; Hippolytus,⁴ as the author of the *Nau-*

Bekker; Scholiast on Pindar, *Pyth.* iii. 54 (96); Scholiast on Euripides, *Alcestis*, 1. These two Scholiasts mention that according to Pherecydes the people who died at Delphi were raised from the dead by Aesculapius. To the list of dead men whom Aesculapius restored to life, Propertius adds Androgeus, son of Minos (ii. 1. 61 sq.).

² The resurrection of these two men by the power of Aesculapius is mentioned also, on the authority of Stesichorus, by the Scholiast on Euripides, *Alcestis*, 1, and the Scholiast on Pindar, *Pyth.* iii. 54 (96). Otherwise the event is apparently not noticed by ancient writers, and of the many legendary persons who bore the name of Lycurgus we do not know which is referred to. Heyne conjectured that the incident took place in the war of the Epigoni against Thebes, when Capaneus, one of the original Seven against Thebes, and Lycurgus, son of Pronax (as to whom see i. 9. 13) may have been restored to life by Aesculapius. This conjecture is confirmed by a passage of Sextus Empiricus (p. 658 ed. Bekker), where we read: "Stesichorus in his *Eriphyle* says that he (Aesculapius) raised up some of those who fell at Thebes."

⁴ As to the restoration of Hippolytus to life by Aesculapius see Pindar, *Pyth.* iii. 54 (96) sqq., with the Scholiast; Sextus Empiricus, p. 658, ed. Bekker (who quotes as his authority Staphylus in his book on the Arcadians); Scholiast on Euripides, *Alcestis*, 1 (who quotes Apollodorus as his authority);

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γράφας λέγει, Τυνδάρεων, ὡς φησι Πανύασις,¹
 Ἰμέλαιον, ὡς οἱ Ὀρφικοὶ λέγουσι, Γλαῦκον τὸν
 4 Μίνωος, ὡς Μελησαγόρας λέγει.] Ζεὺς δὲ φοβη-
 θεὶς μὴ λαβόντες ἄνθρωποι θεραπείαν παρ' αὐτοῦ²
 βοηθῶσιν ἀλλήλοις, ἐκεραύνωσεν αὐτόν. καὶ διὰ
 τοῦτο ὀργισθεὶς Ἀπόλλων κτείνει Κύκλωπας τοὺς
 τὸν κεραυνὸν Διὶ κατασκευάσαντας. Ζεὺς δὲ
 ἐμέλλησε ρίπτειν αὐτὸν εἰς Τάρταρον, δεηθείσης

¹ Πανύασις S, Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker : Πανύασσις RR^a C, Wagner. ² αὐτοῦ ES : αὐτῶν A.

Eratosthenes, *Cataster.* 6; Hyginus, *Fab.* 49; *id. Astro-
 nom.* ii. 14; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* iv. 434,
 vi. 353 (375). After his resurrection Hippolytus is said to
 have gone to dwell at Aricia, on the Alban Hills, near Rome,
 where he reigned as a king and dedicated a precinct to Diana.
 See Pausanias, ii. 27. 4; Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 761 *sqq.*, with the
 commentary of Servius; Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 263 *sqq.*, vi. 735 *sqq.*;
id. Metamorph. xv. 297 *sqq.*; Scholiast on Persius, *Sat.*
 vi. 56, pp. 347 *sq.*, ed. O. Jahn; Lactantius, *Divin. Inst.*
 i. 17; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode,
 vol. i. p. 118 (Second Vatican Mythographer, 128). The
 silence of Apollodorus as to this well-known Italian legend,
 which was told to account for the famous priesthood of Diana
 at Aricia, like his complete silence as to Rome, which he
 never mentions, tends to show that Apollodorus either
 deliberately ignored the Roman empire or wrote at a time
 when there was but little intercourse between Greece and
 that part of Italy which was under Roman rule.

¹ For the raising of Tyndareus from the dead by Aescu-
 lapius see also Sextus Empiricus, p. 658, ed. Bekker;
 Scholiast on Euripides, *Alcestis*, 1 (both these writers cite
 Panyasis as their authority); Lucian, *De saltatione*, 45;
 Zenobius, *Cent.* i. 47; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxix. 3.

² See above, iii. 3. 1.

³ This account of the death of Aesculapius, the revenge of
 Apollo, and his servitude with Admetus is copied almost
 verbally by Zenobius, *Cent.* i. 18, but as usual without
 acknowledgment. Compare Pherecydes, quoted by the

pactica reports; Tyndareus, as Panyasis says;¹ Hymenaeus, as the Orphics report; and Glaucus, son of Minos,² as Melesagoras relates. But Zeus, fearing that men might acquire the healing art from him and so come to the rescue of each other, smote him with a thunderbolt.³ Angry on that account, Apollo slew the Cyclopes who had fashioned the thunderbolt for Zeus.⁴ But Zeus would have hurled him to Tartarus;

Scholiast on Euripides, *Alcestis*, 1; Pindar, *Pyth.* iii. 54 (96) *sqq.*; Euripides, *Alcestis*, 1 *sqq.*, 123 *sqq.*; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 71. 1-3; Hyginus, *Fab.* 49; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 761; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 17 (First Vatican Mythographer, 46). According to Diodorus Siculus (*l.c.*) Aesculapius as a physician was so successful in his practice that the death-rate was perceptibly lowered, and Hades accused the doctor to Zeus of poaching on his preserves. The accusation angered Zeus, and he killed Aesculapius with a thunderbolt. According to Pherecydes, with whom Apollodorus agrees, the period of Apollo's servitude with Admetus was one year; according to Servius and the First Vatican Mythographer it was nine years. This suggests that the period may have been what was called a "great" or "eternal" year, which included eight ordinary years. See above, iii. 4. 2, with the note on ii. 5. 11. According to one account the motive for Apollo's servitude was his love for Admetus. See Callimachus, *Hymn to Apollo*, 45 *sqq.*; Scholiast on Euripides, *Alcestis*, 1, quoting Rhianus as his authority. Apollo is said to have served Branchus as well as Admetus (Philostratus, *Epist.* 57), and we have seen that he served Laomedon. See above, ii. 5. 9 note.

⁴ According to Pherecydes, quoted by the Scholiast on Euripides, *Alcestis*, 1, it was not the Cyclopes but their sons whom Apollo slew. The passage of Pherecydes, as quoted by the Scholiast, runs as follows: "To him" (that is, to Admetus) "came Apollo, to serve him as a thrall for a year, at the command of Zeus, because Apollo had slain the sons of Brontes, of Steropes, and of Arges. He slew them out of spite at Zeus, because Zeus slew his son Aesculapius with a thunderbolt at Pytho; for by his remedies Aesculapius raised the dead."

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δὲ Λητοῦς ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἀνδρὶ θητεῦσαι. ὁ δὲ παραγενόμενος εἰς Φεράς πρὸς Ἄδμητον τὸν Φέρητος τούτῳ λατρεύων ἐποίμαине, καὶ τὰς θηλείας βόας πάσας διδυμοτόκους ἐποίησεν.

Εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ λέγοντες Ἀφάρεα μὲν καὶ Λεύκιππον ἐκ Περιήρους γενέσθαι τοῦ Αἰόλου, Κυνόρτου δὲ Περιήρην, τοῦ δὲ Οἴβαλον, Οἰβύλου δὲ καὶ νηίδος νύμφης Βατείας Τυνδάρεων Ἴπποκόωντα Ἰκάριον.

5 Ἴπποκόωντος μὲν οὖν ἐγένοντο παῖδες Δορυκλεὺς¹ Σκαῖος Ἐναροφόρος Εὐτείχης Βουκόλος

¹ Δορυκλεὺς. Heyne conjectured Δορκεὺς (comparing Pausanias, iii. 15. 1 *sq.*), which is accepted by Bekker and Hercher.

¹ See Appendix, "Apollo and the Kine of Admetus."

² As to these genealogies see above, i. 7. 3, i. 9. 5, ii. 4. 5, iii. 10. 3; Pausanias, ii. 21. 7, iii. 1. 3 *sq.*, iv. 2. 2 and 4; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 284, 511. Pausanias consistently represents Perieres as the son of Aeolus, and this tradition had the support of Hesiod (quoted by Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 284). On the other hand Tzetzes represents Perieres as the son of Cynortes (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 511). Apollodorus here and elsewhere (i. 9. 5) mentions both traditions without deciding between them. In two passages (i. 7. 3, i. 9. 5) he asserts or implies that the father of Perieres was Aeolus; in another passage (iii. 10. 3) he asserts that the father of Perieres was Cynortes. In the present passage he seems to say that according to one tradition there were two men of the name of Perieres: one of them was the son of Aeolus and father of Aphareus and Leucippus; the other was the son of Cynortes and father of Oebalus, who married the nymph Batia and became by her the father of Tyndareus, Hippocoon, and Icarus. Pausanias says that Gorgophone, daughter of Perseus, first married Perieres and had by him two sons, Aphareus and Leucippus, and that after his death she married Oebalus, son of Cynortas (Cynortes), and had by him a son Tyndareus. See Pausanias, ii. 21. 7, iii. 1. 4, iv. 2. 4. Apollodorus, on the other hand, represents Perieres as the father not only of Aphareus and Leucippus, but also

however, at the intercession of Latona he ordered him to serve as a thrall to a man for a year. So he went to Admetus, son of Pheres, at Pherae, and served him as a herdsman, and caused all the cows to drop twins.¹

But some say that Aphareus and Leucippus were sons of Perieres, the son of Aeolus, and that Cynortes begat Perieres, and that Perieres begat Oebalus, and that Oebalus begat Tyndareus, Hippocoon, and Icarius by a Naiad nymph Batia.²

Now Hippocoon had sons, to wit: Dorycleus, Scaeus, Enarophorus, Eutiches, Bucolus, Lycaethus,

of Tyndareus and Icarius by Gorgophone, daughter of Perseus. See above, i. 9. 5, iii. 10. 3. Tzetzes (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 511) agrees with him as to the sons, but makes Perieres the son of Cynortas instead the son of Aeolus. Thus there were two traditions as to the father of Tyndareus; according to one, his father was Perieres, according to the other, he was Oebalus. But the two traditions were agreed as to the mother of Tyndareus, whom they represented as Gorgophone, daughter of Perseus. According to another account, which may have been intended to reconcile the discrepant traditions as to the father of Tyndareus, Oebalus was the son of Perieres and the father of Tyndareus, Icarius, Arene, and the bastard Hippocoon, whom he had by Nicostrate. See Scholiast on Euripides, *Orestes*, 457; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* ii. 581. This account is mentioned, but apparently not accepted, by Apollodorus in the present passage, though he says nothing about the daughter Arene and the bastardy of Hippocoon. If we accept this last version of the genealogy, Tyndareus was descended both from Oebalus and Perieres, being the son of Oebalus and the grandson of Perieres. In a recently discovered fragment of the *Catalogues* of Hesiod, that poet calls Tyndareus an Oebalid, implying that his father was Oebalus. See *Griechische Dichterfragmente*, i., *Epische und elegische Fragmente*, bearbeitet von W. Schubart und U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (Berlin, 1907), p. 30, line 38 (*Berliner Klassikertexte*, v. 1); *Hesiod*, ed. H. G. Evelyn-White, p. 194, Frag. 68, line 38 (*The Loeb Classical Library*).

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Λύκαιθος Τέβρος¹ Ἴππόθοος Εὐρυτος Ἴπποκορυστῆς Ἀλκίνους Ἄλκων. τούτους Ἴπποκόων ἔχων παῖδας Ἰκάριον² καὶ Τυνδάρεων ἐξέβαλε Λακεδαίμονος. οἱ δὲ φεύγουσι πρὸς Θεστίον, καὶ συμμαχοῦσιν αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς ὁμόρους πόλεμον ἔχοντι· καὶ γαμῆ Τυνδάρεως Θεστίου θυγατέρα Λήδαν. αὐτῆς δέ, ὅτε Ἡρακλῆς Ἴπποκόωντα καὶ τοὺς τούτου παῖδας ἀπέκτεινε, κατέρχονται, καὶ παραλαμβάνει Τυνδάρεως τὴν βασιλείαν.

- 6 Ἰκαρίου μὲν οὖν καὶ Περιβοΐας νύμφης νηίδος Θόας Δαμάσιππος Ἰμεύσιμος Ἀλήτης Περίλεως, καὶ θυγάτηρ Πηνελόπη, ἣν ἔγημεν Ὀδυσσεύς· Τυνδάρεω δὲ καὶ Λήδας Τιμάνδρα, ἣν ἔχεμος ἔγημε, καὶ Κλυταιμνήστρα, ἣν ἔγημεν Ἄγαμέμνων, ἔτι τε Φυλονόη, ἣν ἄρτεμις ἀθάνατον
- 7 ἐποίησε. Διὸς δὲ Λήδα συνελθόντος ὁμοιωθέντος κύκνῳ, καὶ κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν νύκτα Τυνδάρεω,³ Διὸς μὲν ἐγεννήθη Πολυδεύκης καὶ Ἑλένη, Τυνδάρεω δὲ Κάστωρ <καὶ Κλυταιμνήστρα>.⁴ λέγουσι

¹ Σεβρός Pausanias, iii. 15. 1 sq.

² Ἰκαρί R (R^a): ἰκαρίωνα A, Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher. For the form Ἰκάριος compare i. 9. 5.

³ Τυνδάρεω RR^a: τυνδάρεως A.

⁴ καὶ Κλυταιμνήστρα inserted conjecturally by Gale, Bekker, Hercher, and Wagner, approved by Heyne.

¹ As to the banishment of Tyndareus and his restoration by Hercules, see Diodorus Siculus, iv. 33. 5; Pausanias, ii. 18. 7, iii. 1. 4 sq., iii. 21. 4; Scholiast on Euripides, *Orestes*, 457; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* ii. 581. According to the Scholiasts on Euripides and Homer (*Il. cc.*), Icarus joined Hippocoon in driving his brother Tyndareus out of Sparta.

² See above, ii. 7. 3.

³ According to the Scholiast on Homer (*Od.* xv. 16), the wife of Icarus was Dorodoche, daughter of Ortilochus; but

Tebrus, Hippothous, Eurytus, Hippocorystes, Alcinus, and Alcon. With the help of these sons Hippocoon expelled Icarius and Tyndareus from Lacedaemon.¹ They fled to Thestius and allied themselves with him in the war which he waged with his neighbours; and Tyndareus married Leda, daughter of Thestius. But afterwards, when Hercules slew Hippocoon and his sons,² they returned, and Tyndareus succeeded to the kingdom.

Icarius and Periboea, a Naiad nymph,³ had five sons, Thoas, Damasippus, Imeusimus, Aletes, Perileos,⁴ and a daughter Penelope, whom Ulysses married.⁵ Tyndareus and Leda had daughters, to wit, Timandra, whom Echemus married,⁶ and Clytaemnestra, whom Agamemnon married; also another daughter Phylonee, whom Artemis made immortal. But Zeus in the form of a swan consorted with Leda, and on the same night Tyndareus cohabited with her; and she bore Pollux and Helen to Zeus, and Castor and Clytaemnestra to Tyndareus.⁷ But some say that Helen

he adds that according to Pherecydes she was Asterodia, daughter of Eurypylus.

¹ Perileos (Perilaus), son of Icarius, is said to have accused the matricide Orestes at the court of the Areopagus. See Pausanias, viii. 34. 4.

² Compare Pausanias, iii. 12. 1, iii. 20. 10 *sq.* According to the former of these passages, Ulysses won her hand in a foot-race. As to races for brides, see iii. 9. 2, *Epitome* ii. 5, and note on i. 7. 8. ³ Compare Pausanias, viii. 5. 1.

⁴ Compare Euripides, *Helen*, 16 *sqq.*; Lucian, *Dial. deorum*, xx. 14; *id.* *Charidemus*, 7; Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* xi. 298; Hyginus, *Fab.* 77; *id.* *Astronom.* ii. 8; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 27, 64, 119 *sq.*, 163 (First Vatican Mythographer, 78 and 204; Second Vatican Mythographer, 132; Third Vatican Mythographer, 3. 6). As the fruit of her intercourse with the swan, Leda is said to have laid an egg, which in the time of Pau-

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δὲ ἔνιοι Νεμέσεως Ἑλένην εἶναι καὶ Διός. ταύτην γὰρ τὴν Διὸς φεύγουσαν συνουσίαν εἰς χῆνα τὴν μορφήν μεταβαλεῖν, ὁμοιωθέντα δὲ καὶ Δία κύκνω συνελθεῖν· τὴν δὲ ὦν ἐκ τῆς συνουσίας ἀποτεκεῖν, τοῦτο δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἄλσεσιν¹ εὐρόντα τινὰ ποιμένα Λήδα κομίσαντα δοῦναι, τὴν δὲ καταθεμένην εἰς λάρνακα φυλάσσειν, καὶ χρόνῳ καθήκοντι γεννηθεῖσαν Ἑλένην ὡς ἐξ αὐτῆς θυγατέρα τρέφειν. γενομένην δὲ αὐτὴν κάλλει διαπρεπῆ Ἑσείως ἀρπάσας εἰς Ἀφίδνας² ἐκόμισε. Πολυδεύκης δὲ καὶ Κάστρω³ ἐπιστρατεύσαντες, ἐν Ἄιδου Ἑσείως ὄντος, αἴρουσι τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν Ἑλένην λαμβάνουσι, καὶ τὴν Ἑσείως μητέρα Αἴθραν

¹ ἄλσεσιν A: ἄλσεσιν S: ἔλεσιν L. Preller (*Griechische Mythologie*³, ii. 110, note 5), Hercher (compare Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 88, ἐν τῷ ἔλει).

² Ἀφίδνας SR (first hand): ἀθήνας R (second hand), A.

³ Κάστρω. Here SR add εἰς Ἀφίδνας or εἰς Ἀθήνας, as above. The words are omitted by Bekker, Hercher, and Wagner.

sanias was still to be seen hanging by ribbons from the roof of the temple of Hilaira and Phoebe at Sparta. See Pausanias, iii. 16. 1. According to one account (First Vatican Mythographer, 78), Castor, Pollux, and Helen all emerged from a single egg; according to another account (First Vatican Mythographer, 204), Leda laid two eggs, one of which produced Castor and Pollux, and the other Clytaemnestra and Helen. In heaven the twins Castor and Pollux had each, if we may believe Lucian, half an egg on or above his head in token of the way in which he had been hatched. See Lucian, *Dialog. deorum*, xxvi. 1. For the distinction between Pollux and Castor, the former being regarded as the son of Zeus and the latter as the son of Tyndareus, see Pindar. *Nem.* x. 79 (149) sq. According to Hesiod, both Pollux and Castor were sons of Zeus. See Scholiast on Pindar, *Nem.* x. 80 (150).

was a daughter of Nemesis and Zeus; for that she, flying from the arms of Zeus, changed herself into a goose, but Zeus in his turn took the likeness of a swan and so enjoyed her; and as the fruit of their loves she laid an egg, and a certain shepherd found it in the groves and brought and gave it to Leda; and she put it in a chest and kept it; and when Helen was hatched in due time, Leda brought her up as her own daughter.¹ And when she grew into a lovely woman, Theseus carried her off and brought her to Aphidnae.² But when Theseus was in Hades, Pollux and Castor marched against Aphidnae, took the city, got possession of Helen, and led Aethra, the

¹ With this variant story of the birth of Helen compare Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 88 (who may have followed Apollodorus); Eratosthenes, *Cataster.* 25; Pausanias, i. 33. 7 sq.; Scholiast on Callimachus, *Hymn to Artemis*, 232; Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 8. According to Eratosthenes and the Scholiast on Callimachus (*Il. cc.*), the meeting between Zeus and Nemesis, in the shape respectively of a swan and a goose, took place at Rhamnus in Attica, where Nemesis had a famous sanctuary, the marble ruins of which may still be seen in a beautiful situation beside the sea. The statue of the goddess at Rhamnus was wrought by the hand of Phidias, and on the base he represented Leda bringing the youthful Helen to her mother Nemesis. In modern times some of these marble reliefs have been found on the spot, but they are too fragmentary to admit of being identified. See Pausanias, i. 33. 2-8, with my commentary, vol. ii. pp. 455 sqq.

² As to the captivity of Helen at Aphidnae, and her rescue by her brothers Castor and Pollux, see Apollodorus, *Epitome*, i. 23; Herodotus, ix. 73; Strabo, ix. 1. 17, p. 396; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 63. 2-5; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 31 sq.; Pausanias, i. 17. 5, i. 41. 3, ii. 22. 6, iii. 18. 4 sq., compare v. 19. 3; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 503; Hyginus, *Fab* 79. The story was told by the historian Hellanicus (Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* iii. 144), and in part by the poet Alcman (Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* iii. 242).

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8 ἄγουσιν αἰχμάλωτον. παρεγένοντο δὲ εἰς Σπάρτην ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλένης γάμον οἱ βασιλεύοντες Ἑλλάδος. ἦσαν δὲ οἱ μνηστευόμενοι οἷδε· Ὀδυσσεὺς Λαέρτου, Διομήδης Τυδέως, Ἀντίλοχος Νέστορος, Ἀγαπήνωρ Ἀγκαίου, Σθένελος Καπανέως, Ἀμφίμαχος¹ Κτεάτου, Θάλπιος Εὐρύτου, Μέγης Φυλέως, Ἀμφίλοχος Ἀμφιαράου, Μενεσθεὺς Πετεώ, Σχεδῖος <καὶ> Ἐπίστροφος <Ἰφίτου>,² Πολύξενος Ἀγασθένου, Πηνέλεως <Ἰππαλκίμου>, Λήϊτος <Ἀλέκτορος>,³ Αἴας Ὀϊλέως, Ἀσκύλαφος καὶ Ἰάλμενος Ἄρεος, Ἐλεφήνωρ Χαλκώδοντος, Εὐμηλος Ἀδμήτου, Πολυποίτης Πειρίθου, Λεοντεὺς Κορώνου, Ποδαλείριος καὶ Μαχάων Ἀσκληπιοῦ, Φιλοκτῆτης Ποίαντος, Εὐρύπυλος Εὐαίμονος, Πρωτεσίλαος Ἰφίκλου, Μενέλαος Ἀτρώεω, Αἴας καὶ Τεῦκρος Τελαμώνος,

¹ Ἀμφίμαχος Heyne: ἀμφίλοχος SA. The name Ἀμφίλοχος occurs below.

² Σχεδῖος <καὶ> Ἐπίστροφος <Ἰφίτου> Palmer, Bekker, Hercher, Wagner: Σχεδῖος Ἐπιστρόφου A.

³ Πηνέλεως <Ἰππαλκίμου καὶ> Λήϊτος <Ἀλεκτρούνοιο> Heyne: Πηνέλεως <Ἰππαλκίμου>, Λήϊτος <Ἀλέκτορος> Bekker.

¹ For another list of the suitors of Helen, see Hyginus, *Fab.* 81. Hesiod in his *Catalogues* gave a list of the suitors of Helen, and of this list considerable fragments have been discovered in recent years. They include the names of Menelaus, the two sons of Amphiaraus (Alcmaeon and Amphilocheus), Ulysses, Podarces, son of Iphiclus, Protesilaus, son of Actor, <Menestheus>, son of Peteos, Ajax of Salamis, Elephenor, son of Chalcodon, and Idomeneus, son of Minos. Thus the list only partially agrees with that of Apollodorus, for it comprises the names of Podarces and Idomeneus, which are omitted by Apollodorus, who also mentions only one son of Amphiaraus, namely Amphilocheus. Hyginus

mother of Theseus, away captive. Now the kings of Greece repaired to Sparta to win the hand of Helen. The wooers were these:¹—Ulysses, son of Laertes; Diomedes, son of Tydeus; Antilochus, son of Nestor; Agapenor, son of Ancaeus; Sthenelus, son of Capaneus; Amphimachus, son of Cteatus; Thalpius, son of Eurytus; Meges, son of Phyleus; Amphiloehus, son of Amphiaras; Menestheus, son of Peteos; Schedius and Epistrophus, sons of Iphitus; Polyxenus, son of Agasthenes; Peneleos, son of Hippalcimus; Leitus, son of Alector; Ajax, son of Oileus; Ascalaphus and Ialmenus, sons of Ares; Elephenor, son of Chalcodon; Eumelus, son of Admetus; Polypoetes, son of Perithous; Leonteus, son of Coronus; Podalirius and Machaon, sons of Aesculapius; Philoctetes, son of Poas; Eurypylus, son of Evaemon; Protesilaus, son of Iphiclus; Menelaus, son of Atreus; Ajax and Teucer, sons of

includes Idomeneus, but not Podarces, nor the sons of Amphiaras. In these recently discovered fragments Hesiod does not confine himself to a bare list of names; he contrives to hit off the different characters of the suitors by describing the different manners of their wooing. Thus the canny and thrifty Ulysses brought no wedding presents, because he was quite sure he had no chance of winning the lady. On the other hand, the bold Ajax was extremely liberal with his offer of other people's property; he promised to give magnificent presents in the shape of sheep and oxen which he proposed to lift from the neighbouring coasts and islands. Idomeneus sent nobody to woo the lady, but came himself, trusting apparently to the strength of his personal attractions to win her heart and carry her home with him a blooming bride. See *Griechische Dichterfragmente*, i., *Epische und elegische Fragmente*, bearbeitet von W. Schubart und U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (Berlin, 1907), pp. 28 sqq. (*Berliner Klassikertexte*, v. 1); *Hesiod*, ed. H. G. Evelyn-White (London, 1914), pp. 192 sqq. (*The Loeb Classical Library*).

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9 Πάτροκλος Μενoitίου. τούτων ὄρων τὸ πλῆθος Τυνδάρεως ἐδεδοίκει μὴ <προ>κριθέντος¹ ἐνὸς στασιάσωσιν οἱ λοιποί. ὑποσχομένου δὲ Ὀδυσσεως, εἰν συλλάβηται πρὸς τὸν Πηνελόπης αὐτῷ γάμον, ὑποθήσεσθαι τρόπον τινὰ δι' οὗ μηδεμία γενήσεται στάσις, ὡς ὑπέσχετο αὐτῷ συλλήψεσθαι ὁ Τυνδάρεως, πάντα εἶπεν ἐξορκίσει τοὺς μνηστῆρας βοηθήσειν, εἰν ὁ προκριθεὶς νυμφίος ὑπὸ ἄλλου τινὸς ἀδικῆται περὶ τὸν γάμον. ἀκούσας δὲ τοῦτο Τυνδάρεως τοὺς μνηστῆρας ἐξορκίζει, καὶ Μενέλαον μὲν αὐτὸς αἰρεῖται νυμφίον, Ὀδυσσεὶ δὲ παρὰ Ἰκαρίου μνηστεύεται Πηνελόπην.

XI. Μενέλαος μὲν οὖν ἐξ Ἑλένης Ἑρμιόνην ἐγέννησε καὶ κατὰ τινὰς Νικόστρατον, ἐκ δούλης <δὲ>² Πιερίδος, γένος Αἰτωλίδος, ἧ καθάπερ

¹ <προ>κριθέντος Faber, Heyne, Hercher: κριθέντος SA, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Wagner. Compare ὁ προκριθεὶς a few lines below.

² δὲ inserted by Westermann, accepted by Bekker, Hercher, Wagner.

¹ Compare Hesiod, in *Epische und elegische Fragmente*, ed. W. Schubart und U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, p. 33; Hesiod, ed. H. G. Evelyn-White, p. 198; Euripides, *Iphig. in Aulis*, 57 sqq.; Thucydides, i. 9; Pausanias, iii. 20. 9; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* ii. 339; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 202. According to Pausanias (*l.c.*) the suitors took the oath standing on the severed pieces of a horse. As to the custom of standing on the pieces of a sacrificial victim or passing between them at the making of solemn covenants, see *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*, i. 392 sqq.

² Homer definitely affirms (*Od.* iv. 12-14; compare *Il.* iii. 174 sq.) that Helen had only one child, her daughter Hermione. But according to Hesiod, whose verses are quoted by the Scholiast on Sophocles, *Electra*, 539, Helen afterwards bore a son Nicostratus to Menelaus. Compare Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* iv. 11, who tells us further that according to

Telamon; Patroclus, son of Menoetius. Seeing the multitude of them, Tyndareus feared that the preference of one might set the others quarrelling; but Ulysses promised that, if he would help him to win the hand of Penelope, he would suggest a way by which there would be no quarrel. And when Tyndareus promised to help him, Ulysses told him to exact an oath from all the suitors that they would defend the favoured bridegroom against any wrong that might be done him in respect of his marriage. On hearing that, Tyndareus put the suitors on their oath,¹ and while he chose Menelaus to be the bridegroom of Helen, he solicited Icarius to bestow Penelope on Ulysses.

XI. Now Menelaus had by Helen a daughter Hermione and, according to some, a son Nicostratus;² and by a female slave Pieris, an Aetolian,

more recent writers Helen had a son Corythus or Helenus by Alexander (Paris). According to Dictys Cretensis (*Bell. Trojan.* v. 5), Helen had three sons by Alexander, namely, Bunomus, Corythus, and Idaeus, who were accidentally killed at Troy through the collapse of a vaulted roof. The Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* iii. 175, says that the Lacedaemonians worshipped two sons of Helen, to wit, Nicostratus and Aethiolas. He further mentions, on the authority of Ariaethus, that Helen had by Menelaus a son Maraphius, from whom the Persian family of the Maraphions was descended. See Dindorf's edition of the Scholia on the *Iliad*, vol. i. pp. 147 sq., vol. iii. p. 171. According to one account, Helen had a daughter by Theseus before she was married to Menelaus; this daughter was Iphigenia; Helen entrusted her to her sister Clytaemnestra, who reared the child and passed her off on her husband Agamemnon as her own offspring. This account of the parentage of Iphigenia was supported by the authority of Stesichorus and other poets. See Pausanias, ii. 22. 6 sq.; Antoninus Liberalis, *Transform.* 27. Sophocles represents Menelaus as having two children before he sailed for Troy (*Electra*, 539 sq.).

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- Ἄκουσίλαός φησι Τηρηίδος, Μεγαπένθη, ἐκ Κνωσσίας δὲ νύμφης κατὰ Εὐμηλον Ξενόδαμον.
- 2 Τῶν δὲ ἐκ Λήδας γενομένων παίδων Κάστωρ μὲν ἤσκει τὰ κατὰ πόλεμον, Πολυδεύκης δὲ πυγμῆν, καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀνδρείαν ἐκλήθησαν ἀμφότεροι Διόσκουροι. βουλόμενοι δὲ γῆμαι τὰς Λευκίππου θυγατέρας ἐκ Μεσσήνης ἀρπάσαντες ἔγμησαν· καὶ γίνεται μὲν Πολυδεύκους καὶ Φοίβης

¹ Compare Homer, *Od.* iv. 10-12.

² Compare Homer, *Il.* iii. 237; *Od.* xi. 300.

³ That is, "striplings of Zeus."

⁴ The usual tradition seems to have been that Idas and Lynceus, the sons of Aphareus, were engaged to be married to the daughters of Leucippus, who were their cousins, since Aphareus and Leucippus were brothers (see above, iii. 10. 3). They invited to their wedding Castor and Pollux, who were cousins both to the bridegrooms and the brides, since Tyn-dareus, the human father of Castor and Pollux (see above, iii. 10. 7), was a brother of Aphareus and Leucippus (see above, iii. 10. 3). But at the wedding Castor and Pollux carried off the brides, and being pursued by the bridegrooms, Idas and Lynceus, they turned on their pursuers. In the fight which ensued, Castor and Lynceus were slain, and Idas was killed by Zeus with a thunderbolt. See Theocritus, xxii. 137 *sqq.*; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* iii. 243; Scholiast on Pindar, *Nem.* x. 60 (112); Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 546; *id. Chiliades*, ii. 686 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 80; Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 699 *sqq.*; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 27 (First Vatican Mythographer, 77). According to Apollodorus, however, the fight between the cousins was occasioned by a quarrel arising over the division of some cattle which they had lifted from Arcadia in a joint raid. This seems to have been the version of the story which Pindar followed; for in his description of the fatal affray between the cousins (*Nem.* x. 60 (112) *sqq.*) he speaks only of anger about cattle as the motive that led Idas to attack Castor. The rape of the daughters of Leucippus by Castor and Pollux was a favourite subject in art. See Pausanias, i. 18. 1, iii. 17. 3, iii. 18. 11, iv. 31. 9. The names of the

or, according to Acusilaus, by Tereis, he had a son Megapenthes;¹ and by a nymph Cnossia, according to Eumelus, he had a son Xenodamus.

Of the sons born to Leda Castor practised the art of war, and Pollux the art of boxing;² and on account of their manliness they were both called Dioscuri.³ And wishing to marry the daughters of Leucippus, they carried them off from Messene and wedded them;⁴ and Pollux had Mnesileus by Phoebe, and

damsels; as we learn from Apollodorus, were Phoebe and Hilaira. Compare Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Ἀφιδνα; Propertius, i. 2. 15 *sq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 80. At Sparta they had a sanctuary, in which young maidens officiated as priestesses and were called Leucippides after the goddesses. See Pausanias, iii. 16. 1. From an obscure gloss of Hesychius (*s.v.* πωλία) we may perhaps infer that these maiden priestesses, like the goddesses, were two in number, and that they were called "the colts of the Leucippides." Further, since the name of Leucippus, the legendary father of the goddesses, means simply "White Horse," it is tempting to suppose that the Leucippides, like their priestesses, were spoken of and perhaps conceived as white horses. More than that, Castor and Pollux, who carried off these white-horse maidens, if we may call them so, were not only constantly associated with horses, but were themselves called White Horses (λευκόπωλοι) by Pindar, *Pyth.* i. 66 (126) and "White Colts of Zeus" by Euripides in a fragment of his lost play the *Antiope*. See S. Wide, *Lakonische Kulte* (Leipzig, 1893), pp. 331 *sq.*; A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, i. 442. These coincidences can hardly be accidental. They point to the worship of a pair of brother deities conceived as white horses, and married to a pair of sister deities conceived as white mares, who were served by a pair of maiden priestesses called White Colts, assisted apparently by a boy priest or priests; for a Laconian inscription describes a certain youthful Marcus Aurelius Zeuxippus as "priest of the Leucippides and neatherd (? βουαγός) of the Tyndarids," that is, of Castor and Pollux. See P. Cauer, *Delectus Inscriptionum Graecarum propter dialectum memorabilium*², p. 17, No. 36; H. Collitz und F. Bechtel, *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften*, iii. 2, pp. 40 *sq.*, No. 4499.

Μησιίλεως, Κάστορος δὲ καὶ Ἰλαίρας Ἀνώγων. ἐλάσαντες δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας βοῶν λείαν μετὰ τῶν Ἀφαρέως παίδων Ἴδα καὶ Λυγκέως, ἐπιτρέπουσιν Ἴδα διελεῖν.¹ ὁ δὲ τεμῶν βοῦν εἰς μέρος τέσσαρα, τοῦ πρώτου καταφαγόντος εἶπε τῆς λείας τὸ ἦμισυ ἔσσεσθαι, καὶ τοῦ δευτέρου τὸ λοιπόν. καὶ φθάσας κατηνάλωσε τὸ μέρος τὸ ἴδιον πρώτος² Ἴδας, καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, καὶ μετ' ἐκείνου τὴν λείαν εἰς Μεσσήνην ἤλασε. στρατεύσαντες δὲ ἐπὶ Μεσσήνην οἱ Διόσκουροι τὴν τε λείαν ἐκείνην καὶ πολλὴν ἄλλην συναυνοῦσι. καὶ τὸν Ἴδαν ἐλόχων καὶ τὸν Λυγκέα. Λυγκεὺς δὲ ἰδὼν Κάστορα ἐμήνυσε τῷ Ἴδα, καὶ κείνος αὐτὸν κτείνει. Πολυδεύκης δὲ ἐδίωξεν αὐτούς, καὶ τὸν μὲν Λυγκέα κτείνει τὸ δόρυ προέμενος, τὸν δὲ Ἴδαν διώκων, βληθεὶς ὑπ' ἐκείνου πέτρα κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς, πίπτει σκοτωθεὶς. καὶ Ζεὺς Ἴδαν κεραυνοῖ, Πολυδεύκην δὲ εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀνάγει. μὴ δεχομένου δὲ Πολυδεύκουσ τὴν ἀθανασίαν ὄντος νεκροῦ Κάστορος, Ζεὺς ἀμφοτέροις παρ' ἡμέραν καὶ ἐν θεοῖς εἶναι καὶ ἐν θνητοῖς³ ἔδωκε.

¹ διελεῖν Commelinus; διελεθῆν A.

² πρώτος RR^aBV; πρώτον LT. Hercher omits the word.

³ θνητοῖς. Hercher conjectured νεκροῖς. Perhaps we should read τεθνηκόσιν. We can hardly suppose that Apollodorus used θνητοῖ in the sense in which John Wilson Croker used it and was scarified by Macaulay for so doing.

¹ Compare Homer, *Od.* xi. 298-304; Pindar, *Nem.* x. 55 (101) *sqq.*, 75 (141) *sqq.*; *id.* *Pyth.* xi. 61 (93) *sqq.*; Schol. on Homer, *Od.* xi. 302; Lucian, *Dialog. deorum*, xxvi.; Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 121 *sq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 80; *id.* *Astronom.* ii. 22; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 120 (Second Vatican Mythographer, 132). The last of

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Castor had Anogon by Hilaira. And having driven booty of cattle from Arcadia, in company with Idas and Lynceus, sons of Aphareus, they allowed Idas to divide the spoil. He cut a cow in four and said that one half of the booty should be his who ate his share first, and that the rest should be his who ate his share second. And before they knew where they were, Idas had swallowed his own share first and likewise his brother's, and with him had driven off the captured cattle to Messene. But the Dioscuri marched against Messene, and drove away that cattle and much else besides. And they lay in wait for Idas and Lynceus. But Lynceus spied Castor and discovered him to Idas, who killed him. Pollux chased them and slew Lynceus by throwing his spear, but in pursuing Lynceus he was wounded in the head with a stone thrown by him, and fell down in a swoon. And Zeus smote Idas with a thunderbolt, but Pollux he carried up to heaven. Nevertheless, as Pollux refused to accept immortality while his brother Castor was dead, Zeus permitted them both to be every other day among the gods and among mortals.¹

these writers explains the myth to mean that when the star of the one twin is setting, the star of the other is rising. It has been plausibly argued that in one of their aspects the twins were identified with the Morning and Evening Stars respectively, the immortal twin (Pollux) being conceived as the Morning Star, which is seen at dawn rising up in the sky till it is lost in the light of heaven, while the mortal twin (Castor) was identified with the Evening Star, which is seen at dusk sinking into its earthy bed. See J. G. Welcker, *Griechische Götterlehre*, i. 606 *sqq.*; J. Rendel Harris, *The Dioscuri in the Christian Legends* (London, 1903), pp. 11 *sqq.* It would seem that this view of the Spartan twins was favoured by the Spartans themselves, for after their great naval victory of Aegospotami, at which Castor and Pollux

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μεταστάντων δὲ εἰς θεοὺς τῶν Διοσκούρων, Τυνδάρεως μεταπεμφάμενος Μενέλαον εἰς Σπάρτην τούτῳ τὴν βασιλείαν παρέδωκεν.

XII. Ἡλέκτρας δὲ τῆς Ἄτλαντος καὶ Διὸς Ἰασίων καὶ Δάρδανος ἐγένοντο. Ἰασίων μὲν οὖν ἐρασθεὶς Δῆμητρος καὶ θέλων καταισχύναί τὴν θεὸν κεραυνοῦται, Δάρδανος δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ θανάτῳ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ λυπούμενος, Σαμοθράκην ἀπολιπὼν εἰς τὴν ἀντίπερα ἠπειρον ἦλθε. ταύτης δὲ ἐβασίλευε Τεῦκρος ποταμοῦ Σκαμάνδρου καὶ νύμφης Ἰδαίας· ἀφ' οὗ καὶ οἱ τὴν χώραν νεμόμενοι Τεῦκροὶ προσηγορεύοντο. ὑποδεχθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ λαβὼν μέρος τῆς γῆς καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου θυγατέρα Βάτειαν, Δάρδανον ἐκτίσε πόλιν τελευτήσαντος δὲ Τεύκρου¹ τὴν χώραν ἅπασαν
2 Δαρδανίαν ἐκάλεσε. γενομένων δὲ αὐτῷ παίδων

¹ τεύκρου S: τεῦκρος A.

were said to have appeared visibly in or hovering over the Spartan fleet, the victors dedicated at Delphi the symbols of their divine champions in the shape of two golden stars, which shortly before the fatal battle of Leuctra fell down and disappeared, as if to announce that the star of Sparta's fortune was about to set for ever. See Cicero, *De divinatione*, i. 34. 75, ii. 32. 68. The same interpretation of the twins would accord well with their white horses (see the preceding note), on which the starry brethren might be thought to ride through the blue sky.

¹ This account of the parentage of Iasion had the authority of Hellanicus (Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* v. 125). Compare Diodorus Siculus, v. 43. 2.

² Compare Conon, *Narrat.* 21; Strabo, vii. p. 331, frag. 50, ed. Meineke; Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 4. A different turn is given to the story by Homer, who represents the lovers meeting in a thrice-ploughed field (*Od.* v. 125-128). To the

And when the Dioscouri were translated to the gods, Tyndareus sent for Menelaus to Sparta and handed over the kingdom to him.

XII. Electra, daughter of Atlas, had two sons, Iasion and Dardanus, by Zeus.¹ Now Iasion loved Demeter, and in an attempt to defile the goddess he was killed by a thunderbolt.² Grieved at his brother's death, Dardanus left Samothrace and came to the opposite mainland. That country was ruled by a king, Teucer, son of the river Scamander and of a nymph Idaea, and the inhabitants of the country were called Teucrians after Teucer. Being welcomed by the king, and having received a share of the land and the king's daughter Batia, he built a city Dardanus, and when Teucer died he called the whole country Dardania.³ And he had sons born

same effect Hesiod (*Theog.* 969–974) says that the thrice-ploughed field where they met was in a fertile district of Crete, and that Wealth was born as the fruit of their love. Compare Diodorus Siculus, v. 77. 1 *sq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 270. The Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* v. 125, attempts to rationalize the myth by saying that Iasion was the only man who preserved seed-corn after the deluge.

¹ As to the migration of Dardanus from Samothrace to Asia and his foundation of Dardania or Dardanus, see Diodorus Siculus, v. 48. 2 *sq.*; Conon, *Narrat.* 21; Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Δάρδανος; compare Homer, *Il.* xx. 215 *sqq.* According to one account he was driven from Samothrace by a flood and floated to the coast of the Troad on a raft. See Lycophron, *Cassandra*, 72 *sqq.*, with the scholia of Tzetzes; Scholia on Homer, *Il.* xx. 215. As to his marriage with Batia, daughter of Teucer, and his succession to the kingdom, compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 75. 1. According to Stephanus Byzantius (*s.v.* Δάρδανες), Batia, the wife of Dardanus, was a daughter of Tros, not of Teucer.

APOLLODORUS

Ἴλου καὶ Ἐριχθονίου, Ἴλος μὲν ἄπαις ἀπέθανεν, Ἐριχθόνιος δὲ διαδεξάμενος τὴν βασιλείαν, γήμας Ἀστυόχην¹ τὴν Σιμόεντος, τεκνοῖ Τρῶα. οὗτος παραλαβὼν τὴν βασιλείαν τὴν μὲν χώραν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ Τροίαν ἐκάλεσε, καὶ γήμας Καλλιρρόην τὴν Σκαμάνδρου γεννᾷ θυγατέρα μὲν Κλεοπάτραν, παῖδας δὲ Ἴλον καὶ Ἀσσάρακον καὶ Γανυμήδην. τοῦτον μὲν οὖν διὰ κάλλος ἀναρπάσας Ζεὺς δι' αἰετοῦ θεῶν οἰνοχόον ἐν οὐρανῷ κατέστησεν. Ἀσσάρακον δὲ καὶ Ἱερομνήμης τῆς Σιμόεντος Κάπυς, τοῦ δὲ καὶ Θεμιστής τῆς Ἴλου Ἀγχίσης, ᾧ δι' ἐρωτικὴν ἐπιθυμίαν Ἀφροδίτη συνελθοῦσα Αἰνεϊάν ἐγέννησε καὶ Λύρον, ὃς ἄπαις ἀπέθανεν.

3 Ἴλος δὲ εἰς Φρυγίαν ἀφικόμενος καὶ καταλαβὼν ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτόθι τεθειμένον ἀγῶνα νικᾷ πάλην· καὶ λαβὼν ἄθλον πεντήκοντα κόρους² καὶ κόρας τὰς ἴσας, δόντος αὐτῷ τοῦ βασιλέως κατὰ χρησμὸν καὶ βοῦν ποικίλην, καὶ φράσαντος

¹ Ἀστυόχην SR^a: ἀστρούχην A.

² κόρους S: κούρους A.

¹ Compare Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 29. As to Erichthonius, son of Dardanus, see Homer, *Il.* xx. 219 *sqq.*; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 75. 2. According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Antiquit. Rom.*, i. 50. 3) the names of the two sons whom Dardanus had by his wife Batia were Erichthonius and Zacynthus.

² Compare Homer, *Il.* xx. 230, who does not mention the mother of Tros. She is named Astyoche, daughter of Simoeis, by Tzetzes (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 29) in agreement with Apollodorus.

³ Compare Homer, *Il.* xx. 231 *sq.*; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 75. 3. The name of the wife of Tros is not mentioned by Homer and Diodorus. She is called Callirrhoe, daughter of Scamander, by Tzetzes (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 29) and the

to him, Ilus and Erichthonius, of whom Ilus died childless,¹ and Erichthonius succeeded to the kingdom and marrying Astyoche, daughter of Simoeis, begat Tros.² On succeeding to the kingdom, Tros called the country Troy after himself, and marrying Callirrhoe, daughter of Scamander, he begat a daughter Cleopatra, and sons, Ilus, Assaracus, and Ganymede.³ This Ganymede, for the sake of his beauty, Zeus caught up on an eagle and appointed him cupbearer of the gods in heaven; ⁴ and Assaracus had by his wife Hieromneme, daughter of Simoeis, a son Capys; and Capys had by his wife Themiste, daughter of Ilus, a son Anchises, whom Aphrodite met in love's dalliance, and to whom she bore Aeneas ⁵ and Lyrus, who died childless. But Ilus went to Phrygia, and finding games held there by the king, he was victorious in wrestling. As a prize he received fifty youths and as many maidens, and the king, in obedience to an oracle, gave him also a dappled

Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xx. 231, who refers to Hellanicus as his authority. See *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem Townleyana*, ed. E. Maass, vol. ii. p. 321.

⁴ Compare Homer, *Il.* xx. 232-235; *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, 202 *sqq.* These early versions of the myth do not mention the eagle as the agent which transported Ganymede to heaven. The bird figures conspicuously in later versions of the myth and its representation in art. Compare Lucian, *Dialog. deorum*, iv. 1; Virgil, *Aen.* v. 252 *sqq.*; Ovid, *Metamorph.* x. 155 *sqq.*; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 56, 139, 162, 256 (First Vatican Mythographer, 184, Second Vatican Mythographer, 198, Third Vatican Mythographer, 3. 5 and 15. 11).

⁵ Compare Homer, *Il.* xx. 239 *sq.*; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 75. 5. Neither writer names the wives of Assaracus and Capys. As to the love of Aphrodite for Anchises, and the birth of Aeneas, see Homer, *Il.* ii. 819-821, v. 311-313; Hesiod, *Theog.* 1008-1010.

APOLLODORUS

ἐν ᾧπερ ἂν αὐτὴ κλιθῆ τόπῳ πόλιν κτίξειν, εἶπετο τῇ βοῇ. ἡ δὲ ἀφικομένη ἐπὶ τὸν λεγόμενον τῆς Φρυγίας Ἄτης λόφον κλίνεται· ἔνθα πόλιν κτίσας Ἴλος ταύτην μὲν Ἴλιον ἐκάλεσε, τῷ δὲ Διὶ σημεῖον εὐξάμενος αὐτῷ τι φανῆναι, μεθ' ἡμέραν τὸ διυπετὲς παλλάδιον πρὸ τῆς σκηνῆς κείμενον ἐθεάσατο. ἦν δὲ τῷ μεγέθει τρίπηχυ, τοῖς δὲ ποσὶ συμβεβηκός, καὶ τῇ μὲν δεξιᾷ δόρυ διηρμένον¹ ἔχον τῇ δὲ ἐτέρα ἡλακᾶτην καὶ ἄτρακτον.

¹ διηρμένον Heyne : διηρημένον A, Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 355.

¹ This legend of the foundation of Ilium by Ilus is repeated by Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 29. The site of Thebes is said to have been chosen in obedience to a similar oracle. See above, iii. 4. 1. Homer tells us (*Il.* xx. 215 *sqq.*) that the foundation of Dardania on Mount Ida preceded the foundation of Ilium in the plain. As to the hill of Ate, compare Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Ἴλιον.

² As to the antique image of Pallas, known as the Palladium, see Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 68 *sq.*, ii. 66. 5; Conon, *Narrationes*, 34; Pausanias, i. 28. 9, ii. 23. 5; Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* iv. 47, p. 42, ed. Potter; J. Malalas, *Chronogr.* v. pp. 108 *sq.*, ed. L. Dindorf; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 355; Suidas, *s.v.* Παλλάδιον; *Etymologicum Magnum*, *s.v.* Παλλάδιον, p. 649. 50; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* vi. 311; Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 162 *sqq.*; Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 417-436; *id.* *Metamorph.* xiii. 337-349; Silius Italicus, *Punic.* xiii. 30 *sqq.*; Dictys Cretensis, *Bell. Trojan.* v. 5; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 166; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 14 *sq.*, 45 (First Vatican Mythographer, 40 and 142). The traditions concerning the Palladium which have come down to us are all comparatively late, and they differ from each other on various points; but the most commonly received account seems to have been that the image was a small wooden one, that it had fallen from heaven, and that so long as it remained in Troy the city could not be taken. The Greek tradition was

cow and bade him find a city wherever the animal should lie down; so he followed the cow. And when she was come to what was called the hill of the Phrygian Ate, she lay down; there Ilus built a city and called it Ilium.¹ And having prayed to Zeus that a sign might be shown to him, he beheld by day the Palladium, fallen from heaven, lying before his tent. It was three cubits in height, its feet joined together; in its right hand it held a spear aloft, and in the other hand a distaff and spindle.²

that the Palladium was stolen and carried off to the Greek camp by Ulysses and Diomedes (see Apollodorus, *Epitome*, v. 10 and 13), and that its capture by the Greeks ensured the fall of Troy. The Roman tradition was that the image remained in Troy till the city was taken by the Greeks, when Aeneas succeeded in rescuing it and conveying it away with him to Italy, where it was finally deposited in the temple of Vesta at Rome. These two traditions are clearly inconsistent with each other, and the Roman tradition further conflicts with the belief that the city which possessed the sacred image could not be captured by an enemy. Hence in order to maintain the genuineness of the image in the temple of Vesta, patriotic Roman antiquaries were driven to various expedients. They said, for example, that an exact copy of the Palladium had been publicly exposed at Troy, while the true one was carefully concealed in a sanctuary, and that the unsuspecting Greeks had pounced on the spurious image, while the knowing Aeneas smuggled away the genuine one packed up with the rest of his sacred luggage (Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 68 *sq.*). Or they affirmed that the thief Diomedes had been constrained to restore the stolen image to its proper owners (First Vatican Mythographer, *U. cc.*); or that, warned by Athena in a dream, he afterwards made it over to Aeneas in Italy (Silius Italicus, *l. c.*). But the Romans were not the only people who claimed to possess the true Palladium; the Argives maintained that it was with them (Pausanias, ii. 23. 5), and the Athenians asserted that it was to be seen in their ancient court of justice which bore the very name of Palladium. See Pausanias, i. 28. 8 *sq.*; Harpocration, *s. vv.*

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Ἱστορία δὲ¹ ἡ περὶ τοῦ παλλαδίου τοιάδε φέρεται· φασὶ γεννηθεῖσαν τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν παρὰ Τρίτωνι τρέφεσθαι, ὧς θυγάτηρ ἦν Παλλάς· ἀμφοτέρας δὲ ἀσκούσας τὰ κατὰ πόλεμον εἰς φιλονεικίαν ποτὲ προελθεῖν. μελλούσης δὲ πλήττειν τῆς Παλλάδος τὸν Δία φοβηθέντα τὴν αἰγίδα προτεῖναι,² τὴν δὲ εὐλαβηθεῖσαν ἀναβλέψαι, καὶ οὕτως ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τρωθεῖσαν πεσεῖν. Ἀθηνᾶν δὲ περίλυπον ἐπ' αὐτῇ γενομένην, ξόανον ἐκείνης ὁμοιον κατασκευάσαι,³ καὶ περιθεῖναι τοῖς στέρνοις ἦν ἔδδισεν αἰγίδα, καὶ τιμᾶν ἰδρυσαμένην παρὰ τῷ Δί. ὕστερον δὲ Ἡλέκτρας κατὰ⁴ τὴν φθορὰν τούτῳ προσφυγούσης, Δία ῥίψαι⁵ [μετ' Ἀθης

¹ Heyne thought that the whole of this paragraph, relating to the Palladium, has been interpolated from an ancient author. It is omitted from the text by Hercher and bracketed as spurious by Wagner.

² προτεῖναι Faber: προθεῖναι R: προσθεῖναι R^a: προσθη-
ναι A.

³ κατασκευάσαι R: κατασκευάσασα A.

⁴ κατὰ SA: μετὰ Bekker.

⁵ Δία ῥίψαι Gale, Bekker, Wagner: διαρρίψαι SA, Tzetzes
Schol. on Lycophron, 355, Heyne, Westermann, Müller.

βουλεύσεως and ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ; Suidas, *s.v.* ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ; Julius Pollux, viii. 118 *sq.*; Scholiast on Aeschines, ii. 87, p. 298, ed. Schultz; Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, i. p. 311, lines 3 *sqq.* The most exact description of the appearance of the Palladium is the one given by Apollodorus in the present passage, which is quoted, with the author's name, by Tzetzes (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 355). According to Dictys Cretensis (*l.c.*), the image fell from heaven at the time when Ilus was building the temple of Athena; the structure was nearly completed, but the roof was not yet on, so the Palladium dropped straight into its proper place in the sacred edifice. Clement of Alexandria (*l.c.*) mentions a strange opinion that the Palladium "was made out of the bones of Pelops, just as the Olympian (image of Zeus was made) out

The story told about the Palladium is as follows :¹ They say that when Athena was born she was brought up by Triton,² who had a daughter Pallas; and that both girls practised the arts of war, but that once on a time they fell out; and when Pallas was about to strike a blow, Zeus in fear interposed the aegis, and Pallas, being startled, looked up, and so fell wounded by Athena. And being exceedingly grieved for her, Athena made a wooden image in her likeness, and wrapped the aegis, which she had feared, about the breast of it, and set it up beside Zeus and honoured it. But afterwards Electra, at the time of her violation,³ took refuge at the image, and Zeus threw the Palladium along with Ate⁴ into the Ilian

of other bones of an Indian beast," that is, out of ivory. Pherecydes discussed the subject of *palladia* in general; he described them as "shapes not made with hands," and derived the name from *πάλλειν*, which he considered to be equivalent to *βάλλειν*, "to throw, cast," because these objects were cast down from heaven. See Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 355; *Etymologicum Magnum*, s.v. Παλλάδιον, p. 649. 50. Apollodorus as usual confines himself to the Greek tradition; he completely ignores the Romans and their claim to possess the Palladium.

¹ The following account of the origin of the Palladium was regarded as an interpolation by Heyne, and his view has been accepted by Hercher and Wagner. But the passage was known to Tzetzes, who quotes it (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 355) immediately after his description of the image, which he expressly borrowed from Apollodorus.

² Apparently the god of the river Triton, which was commonly supposed to be in Libya, though some people identified it with a small stream in Boeotia. See Herodotus, iv. 180; Pausanias, ix. 33. 7; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 519; compare Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 109.

³ See above, iii. 12. 1.

⁴ Homer tells (*Il.* xix. 126-131) how Zeus in anger swore that Ate should never again come to Olympus, and how he seized her by the head and flung her from heaven.

APOLLODORUS

καί]¹ τὸ παλλάδιον εἰς τὴν Ἰλιάδα χώραν, Ἴλον δὲ τούτῳ² ναὸν κατασκευάσαντα τιμᾶν. καὶ περὶ μὲν τοῦ παλλάδιου ταῦτα λέγεται.

Ἴλος δὲ γήμας Εὐρυδίκην τὴν Ἀδράστου Λαομέδοντα ἐγέννησεν, ὃς γαμεῖ Στρυμῶ τὴν Σκαμάνδρου, κατὰ δέ τινας Πλακίαν τὴν Ὀτρέως,³ κατ' ἐνίους δὲ Λευκίππην,⁴ καὶ τεκνοῖ παῖδας μὲν Τιθωνὸν Λάμπον⁵ Κλυτίον Ἴκετάονα Ποδάρκην, θυγατέρας δὲ Ἡσιόνην καὶ Κίλλαν καὶ Ἀστυόχην, ἐκ δὲ νύμφης Καλύβης Βουκολίωνα.

4. Τιθωνὸν μὲν οὖν Ἠὼς ἀρπάσασα δι' ἔρωτα εἰς Αἰθιοπίαν κομίζει, κάκει συνελθούσα γεννᾷ παῖδας
5 Ἠμαθίωνα καὶ Μέμνονα. μετὰ δὲ τὸ αἰρεθῆναι

¹ μετ' Ἄτης καὶ. Heyne was probably right in regarding these words as an interpolation introduced by a scribe who remembered that Ate was flung from heaven by Zeus (Homer, *Il.* xix. 131 *sq.*). For Ἄτης, which is a conjecture of Gale's, the MSS. (SA) read αὐτῆς, which is retained by Müller, Bekker, and Wagner. The words μετ' αὐτῆς καὶ are not bracketed by Wagner.

² τούτῳ S: τούτου A, Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 355: τοῦτο Heyne. ³ Ὀτρέως Hercher: ἀτρέως A.

⁴ Λευκίππην Heyne (conjecture), Bekker, Hercher, Wagner: Λευκίππου A, Heyne (in text), Westermann, Müller. The reading Λευκίππην is supported by Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 18, who says that the mother of Priam (Podarces) was Leucippe.

⁵ Λάμπον R, Bekker, Hercher, Wagner (compare Homer, *Il.* iii. 147, xix. 238): λάμπωνα A, Westermann, Müller.

¹ Compare Homer, *Il.* xx. 236. Homer does not mention the mother of Laomedon. According to one Scholiast on the passage she was Eurydice, daughter of Adrastus, as Apollodorus has it; according to another she was Batia, daughter of Teucer. But if the family tree recorded by Apollodorus is correct, Batia could hardly have been the wife of Ilus, since she was his great-grandmother.

country ; and Ilus built a temple for it, and honoured it. Such is the legend of the Palladium.

And Ilus married Eurydice, daughter of Adrastus, and begat Laomedon,¹ who married Strymo, daughter of Scamander ; but according to some his wife was Placia, daughter of Otreus, and according to others she was Leucippe ; and he begat five sons, Tithonus, Lampus, Clytius, Hicetaon, Podarces,² and three daughters, Hesione, Cilla, and Astyoche ; and by a nymph Calybe he had a son Bucolion.³

Now the Dawn snatched away Tithonus for love and brought him to Ethiopia, and there consorting with him she bore two sons, Emathion and Memnon.⁴

² Compare Homer, *Il.* xx. 237 *sq.*, with whom Apollodorus agrees as to Laomedon's five sons. Homer does not mention Laomedon's wife nor his daughters. According to a Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* iii. 250, his wife's name was Zeuxippe or Strymo ; for the former name he cites the authority of the poet Alcman, for the latter the authority of the historian Hellanicus. Apollodorus may have followed Hellanicus, though he was acquainted with other traditions. According to Tzetzes (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 18), Priam and Tithonus were sons of Laomedon by different mothers ; the mother of Priam was Leucippe, the mother of Tithonus was Strymo or Rhoëo, daughter of Scamander. The Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xi. 1, speaks of Tithonus as a son of Laomedon by Strymo, daughter of Scamander.

³ Compare Homer, *Il.* vi. 23 *sqq.*, who says that Bucolion was the eldest son of Laomedon, but illegitimate and one of twins.

⁴ As to the love of Dawn (*Eos*) for Tithonus, see the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, 218 *sqq.* ; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 18 ; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xi. 1 ; Propertius, ii. 18. 7-18, ed. Butler. Homer speaks of Dawn (*Aurora*) rising from the bed of Tithonus (*Il.* xi. 1 *sq.* ; *Od.* v. 1 *sq.*). According to the author of the Homeric hymn, Dawn obtained from Zeus for her lover the boon of immortality ; according to the Scholiast on Homer, it was Tithonus himself who asked and

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Ἴλιον ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους, ὡς μικρὸν πρόσθεν ἡμῖν
λέλεκται, ἐβασίλευσε Ποδάρκης ὁ κληθεὶς Πρί-
αμος· καὶ γαμῆί πρώτην Ἀρίσβην τὴν Μέρωπος,
ἐξ ἧς αὐτῷ παῖς Αἴσακος γίνεται, ὃς ἔγημεν
Ἀστερόπην¹ τὴν Κεβρῆνος θυγατέρα, ἣν πενθῶν
ἀποθανοῦσαν ἀπωρνεώθη. Πρίαμος δὲ Ἀρίσβην
ἐκδοὺς Ἐρτάκῳ δευτέραν ἔγημεν Ἐκάβην τὴν
Δύμαντος, ἣ ὡς τινὲς φασι Κισσέως, ἣ ὡς ἕτεροι
λέγουσι Σαγγαρίου ποταμοῦ καὶ Μετώπης. γεν-
νᾶται δὲ αὐτῇ² πρῶτος μὲν Ἐκτωρ· δευτέρου δὲ

¹ Ἀστερόπην Commelinus : στερόπην SA.

² αὐτῇ A, Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher :
αὐτῷ S, Wagner.

obtained the boon from the loving goddess. But the boon turned to be a bane; for neither he nor she had remembered to ask for freedom from the infirmities of age. So when he was old and white-headed and could not stir hand or foot, he prayed for death as a release from his sufferings; but die he could not, for he was immortal. Hence the goddess in pity either shut him up in his chamber and closed the shining doors on him, leaving him to lisp and babble there eternally, or she turned him into a grasshopper, the most musical of insects, that she might have the joy of hearing her lover's voice sounding for ever in her ears. The former and sadder fate is vouched for by the hymn writer, the latter by the Scholiast. Tzetzes perhaps lets us into the secret of the transformation when he tells us (*l.c.*) that "the grasshoppers, like the snakes, when they are old, slough their old age" (τὸ γῆρας, literally "old age," but applied by the Greeks to the cast skins of serpents). It is a widespread notion among savages, which the ancestors of the Greeks apparently shared, that creatures which cast their skins, thereby renew their youth and live for ever. See *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*, i. 66 sqq. The ancient Latins seem also to have cherished the same illusion, for they applied the same name (*senectus* or *senectus*) to old age and to the cast skins of serpents.

¹ See above, ii. 6. 4.

But after that Ilium was captured by Hercules, as we have related a little before,¹ Podarces, who was called Priam, came to the throne, and he married first Arisbe, daughter of Merops, by whom he had a son Aesacus, who married Asterope, daughter of Cebren, and when she died he mourned for her and was turned into a bird.² But Priam handed over Arisbe to Hyrtacus and married a second wife Hecuba, daughter of Dymas, or, as some say, of Cisseus, or, as others say, of the river Sangarius and Metope.³ The first son born to her was Hector; and when a second

² Compare Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 224, who seems to follow Apollodorus. The bird into which the mourner was transformed appears to have been a species of diver. See Ovid, *Metamorph.* xi. 749-795; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iv. 254, v. 128.

³ According to Homer (*Il.* xvi. 718 *sq.*) Hecuba was a daughter of Dymas, "who dwelt in Phrygia by the streams of Sangarius." But Euripides (*Hecuba*, 3) represents her as a daughter of Cisseus, and herein he is followed by Virgil, (*Aen.* vii. 320, x. 705). The mythographers Hyginus and Tzetzes leave it an open question whether Hecuba was a daughter of Cisseus or of Dymas. See Hyginus, *Fab.* 91, 111, 249; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron, Introd.* p. 266, ed. Müller. Compare the Scholiast on Euripides, *Hecuba*, 3: "Pherecydes writes thus: And Priam, son of Laomedon, marries Hecuba, daughter of Dymas, son of Eioneus, son of Proteus, or of the river Sangarius, by a Naiad nymph Evagora. But some have recorded that Hecuba's mother was Glaucippe, daughter of Xanthus. But Nicander, in agreement with Euripides, says that Hecuba was a daughter of Cisseus." The Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xvi. 718, says that according to Pherecydes the father of Hecuba was Dymas and her mother was a nymph Eunoe, but that according to Athenion her father was Cisseus and her mother Teleclia. Thus it would appear that after all we cannot answer with any confidence the question with which the emperor Tiberius loved to pose the grammarians of his time, "Who was Hecuba's mother?" See Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 70.

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γεννᾶσθαι μέλλοντος βρέφους ἔδοξεν Ἐκάβη καθ' ὕπνου¹ δαλὸν τεκεῖν διάπυρον, τοῦτον δὲ πᾶσαν ἐπινέμεσθαι τὴν πόλιν καὶ καίειν. μαθὼν δὲ Πρίαμος παρ' Ἐκάβης τὸν ὄνειρον, Αἷσακον τὸν υἱὸν μετεπέμψατο.² ἦν γὰρ ὄνειροκρίτης παρὰ τοῦ μητροπάτορος Μέροπος διδαχθείς. οὗτος εἰπὼν τῆς πατρίδος γενέσθαι τὸν παῖδα ἀπώλειαν, ἐκθεῖναι τὸ βρέφος ἐκέλευε. Πρίαμος δέ, ὡς ἐγεννήθη τὸ βρέφος, δίδωσιν ἐκθεῖναι οἰκέτη κομίσαντι³ εἰς Ἴδην· ὁ δὲ οἰκέτης Ἀγέλαος ὠνομάζετο. τὸ δὲ ἐκτεθὲν ὑπὸ τούτου βρέφος πένθ' ἡμέρας ὑπὸ ἄρκτου⁴ ἐτράφη. ὁ δὲ σωζόμενον εὐρῶν ἀναιρεῖται, καὶ κομίσας ἐπὶ τῶν χωρίων ὡς ἴδιον παῖδα ἔτρεφεν, ὀνομάσας Πάριν. γενόμενος δὲ νεανίσκος καὶ πολλῶν διαφέρων κάλλει τε καὶ ῥώμῃ αὐθις Ἀλέξανδρος προσωνομάσθη, ληστὰς ἀμυνόμενος⁵ καὶ τοῖς παιμνίοις ἀλεξήσας [, ὅπερ ἐστὶ βοθηήσας].⁶ καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ τοὺς γονέας ἀνεῦρε.

Μετὰ τοῦτον ἐγέννησεν Ἐκάβη θυγατέρα μὲν

¹ καθ' ὕπνου SR : καθ' ὕπαρ A.

² μετεπέμψατο S : κατεπέμψατο A.

³ κομίσαντι SA, Wagner : κομίσονται Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker : κομιούντι Hercher.

⁴ ἄρκτου SR : ἄρκτου A.

⁵ ἀμυνόμενος SA, Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Wagner : ἀμυνόμενος Hercher.

⁶ ὅπερ ἐστὶ βοθηήσας omitted as a gloss by Hercher and Wagner.

¹ For Hecuba's dream and the exposure of the infant Paris, see Pindar, pp. 544, 546, ed. Sandys; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* iii. 325; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 86; Cicero, *De divinatione*, i. 21. 42; Hyginus, *Fab.* 91; *Script.* 46

babe was about to be born Hecuba dreamed she had brought forth a firebrand, and that the fire spread over the whole city and burned it.¹ When Priam learned of the dream from Hecuba, he sent for his son Aesacus, for he was an interpreter of dreams, having been taught by his mother's father Merops. He declared that the child was begotten to be the ruin of his country and advised that the babe should be exposed. When the babe was born Priam gave it to a servant to take and expose on Ida; now the servant was named Agelaus. Exposed by him, the infant was nursed for five days by a bear; and, when he found it safe, he took it up, carried it away, brought it up as his own son on his farm, and named him Paris. When he grew to be a young man, Paris excelled, many in beauty and strength, and was afterwards surnamed Alexander, because he repelled robbers and defended the flocks.² And not long afterwards he discovered his parents.

After him Hecuba gave birth to daughters, Creusa,

tores rerum mythicarum Latini, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 139 (Second Vatican Mythographer, 197). The dream is alluded to, though not expressly mentioned, by Euripides (*Troades*, 919 *sqq.*) and Virgil (*Aen.* vii. 319 *sqq.*). The warning given by the diviner Aesacus is recorded also by Tzetzes (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 224), according to whom the sage advised to put both mother and child to death. Euripides (*Andromache*, 293 *sqq.*) represents Cassandra shrieking in a prophetic frenzy to kill the ill-omened babe. The suckling of the infant Paris for five days by a she-bear seems to be mentioned only by Apollodorus.

² Apollodorus apparently derives the name Alexander from ἀλέξω "to defend" and ἀνδρός, the genitive of "man." As the verb was somewhat archaic, he explains it by the more familiar βρηθῶ, if indeed the explanation be not a marginal gloss. See the Critical Note.

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Κρέουσαν Λαοδίκην Πολυξέην Κασάνδραν, ἣ συνέλθειν βουλόμενος Ἀπόλλων τὴν μαντικὴν ὑπέσχετο διδάξει. ἣ δὲ μαθοῦσα οὐ συνήλθεν ὄθεν Ἀπόλλων ἀφείλετο τῆς μαντικῆς αὐτῆς τὸ πείθειν. αὐθις δὲ παῖδας ἐγέννησε Δηίφοβον Ἐλενον Πάμμουνα Πολίτην Ἀντιφον Ἰππόνοον Πολύδωρον Τρώϊλον· τοῦτον ἐξ Ἀπόλλωνος λέγεται γεγεννηκέναι.

Ἐκ δὲ ἄλλων γυναικῶν Πριάμφ παῖδες γίνονται Μελάνιππος Γοργυθίων Φιλαίμων Ἰππόθοος Γλαῦκος, Ἀγάθων Χερσιδάμας Εὐαγόρας Ἰπποδάμας Μῆστωρ, Ἄτας Δόρυκλος Λυκάων Δρύουψ Βίας, Χρομῖος Ἀστύγονος Τελέστας Εὐάνδρος Κεβριόνης, Μύλιος¹ Ἀρχέμαχος Λαοδόκος Ἐχέφρων Ἰδομενεύς, Ἵπερίων Ἀσκάνιος Δημοκόων Ἄρητος Δημοπίτης, Κλονίος Ἐχέμμων Ἵπείροχος Αἰγωωνεύς Λυσίθοος Πολυμέδων, θυγατέρες δὲ Μέδουσα Μηδεσικάστη Λυσιμάχη Ἀριστοδήμη.

¹ Μύλιος R: μήλιος A. Wagner compares Stephanus Byzantius, Μύλιοι (Μύλισιν ed. Westermann), ξθνος Φρυγίας. Ἐκαταῖος Ἀσίζ.

¹ Laodice is mentioned by Homer as the fairest of Priam's daughters and the wife of Helicaon (*Iliad*, iii. 122 sqq., vi. 252).

² Compare Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, 1202-1212; Hyginus, *Fab.* 93; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 247; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 55, 139 (First Vatican Mythographer, 180; Second Vatican Mythographer, 196). According to Servius (*l.c.*), Apollo deprived Cassandra of the power of persuading men of the truth of her prophecies by spitting into her mouth. We have seen that by a similar procedure Glaucus was robbed of the faculty of divination. See above, iii. 3. 2. An entirely different account of the way in which Cassandra and her twin brother

Laodice,¹ Polyxena, and Cassandra. Wishing to gain Cassandra's favours, Apollo promised to teach her the art of prophecy; she learned the art but refused her favours; hence Apollo deprived her prophecy of power to persuade.² Afterwards Hecuba bore sons,³ Deiphobus, Helenus, Pammon, Polites, Antiphus, Hipponous, Polydorus, and Troilus: this last she is said to have had by Apollo.

By other women Priam had sons, to wit, Melanippus, Gorgythion, Philaemon, Hippothous, Glaucus, Agathon, Chersidamas, Evagoras, Hippodamas, Mestor, Atas, Doryclus, Lycaon, Dryops, Bias, Chromius, Astygonus, Telestas, Evander, Cebriones, Mylius, Archemachus, Laodocus, Echephron, Idomeneus, Hyperion, Ascanius, Democoon, Aretus, Deiopites, Clonius, Echemmon, Hypirochus, Aegeoneus, Lysithous, Polymedon; and daughters, to wit, Medusa, Medesicaste, Lysimache, and Aristodeme.

Helenus acquired the gift of prophecy is given by a Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* vii. 44. He says that when the festival in honour of the birth of the twins was being held in the sanctuary of the Thymbraean Apollo, the two children played with each other there and fell asleep in the temple. Meantime the parents and their friends, flushed with wine, had gone home, forgetting all about the twins whose birth had given occasion to the festivity. Next morning, when they were sober, they returned to the temple and found the sacred serpents purging with their tongues the organs of sense of the children. Frightened by the cry which the women raised at the strange sight, the serpents disappeared among the laurel boughs which lay beside the infants on the floor; but from that hour Cassandra and Helenus possessed the gift of prophecy. For this story the Scholiast refers to the authority of Anticlides. In like manner Melampus is said to have acquired the art of soothsaying through the action of serpents which licked his ears. See above, i. 9. 11.

³ Compare Homer, *Il.* xxiv. 248 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 90.

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6 Ἐκτωρ μὲν οὖν Ἀνδρομάχην τὴν Ἡετίωνος γαμεί, Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ Οἰνώνην τὴν Κεβρήνος τοῦ ποταμοῦ θυγατέρα. αὕτη παρὰ Ῥέας τὴν μαντικὴν μαθοῦσα προέλεγεν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ μὴ πλεῖν ἐπὶ Ἑλένην. μὴ πείθουσα δὲ εἶπεν, εἰάν τρωθῆ, παραγενέσθαι πρὸς αὐτὴν· μόνην¹ γὰρ θεραπεύσαι δύνασθαι. τὸν δὲ Ἑλένην ἐκ Σπάρτης ἄρπάσαι, πολεμουμένης δὲ Τροίας τοξευθέντα ὑπὸ Φιλοκτήτου τόξοις Ἡρακλείοις πρὸς Οἰνώνην ἐπανελεθεῖν εἰς Ἴδην. ἡ δὲ μνησικακοῦσα θεραπεύσειν² οὐκ ἔφη. Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν οὖν εἰς Τροίαν κομιζόμενος ἐτελεύτα, Οἰνώνη δὲ μετανοήσασα τὰ πρὸς θεραπείαν φάρμακα ἔφερε, καὶ καταλαβοῦσα αὐτὸν νεκρὸν ἑαυτὴν ἀνήρτησεν.

Ὁ δὲ Ἀσωπὸς ποταμὸς Ὠκεανοῦ καὶ Τηθύος, ὡς δὲ Ἀκουσίλαος λέγει, Πηροῦς καὶ Ποσειδῶνος, ὡς δὲ τινες, Διὸς καὶ Εὐρυνόμης. τούτῳ Μετώπῃ γημαμένη³ (Λάδωνος δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ θυγατὴρ αὕτη) δύο μὲν παῖδας ἐγέννησεν, Ἴσμηνὸν καὶ Πελάγοντα, εἴκοσι δὲ θυγατέρας, ὧν μὲν⁴ μίαν Αἰγιναν ἤρπασε Ζεὺς. ταύτην Ἀσωπὸς ζητῶν

¹ μόνην SR: μόνη A.

² θεραπεύσειν SR (compend.), Hercher, Wagner: θεραπεῦσαι A, Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker.

³ τούτῳ Μετώπῃ γημάμενος R (compend.), Wagner: οὗτος Μετώπῃ γημάμενος A, Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker: οὗτος Μετώπῃ γήμας Hercher.

⁴ μὲν omitted by Hercher, perhaps rightly.

¹ See Homer, *Il.* vi. 395 *sqq.*, where it is said that Eetion was king of Thebe in Cilicia.

Now Hector married Andromache, daughter of Eetion,¹ and Alexander married Oenone, daughter of the river Cebren.² She had learned from Rhea the art of prophecy, and warned Alexander not to sail to fetch Helen; but failing to persuade him, she told him to come to her if he were wounded, for she alone could heal him. When he had carried off Helen from Sparta and Troy was besieged, he was shot by Philoctetes with the bow of Hercules, and went back to Oenone on Ida. But she, nursing her grievance, refused to heal him. So Alexander was carried to Troy and died. But Oenone repented her, and brought the healing drugs; and finding him dead she hanged herself.

The Asopus river was a son of Ocean and Tethys, or, as Acusilaus says, of Pero and Poseidon, or, according to some, of Zeus and Eurynome. Him Metope, herself a daughter of the river Ladon, married and bore two sons, Ismenus and Pelagon, and twenty daughters, of whom one, Aegina, was carried off by Zeus.³ In search of her Asopus came

¹ For the loves of Paris and Oenone, and their tragic end, compare Conon, *Narrat.* 23; Parthenius, *Narrat.* 4; Ovid, *Heroides*, v.

² As to the river-god Asopus and his family, see Diodorus Siculus, iv. 72. 1-5; Pausanias, ii. 5. 1 *sq.*, v. 22. 6. According to Diodorus, Asopus was a son of Ocean and Tethys; he married Metope, daughter of the Ladon, by whom he had two sons and twelve daughters. Asopus, the father of Aegina, is identified by Diodorus and Pausanias with the Phliasian or Sicyonian river of that name; but the patriotic Boeotian poet Pindar seems to claim the honour for the Boeotian Asopus (*Isthm.* viii. 16 (35) *sqq.*), and he is naturally supported by his Scholiast (on v. 17 (37) of that poem) as well as by Statius

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ἤκεν εἰς Κόρινθον, καὶ μανθάνει παρὰ Σισύφου τὸν ἥρπακότα εἶναι Δία. Ζεὺς δὲ Ἀσωπὸν μὲν κεραυνώσας διώκοντα πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεία ἀπέπεμψε ρεῖθρα (διὰ τοῦτο μέχρι καὶ νῦν ἐκ τῶν τούτου ρεῖθρων ἄνθρακες φέρονται), Αἴγιαναν δὲ κομίσας¹ εἰς τὴν τότε Οἰνώνην λεγομένην νῆσον, νῦν δὲ Αἴγιαναν ἀπ' ἐκείνης κληθεῖσαν, μίγνυται, καὶ τεκνοῖ παῖδα ἐξ αὐτῆς Αἰακόν. τούτῳ Ζεὺς ὄντι μόνῳ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τοὺς μύρμηκας ἀνθρώπους ἐποίησε. γαμῆ δὲ Αἰακὸς Ἐνδηίδα τὴν Σκείρωνος, ἐξ ἧς αὐτῶ παῖδες ἐγένοντο Πηλεὺς τε καὶ Τελαμών. Φερεκύδης δὲ φησι Τελαμῶνα φίλον, οὐκ ἀδελφὸν Πηλέως εἶναι, ἀλλ' Ἀκταίου παῖδα καὶ Γλαυκῆς τῆς Κυχρέως. μίγνυται δὲ αὐθις Αἰακὸς

¹ κομίσας Hercher, Wagner : εἰσκομίσας A, Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker.

(*Theb.* vii. 315 *sqq.*) and his Scholiast, Lactantius Placidus (on *Theb.* vii. 424). The Phliasians even went so far as to assert that their Asopus was the father of Thebe, who gave her name to the Boeotian Thebes; but this view the Thebans could not accept (Pausanias, ii. 5. 2).

¹ Compare above, i. 9. 3; Pausanias, ii. 5. 1.

² Compare Callimachus, *Hymn to Delos*, 78; Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 117.

³ According to Lactantius Placidus (on Statius, *Theb.* vii. 315), live coals were to be found in the Asopus, and Statius, in his windy style (*Theb.* vii. 325 *sqq.*), talks of the "brave river blowing ashes of thunderbolts and Aetnaean vapours from its panting banks to the sky," which may be a poetical description of river-mists. But both the poet and his dutiful commentator here refer to the Boeotian Asopus, whereas Apollodorus probably refers to the Phliasian river of that name.

⁴ Compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 72. 5; Pausanias, ii. 29. 2; Hyginus, *Fab.* 52. As to Oenone, the ancient name of Aegina, compare Pindar, *Nem.* iv. 46 (75), v. 16 (29), viii. 7 (12),

to Corinth, and learned from Sisyphus that the ravisher was Zeus.¹ Asopus pursued him, but Zeus, by hurling thunderbolts, sent him away back to his own streams;² hence coals are fetched to this day from the streams of that river.³ And having conveyed Aegina to the island then named Oenone, but now called Aegina after her, Zeus cohabited with her and begot a son Aeacus on her.⁴ As Aeacus was alone in the island, Zeus made the ants into men for him.⁵ And Aeacus married Endeis, daughter of Sciron, by whom he had two sons, Peleus and Telamon.⁶ But Pherecydes says that Telamon was a friend, not a brother of Peleus, he being a son of Actaeus and Glauce, daughter of Cychreus.⁷ After-

Isthm. v. 34 (44); Herodotus, viii. 46; Strabo, viii. 6. 16, p. 375; Hyginus, *Fab.* 52. Another old name for Aegina was Oenopia. See Pindar, *Nem.* viii. 21 (45); Ovid, *Metamorph.* vii. 472 *sqq.*

⁵ As to the transformation of the ants into men see Hesiod, quoted by the Scholiast on Pindar, *Nem.* iii. 13 (21), and by Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 176; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* i. 180; Strabo, viii. 6. 16, p. 375; Hyginus, *Fab.* 52; Ovid, *Metamorph.* vii. 614 *sqq.*; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 23, 142 (First Vatican Mythographer, 67; Second Vatican Mythographer, 204). The fable is clearly based on the false etymology which derived the name Myrmidons from *μύρμηκες*, "ants." Strabo (*l.c.*) attempted to rationalize the myth.

⁶ Compare Plutarch, *Theseus*, 10; Pausanias, ii. 29. 9; Scholiast on Euripides, *Andromache*, 687. According to another account, Endeis, the mother of Telamon and Peleus, was a daughter of Chiron. See Scholiast on Pindar, *Nem.* v. 7 (12); Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xvi. 14; Hyginus, *Fab.* 14.

⁷ This account of the parentage of Telamon, for which we have the authority of the old writer Pherecydes (about 480 B.C.), is probably earlier than the one which represents him as a son of Aeacus. According to it, Telamon was a native, not of Aegina, but of Salamis, his mother Glauce being a

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Ψαμάθη τῇ Νηρέως εἰς φώκην¹ ἠλλαγμένη διὰ τὸ μὴ βούλεσθαι συνελθεῖν, καὶ τεκνοῖ παῖδα Φῶκον.

Ἦν δὲ εὖσεβέστατος πάντων² Αἰακός. διὸ καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα κατεχούσης ἀφορίας διὰ Πέλοπα, ὅτι Στυμφάλῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ἀρκάδων πολεμῶν καὶ τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν ἐλεῖν μὴ δυνάμενος, προσποιησάμενος φιλίαν ἔκτεινεν αὐτὸν καὶ διέσπειρε μελίσας, χρῆσμοι³ θεῶν ἔλεγον ἀπαλλαγῆσεσθαι τῶν ἐνεστῶτων κακῶν τὴν Ἑλλάδα, εἰάν Αἰακὸς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς εὐχὰς ποιήσῃται ποιησαμένου δὲ εὐχὰς Αἰακοῦ τῆς ἀκαρπίας ἢ Ἑλλὰς ἀπαλλάττεται.

¹ φώκην S, Bekker, Hercher, Wagner: φύκην ROR^a, Heyne, Westermann, Müller: φύλην A.

² πάντων ES: ἀπάντων A.

³ χρῆσμοι S: χρῆσμοι δὲ A.

daughter of Cychreus, king of Salamis (as to whom see below, iii. 12. 7). It is certain that the later life of Telamon was associated with Salamis, where, according to one account (Diodorus Siculus, iv. 72. 7), he married Glauce, daughter of Cychreus, king of Salamis, the very woman whom the other and perhaps later version of the legend represented as his mother. See Sir R. C. Jebb, *Sophocles, Ajax* (Cambridge, 1896), Introduction, § 4, pp. xvii sq.

¹ Compare Hesiod, *Theog.* 1003 sqq.; Pindar, *Nem.* v. 12 (21) sq.; Scholiast on Euripides, *Andromache*, 687, who mentions the transformation of the sea-nymph into a seal. The children of Phocus settled in Phocis and gave their name to the country. See Pausanias, ii. 29. 2, x. 1. 1, x. 30. 4. Thus we have an instance of a Greek people, the Phocians, who traced their name and their lineage to an animal ancestress. But it would be rash to infer that the seal was the totem of the Phocians. There is no evidence that they regarded the seal with any superstitious respect, though the people of Phocaea, in Asia Minor, who were Phocians by descent (Pausanias, vii. 3. 10), put the figure of a seal on their earliest coins. But this was probably no more than a punning badge, like the rose of Rhodes and the wild celery

wards Aeacus cohabited with Psamathe, daughter of Nereus, who turned herself into a seal to avoid his embraces, and he begot a son Phocus.¹

Now Aeacus was the most pious of men. Therefore, when Greece suffered from infertility on account of Pelops, because in a war with Stymphalus, king of the Arcadians, being unable to conquer Arcadia, he slew the king under a pretence of friendship, and scattered his mangled limbs, oracles of the gods declared that Greece would be rid of its present calamities if Aeacus would offer prayers on its behalf. So Aeacus did offer prayers, and Greece was delivered from the dearth.² Even after his death

(*selinon*) of Selinus. See George Macdonald, *Coin Types* (Glasgow, 1905), pp. 17, 41, 50.

² Compare Isocrates, *Evagoras*, 14 sq. ; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 61. 1 sq. ; Pausanias, ii. 29. 7 sq. ; Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* vi. 3. 28, p. 753 ; Scholiast on Pindar, *Nem.* v. 9 (17). Tradition ran that a prolonged drought had withered up the fruits of the earth all over Greece, and that Aeacus, as the son of the sky-god Zeus, was deemed the person most naturally fitted to obtain from his heavenly father the rain so urgently needed by the parched earth and the dying corn. So the Greeks sent envoys to him to request that he would intercede with Zeus to save the crops and the people. "Complying with their petition, Aeacus ascended the Hellenic mountain and stretching out pure hands to heaven he called on the common god, and prayed him to take pity on afflicted Greece. And even while he prayed a loud clap of thunder pealed, and all the surrounding sky was overcast, and furious and continuous showers of rain burst out and flooded the whole land. Thus was exuberant fertility procured for the fruits of the earth by the prayers of Aeacus" (Clement of Alexandria, *l.c.*). In gratitude for this timely answer to his prayers Aeacus is said to have built a sanctuary of Zeus on Mount Panhellenius in Aegina (Pausanias, ii. 30. 4). No place could well be more appropriate for a temple of the rain-god ; for the sharp peak of Mount Panhellenius, the highest mountain of Aegina, is a conspicuous landmark viewed from

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τιμᾶται δὲ καὶ παρὰ Πλούτωνι τελευτήσας Αἰακός, καὶ τὰς κλεῖς τοῦ Ἄιδου φυλάττει.

Διαφέροντος δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι Φώκου, τοὺς ἀδελφούς¹ Πηλέα καὶ Τελαμῶνα ἐπιβουλεύσαι· καὶ λαχὼν κλήρῳ Τελαμῶν συγγυμναζόμενον αὐτὸν βαλὼν δίσκῳ κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς κτείνει, καὶ κομίσας μετὰ Πηλέως κρύπτει κατὰ τινος ὕλης. φωραθέντος δὲ τοῦ φόνου φυγάδες ἀπὸ Αἰγίνης ὑπὸ
7 Αἰακοῦ ἐλαύνονται. καὶ Τελαμῶν μὲν εἰς Σαλα-

¹ ἀδελφούς <φασιν> Eberhard.

all the neighbouring coasts of the gulf, and in antiquity a cloud settling on the mountain was regarded as a sign of rain (Theophrastus, *De signis tempestat.* i. 24). According to Apollodorus, the cause of the dearth had been a crime of Pelops, who had treacherously murdered Stymphalus, king of Arcadia, and scattered the fragments of his mangled body abroad. This crime seems not to be mentioned by any other ancient writer; but Diodorus Siculus in like manner traces the calamity to a treacherous murder. He says (iv. 61. 1) that to punish the Athenians for the assassination of his son Androgeus, the Cretan king Minos prayed to Zeus that Athens might be afflicted with drought and famine, and that these evils soon spread over Attica and Greece. Similarly Alcmaeon's matricide was believed to have entailed a failure of the crops. See above, iii. 7. 5 with the note.

¹ In some late Greek verses, inscribed on the tomb of a religious sceptic at Rome, Aeacus is spoken of as the warder or key-holder (κλειδοῦχος) of the infernal regions; but in the same breath the poet assures us that these regions, with all their inmates, were mere fables, and that of the dead there remained no more than the bones and ashes. See *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, vol. iii. p. 933, No. 6298; G. Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca ex lapidibus collecta* (Berlin, 1878), pp. 262 sq., No. 646. Elsewhere Pluto himself was represented in art holding in his hand the key of Hades. See Pausanias, v. 20. 3. According to Isocrates (*Evagoras*, 15), Aeacus enjoyed the greatest honours after death, sitting

Aeacus is honoured in the abode of Pluto, and keeps the keys of Hades.¹

As Phocus excelled in athletic sports, his brothers Peleus and Telamon plotted against him, and the lot falling on Telamon, he killed his brother in a match by throwing a quoit at his head, and with the help of Peleus carried the body and hid it in a wood. But the murder being detected, the two were driven fugitives from Aegina by Aeacus.² And Telamon

as assessor with Pluto and Proserpine. Plato represents him as judging the dead along with Minos, Rhadamanthys, and Triptolemus (*Apology*, 32, p. 41 A), it being his special duty to try the souls of those who came from Europe, while his colleague Rhadamanthys dealt with those that came from Asia (*Gorgias*, 79, p. 524 A); apparently no provision was made for African ghosts. Lucian depicts Aeacus playing a less dignified part in the lower world as a sort of ticket-collector or customhouse officer (*τελώνης*), whose business it was to examine the ghostly passengers on landing from the ferry-boat, count them, and see that they had paid the fare. See Lucian, *Cataplus*, 4, *Charon*, 2. Elsewhere he speaks of Aeacus as keeping the gate of Hades (*Dialog. Mort.* xx. 1).

² As to the murder of Phocus and the exile of Peleus and Telamon, see Diodorus Siculus, iv. 72. 6 *sq.* (who represents the death as accidental); Pausanias, ii. 29. 9 *sq.*; Scholia on Pindar, *Nem.* v. 14 (25); Scholia on Euripides, *Andromache*, 687 (quoting verses from the *Alcmaeonis*); Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xvi. 14; Antoninus Liberalis, *Transform.* 38; Plutarch, *Parallela*, 25; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 175 (vol. i. pp. 444, 447, ed. Müller); Hyginus, *Fab.* 14; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xi. 266 *sqq.*; Lactantius Placidus on Statius, *Theb.* ii. 113, vii. 344, xi. 281. Tradition differed on several points as to the murder. According to Apollodorus and Plutarch the murderer was Telamon; but according to what seems to have been the more generally accepted view he was Peleus. (So Diodorus, Pausanias, the Scholiast on Homer, one of the Scholiasts on Euripides, *l.c.*, Ovid, and in one passage Lactantius Placidus). If Pherecydes was right in denying any relationship between Telamon and Peleus,

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μίνα παραγίνεται πρὸς Κυχρέα τὸν <Ποσειδῶνος καὶ>¹ Σαλαμῖνος τῆς Ἄσωποῦ. κτείνας δὲ ὄφιν οὗτος ἀδικοῦντα τὴν νῆσον αὐτῆς² ἐβασίλευε, καὶ τελευτῶν ἅπαις τὴν βασιλείαν παραδίδωσι Τελα-

¹ Ποσειδῶνος καὶ inserted by Aegius.

² αὐτῆς Heyne (conjecture): ἧς αὐτὸς Heyne (in text), Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher, Wagner, apparently following the MSS. Compare Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 175 (vol. i. p. 444, ed. Müller), Κυχρεὺς γὰρ ὁ Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Σαλαμῖνος τῆς Ἄσωποῦ κτείνας ὄφιν τὴν νῆσον λυμαινόμενον ἐβασίλευσεν αὐτῆς, ἅπαις δὲ τελευτῶν τὴν βασιλείαν Τελαμῶνι κατέλειψε φυγόντι πρὸς αὐτόν. In writing thus, Tzetzes probably had the present passage of Apollodorus before him. Accordingly in Apollodorus we should perhaps read ἐβασίλευσε for ἐβασίλευε.

and in representing Telamon as a Salaminian rather than an Aeginetan (see above), it becomes probable that in the original tradition Peleus, not Telamon, was described as the murderer of Phocus. Another version of the story was that both brothers had a hand in the murder, Telamon having banged him on the head with a quoit, while Peleus finished him off with the stroke of an axe in the middle of his back. This was the account given by the anonymous author of the old epic *Alcmaeonis*; and the same division of labour between the brothers was recognized by the Scholiast on Pindar and Tzetzes, though according to them the quoit was handled by Peleus and the cold steel by Telamon. Other writers (Antoninus Liberalis and Hyginus) lay the murder at the door of both brothers without parcelling the guilt out exactly between them. There seems to be a general agreement that the crime was committed, or the accident happened, in the course of a match at quoits; but Dorotheus (quoted by Plutarch, *l.c.*) alleged that the murder was perpetrated by Telamon at a boar hunt, and this view seems to have been accepted by Lactantius Placidus in one place (on Statius, *Theb.* ii. 113), though in other places (on vii. 344 and xi. 281) he speaks as if the brothers were equally guilty. But perhaps this version of the story originated in a confusion of the murder of Phocus with the subsequent homicide of Eurytion,

betook himself to Salamis, to the court of Cychreus, son of Poseidon and Salamis, daughter of Asopus. This Cychreus became king of Salamis through killing a snake which ravaged the island, and dying childless he bequeathed the kingdom to Telamon.¹ And

which is said to have taken place at a boar-hunt, whether the hunting of the Calydonian boar or another. See below, iii. 13. 2 with the note. According to Pausanias the exiled Telamon afterwards returned and stood his trial, pleading his cause from the deck of a ship, because his father would not suffer him to set foot in the island. But being judged guilty by his stern sire he sailed away, to return to his native land no more. It may have been this verdict, delivered against his own son, which raised the reputation of Aeacus for rigid justice to the highest pitch, and won for him a place on the bench beside Minos and Rhadamanthys in the world of shades.

¹ Compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 72. 4; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 110, 175, 451. In the second of these passages (on v. 175, vol. i. p. 444, ed. Müller) Tzetzes agrees closely with Apollodorus and probably follows him. A somewhat different version of the legend was told by Hesiod. According to him the snake was reared by Cychreus, but expelled from Salamis by Eurylochus because of the ravages it committed in the island; and after its expulsion it was received at Eleusis by Demeter, who made it one of her attendants. See Strabo, ix. 1. 9, p. 394. Others said that the snake was not a real snake, but a bad man nicknamed Snake on account of his cruelty, who was banished by Eurylochus and took refuge at Eleusis, where he was appointed to a minor office in the sanctuary of Demeter. See Stephanus Byzantius, s.v. Κυχρείος πάγος; Eustathius, *Commentary on Dionysius Periegetes*, 507 (*Geographi Graeci Minores*, ed. C. Müller, vol. ii. p. 314). Cychreus was regarded as one of the guardian heroes of Salamis, where he was buried with his face to the west. Sacrifices were regularly offered at his grave, and when Solon desired to establish the claim of Athens to the possession of the island, he sailed across by night and sacrificed to the dead man at his grave. See Plutarch, *Solon*, 9. Cychreus was worshipped also at Athens

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μῶνι. ὁ δὲ γαμῆί Περίβοιαν¹ τὴν Ἀλκάθου² τοῦ Πέλοπος· καὶ ποιησαμένου εὐχὰς Ἡρακλέους ἵα αὐτῷ παῖς ἄρρην γένηται, φανέντος δὲ μετὰ τὰς εὐχὰς αἰετοῦ, τὸν γεννηθέντα ἐκάλεσεν Αἴαντα. καὶ στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ Τροίαν σὺν Ἡρακλεῖ λαμβάνει γέρας Ἡσιόνην τὴν Λαομέδοντος θυγατέρα, ἐξ ἧς αὐτῷ γίνεται Τεῦκρος.

XIII. Πηλεὺς δὲ εἰς Φθίαν φυγὼν πρὸς Εὐρυτίωνα³ τὸν Ἀκτορος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καθαίρεται, καὶ λαμβάνει παρ' αὐτοῦ τὴν θυγατέρα Ἀντιγόνην καὶ τῆς χώρας τὴν τρίτην μοῖραν. καὶ γίνεται θυγάτηρ

¹ Περίβοιαν A : Ἡερίβοια, Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xvi. 14 : Ἐρίβοια Pindar, *Isthm.* vi. 45 (65), Diodorus Siculus, iv. 72. 7.

² Ἀλκάθου Aegius : ἀλκάνδρου A.

³ Εὐρυτίωνα Aegius : Εὐρυτον A, Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 175 (vol. i. p. 445, ed. Müller). As to Εὐρυτίων, see a few lines below.

(Plutarch, *Theseus*, 10). It is said that at the battle of Salamis a serpent appeared among the Greek ships, and God announced to the Athenians that this serpent was the hero Cychreus (Pausanias i. 36. 1). The story may preserve a reminiscence of the belief that kings and heroes regularly turn into serpents after death. The same belief possibly explains the association of Erichthonius or Erechtheus and Cecrops with serpents at Athens. See *The Dying God*, pp. 86 sq. On account of this legendary serpent Lycophron called Salamis the Dragon Isle (*Cassandra*, 110).

¹ Compare Xenophon, *Cyneget.* i. 9 ; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xvi. 14. According to Diodorus Siculus (iv. 72. 7), Telamon first married Glauce, daughter of Cychreus, king of Salamis, and on her death he wedded the Athenian Eriboea, daughter of Alcathous, by whom he had Ajax. Pindar also mentions Eriboea as the wife of Telamon : see *Isthm.* vi. 45 (65).

² As to the prayer of Hercules and the appearance of the eagle in answer to the prayer, see Pindar, *Isthm.* vi. 35 (51) sqq. ; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 455-461. Pindar, followed by Apollodorus and Tzetzes, derived the name Ajax

Telamon married Periboea, daughter of Alcathus,¹ son of Pelops, and called his son Ajax, because when Hercules had prayed that he might have a male child, an eagle appeared after the prayer.² And having gone with Hercules on his expedition against Troy, he received as a prize Hesione, daughter of Laomedon, by whom he had a son Teucer.³

XIII. Peleus fled to Phthia to the court of Eurytion, son of Actor, and was purified by him, and he received from him his daughter Antigone and the third part of the country.⁴ And a daughter Polydora was born

from *aietos* "an eagle." A story ran that Hercules wrapt the infant Ajax in the lion's skin which he himself wore, and that Ajax was thus made invulnerable except in the armpit, where the quiver had hung, or, according to others, at the neck. Hence, in describing the suicide of the hero, Aeschylus told how, when he tried to run himself through the body, the sword doubled back in the shape of a bow, till some spirit showed the desperate man the fatal point to which to apply the trenchant blade. See Scholiast on Sophocles, *Ajax*, 833; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 455-461; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xxiii. 821. Plato probably had this striking passage of the tragedy in his mind when he made Alcibiades speak of Socrates as more proof against vice than Ajax against steel (*Sympos.* 35, p. 219 E).

³ See above, ii. 6. 4. As Hesione, the mother of Teucer, was not the lawful wife of Telamon, Homer speaks of Teucer as a bastard (*Il.* viii. 283 *sq.*, with the Scholiast on v. 284). According to another account, it was not Telamon but his brother Peleus who went with Hercules to the siege of Troy. The poets were not consistent on this point. Thus, while in two passages (*Nem.* iv. 25 (40) *sq.*; *Isthm.* vi. 27 (39) *sqq.*) Pindar assigns to Telamon the glory of the adventure, in another he transfers it to Peleus (quoted by the Scholiast on Euripides, *Andromache*, 796; Pindar, p. 604 ed. Sandys). Euripides was equally inconsistent. See his *Troades* 804 *sqq.* (Telamon), contrasted with his *Andromache*, 796 *sqq.* (Peleus).

⁴ Compare Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 175 (vol. i. pp. 444 *sq.*, 447, ed. Müller); Antoninus Liberalis, *Transform.*

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αὐτῷ Πολυδώρα, ἣν ἔγημε Βῶρος ὁ Περιήρους.
 2 ἐντεῦθεν ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν τοῦ Καλυδωνίου κάπρου
 μετ' Εὐρυτίωνος ἐλθὼν, προέμενος ἐπὶ τὸν σὺν
 ἀκόντιον Εὐρυτίωνος τυγχάνει καὶ κτείνει τοῦτον
 ἄκων. πάλιν οὖν ἐκ Φθίας φυγὼν εἰς Ἴωλκὸν
 πρὸς Ἄκαστον ἀφικνεῖται καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καθαι-
 3 ρεται. ἀγωνίζεται δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ Πελία¹ ἀγῶνα,
 πρὸς Ἀταλάντην διαπαλαίσας. καὶ Ἀστυδάμεια
 ἡ Ἀκάστου γυνή, Πηλέως ἐρασθεῖσα, περὶ συνου-
 σίας προσέπεμψεν αὐτῷ λόγους. μὴ δυναμένη

¹ Πελία Aegius : μελία A.

38 ; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 72. 6 ; Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 1063 ; Eustathius on Homer, *Il.* ii. 684, p. 321. There are some discrepancies in these accounts. According to Tzetzes and the Scholiast on Aristophanes, the man who purified Peleus for the murder of Phocus was Eurytus (not Eurytion), son of Actor. According to Antoninus Liberalis, he was Eurytion, son of Irus. According to Diodorus, he was Actor, king of the country, who died childless and left the kingdom to Peleus. Eustathius agrees that the host of Peleus was Actor, but says that he had a daughter Polymela, whom he bestowed in marriage on Peleus along with the kingdom. From Tzetzes (*l.c.*, pp. 444 *sq.*) we learn that the purification of Peleus by Eurytus (Eurytion) was recorded by Pherecydes, whom Apollodorus may here be following.

¹ See Homer, *Il.* xvi. 173-178, who says that Polydora, daughter of Peleus, had a son Menesthus by the river Sperchius, though the child was nominally fathered on her human husband Borus, son of Perieres. Compare Heliodorus, *Aethiop.* ii. 34. Hesiod also recognized Polydora as the daughter of Peleus (Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xvi. 175). Homer does not mention the mother of Polydora, but according to Pherecydes she was Antigone, daughter of Eurytion (Scholiast on Homer, *l.c.*). Hence it is probable that here, as in so many places, Apollodorus followed Pherecydes. According to Staphylus, in the third book of his work on Thessaly, the wife of Peleus and mother

to him, who was wedded by Borus, son of Perieres.¹ Thence he went with Eurytion to hunt the Calydonian boar, but in throwing a dart at the hog he involuntarily struck and killed Eurytion. Therefore flying again from Phthia he betook him to Acastus at Iolcus and was purified by him.² And at the games celebrated in honour of Pelias he contended in wrestling with Atalanta.³ And Astydamia, wife of Acastus, fell in love with Peleus, and sent him a proposal for a meeting;⁴ and when she could not prevail on him

of Polydora was Eurydice, daughter of Actor (Scholiast on Homer, *l.c.*). A little later on (§ 4 of this chapter) Apollodorus says that Peleus himself married Polydora, daughter of Perieres, and that she had a son Menesthius by the river Sperchius, though the child was nominally fathered on Peleus. In this latter passage Apollodorus seems to have fallen into confusion in describing Polydora as the wife of Peleus, though in the present passage he had correctly described her as his daughter. Compare Höfer, in W. H. Roscher, *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, iii. 2641 *sq.*

¹ As to this involuntary homicide committed by Peleus and his purification by Acastus, see above, i. 8. 2; Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 1063; Antoninus Liberalis, *Transform.* 38; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 175 (vol. i. p. 447, ed. Müller). The Scholiast on Aristophanes calls the slain man Eurytus, not Eurytion. Antoninus Liberalis and Tzetzes describe him as Eurytion, son of Irus, not of Actor. They do not mention the hunt of the Calydonian boar in particular, but speak of a boar-hunt or a hunt in general.

² See above, iii. 9. 2.

³ The following romantic story of the wicked wife, the virtuous hero, and his miraculous rescue from the perils of the forest, in which his treacherous host left him sleeping alone and unarmed, is briefly alluded to by Pindar, *Nem.* iv. 54 (88) *sqq.*, v. 25 (46) *sqq.* It is told more explicitly by the Scholiast on Pindar, *Nem.* iv. 54 (88) and 59 (95); the Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 1063; and the Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 224. But the fullest and clearest version of the tale is given by Apollodorus in the present

δὲ πείσαι, πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ πέμψασα ἔφη μέλλειν Πηλέα γαμῆν Στερόπην τὴν Ἀκάστου θυγατέρα· καὶ τοῦτο ἐκείνη ἀκούσασα ἀγχόνην ἀνάπτει. Πηλέως δὲ πρὸς Ἀκάστου καταφεύδεται, λέγουσα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ περὶ συνουσίας πεπειράσθαι. Ἀκάστος¹ <δὲ>² ἀκούσας κτεῖναι μὲν ὄν ἐκάθηρεν οὐκ ἠβουλήθη, ἄγει δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ θήραν³ εἰς τὸ Πήλιον. ἔνθα ἀμίλλης περὶ θήρας γενομένης, Πηλεὺς μὲν ὢν ἐχειροῦτο θηρίων τὰς γλώσσας τούτων ἐκτεμῶν⁴ εἰς πήραν ἐτίθει, οἱ δὲ μετὰ Ἀκάστου ταῦτα χειρούμενοι κατεγέλων ὡς μηδὲν τεθηρακότες⁵ τοῦ Πηλέως. ὁ δὲ τὰς γλώσσας παρασχόμενος ὅσας εἶχεν ἐκείνοις, τοσαῦτα ἔφη τεθηρευκένας. ἀποκοιμηθέντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ Πηλίῳ, ἀπολιπὼν Ἀκάστος καὶ τὴν μάχαιραν ἐν τῇ τῶν βοῶν κόπρῳ κρύψας ἐπανέρχεται. ὁ δὲ ἔξαναστὰς καὶ ζητῶν τὴν μάχαιραν, ὑπὸ τῶν Κενταύρων καταληφθεὶς ἔμελλεν ἀπόλλυσθαι, σώζεται δὲ ὑπὸ Χείρωνος· οὗτος καὶ τὴν μάχαιραν αὐτοῦ ἐκζητήσας δίδωσι.

¹ ἄ Ἀκάστος Emperius, Westermann, Bekker.

² δὲ inserted by Hercher.

³ θήραν R: θήρας A.

⁴ ἐκτεμῶν R^a, Hercher: ἐκτέμωνων Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Wagner, apparently following most MSS.

⁵ τεθηρακότες RR^aB, Westermann, Wagner: τεθηρευκότες C, Heyne, Müller, Bekker.

passage. Pindar calls the wicked wife Hippolyta or Hippolyta Cretheis, that is, Hippolyta daughter of Cretheus. His Scholiast calls her Cretheis; the Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius calls her Cretheis or Hippolyte; and the Scholiast on Aristophanes calls her first Hippolyte and afterwards Astydamia. The sword of Peleus, which his faithless host hid in the cows' dung while the hero lay sleeping in the wood, was a magic sword wrought by the divine smith Hephaestus and bestowed on Peleus by the pitying gods as a

she sent word to his wife that Peleus was about to marry Sterope, daughter of Acastus; on hearing which the wife of Peleus strung herself up. And the wife of Acastus falsely accused Peleus to her husband, alleging that he had attempted her virtue. On hearing that, Acastus would not kill the man whom he had purified, but took him to hunt on Pelion. There a contest taking place in regard to the hunt, Peleus cut out and put in his pouch the tongues of the animals that fell to him, while the party of Acastus bagged his game and derided him as if he had taken nothing. But he produced them the tongues, and said that he had taken just as many animals as he had tongues.¹ When he had fallen asleep on Pelion, Acastus deserted him, and hiding his sword in the cows' dung, returned. On arising and looking for his sword, Peleus was caught by the centaurs and would have perished, if he had not been saved by Chiron, who also restored him his sword, which he had sought and found.

reward for his chastity. With this wondrous brand the chaste hero, like a mediaeval knight, was everywhere victorious in the fight and successful in the chase. Compare Zenobius, *Cent.* v. 20. The episode of the hiding of the sword was told by Hesiod, some of whose verses on the subject are quoted by the Scholiast on Pindar, *Nem.* iv. 59 (95). The whole story of the adventures of Peleus in the house of Acastus and in the forest reads like a fairy tale, and we can hardly doubt that it contains elements of genuine folk-lore. These are well brought out by W. Mannhardt in his study of the story. See his *Antike Wald- und Feldkulte* (Berlin, 1877), pp. 49 *sqq.*

¹ In fairy tales the hero often cuts out the tongues of a seven-headed dragon or other fearsome beast, and produces them as evidence of his prowess. See W. Mannhardt, *Antike Wald- und Feldkulte*, pp. 53 *sqq.*; *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, ii. 269.

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4 Γαμεί δὲ ὁ Πηλεὺς Πολυδώραν τὴν Περιήρους,
 5 ἐξ ἧς αὐτῷ γίνεται Μενέσθιος ἐπὶ κλην, ὁ Σπερ-
 χειοῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ. αὐτῆς δὲ γαμεί Θέτιν τὴν
 Ἰηρέως, περὶ ἧς τοῦ γάμου Ζεὺς καὶ Ποσειδῶν
 ἤρισαν, Θέμιδος¹ δὲ θεσπιωδούσης ἔσεσθαι τὸν
 ἐκ ταύτης γεννηθέντα κρείττονα τοῦ πατρὸς ἀπέ-
 σχοντο. ἐνιοὶ δὲ φασί, Διὸς ὀρμώντος ἐπὶ τὴν
 ταύτης συνουσίαν, εἰρηκέναι Προμηθεῖα τὸν ἐκ
 ταύτης αὐτῷ γεννηθέντα οὐρανοῦ δυναστεύσειν.²
 τινὲς δὲ λέγουσι Θέτιν μὴ βουλευθῆναι Διὶ συνελ-
 θεῖν ὡς³ ὑπὸ Ἡρας τραφεῖσαν, Δία δὲ ὀργισθέντα
 θνητῷ θέλειν αὐτὴν⁴ συνοικίσει.⁵ Χείρωνος οὖν
 ὑποθεμένου Πηλεῖ συλλαβεῖν καὶ κατασχεῖν⁶
 αὐτὴν μεταμορφουμένην, ἐπιτηρήσας συναρπάξει,
 γινομένην δὲ ὅτε μὲν πῦρ ὅτε δὲ ὕδωρ ὅτε δὲ θηρίον
 οὐ πρότερον ἀνῆκε πρὶν ἢ τὴν ἀρχαίαν μορφήν
 εἶδεν ἀπολαβοῦσαν. γαμεί δὲ ἐν τῷ Πηλίῳ, κάκει

¹ Θέμιδος ER: Θέτιδος A (also as a first-hand correction in E). ² δυναστεύσειν Gale: δυναστεύειν A.

³ ὡς E, but apparently wanting in A.

⁴ αὐτὴν E: αὐτῆ A.

⁵ συνοικίσει Staverenus: συνοικίσειν E: συνοικίσειν A.

⁶ κατασχεῖν ER: κατέχειν C.

¹ See above, note on iii. 13. 1.

² Compare Homer, *Il.* xviii. 83 *sqq.*, 432 *sqq.*; Pindar, *Nem.* iv. 61 (100) *sqq.*; Euripides, *Iphigenia in Aul.* 701 *sqq.*, 1036 *sqq.*; Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 805 *sqq.*; Catullus, *lxiv.*; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 65, 142 *sq.* (First Vatican Mythographer, 207, 208; Second Vatican Mythographer, 205).

³ See Pindar, *Isthm.* viii. 27 (58) *sqq.*; Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 790 *sqq.*; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xi. 217 *sqq.*, who attributes the prophecy to Proteus. The present passage of Apollodorus is quoted, with the author's name, by Tzetzes, (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 178).

Peleus married Polydora, daughter of Perieres, by whom he had a putative son Menesthius, though in fact Menesthius was the son of the river Sperchius.¹ Afterwards he married Thetis, daughter of Nereus,² for whose hand Zeus and Poseidon had been rivals; but when Themis prophesied that the son born of Thetis would be mightier than his father, they withdrew.³ But some say that when Zeus was bent on gratifying his passion for her, Prometheus declared that the son borne to him by her would be lord of heaven;⁴ and others affirm that Thetis would not consort with Zeus because she had been brought up by Hera, and that Zeus in anger would marry her to a mortal.⁵ Chiron, therefore, having advised Peleus to seize her and hold her fast in spite of her shape-shifting, he watched his chance and carried her off, and though she turned, now into fire, now into water, and now into a beast, he did not let her go till he saw that she had resumed her former shape.⁶ And he married her on Pelion,

⁴ Compare Aeschylus, *Prometheus*, 908 *sqq.*; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* i. 519; Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, v. 338 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 54; *id.* *Astronom.* ii. 15. According to Hyginus, Zeus released Prometheus from his fetters in gratitude for the warning which the sage had given him not to wed Thetis.

⁵ Compare Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 790-798, a passage which Apollodorus seems here to have had in mind.

⁶ As to the various shapes into which the reluctant Thetis turned herself in order to evade the grasp of her mortal lover, see Pindar, *Nem.* iv. 62 (101) *sqq.*; Scholiast on Pindar, *Nem.* iii. 35 (60), iv. 62 (101); Pausanias, v. 18. 5; Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, iii. 618-624; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 175, 178 (vol. i. pp. 446, 457, ed. Müller); Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 582; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xi. 235 *sqq.* She is said to have changed into fire, water, wind, a tree, a bird, a tiger, a lion, a serpent, and a

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θεοὶ τὸν γάμον εὐωχούμενοι καθύμνησαν. καὶ δίδωσι Χείρων Πηλεΐ δόρυ μείλιον, Ποσειδῶν δὲ ἵππους Βαλίον καὶ Ξάνθον ἀθάνατοι δὲ ἦσαν οὗτοι.

- 6 Ὡς δὲ ἐγέννησε Θέτις ἐκ Πηλέως βρέφος, ἀθάνατον θέλουσα ποιῆσαι τοῦτο, κρύφα Πηλέως εἰς τὸ πῦρ ἐγκρύβουσα¹ τῆς νυκτὸς ἔφθειρεν ὃ ἦν αὐτῷ θνητὸν πατρῶν, μεθ' ἡμέραν δὲ ἔχριεν ἀμβροσίᾳ. Πηλεὺς δὲ ἐπιτηρήσας καὶ σπαίρουκα

¹ ἐγκρύβουσα SA : ἐγκρύπτουσα E.

cuttle-fish. It was when she had assumed the form of a cuttle-fish (*sepia*) that Peleus at last succeeded in seizing her and holding her fast (Tzetzes, *ll. cc.*). With the transformations which Thetis underwent in order to escape from the arms of her lover we may compare the transformations which her father Nereus underwent in order to escape from Hercules (above, ii. 5. 11), the transformations which the river-god Achelous underwent in his tussle with the same doughty hero (above, ii. 7. 5, note), and the transformations which the sea-god Proteus underwent in order to give the slip to Menelaus (Homer, *Od.* iv. 354 *sqq.*). All these stories were appropriately told of water-spirits, their mutability reflecting as it were the instability of the fickle, inconstant element of which they were born. The place where Peleus caught and mastered his sea-bride was believed to be the south-eastern headland of Thessaly, which hence bore the name of Sepia or the Cuttle-fish. The whole coast of the Cape was sacred to Thetis and the other Nereids; and after their fleet had been wrecked on the headland, the Persians sacrificed to Thetis on the spot (Herodotus, vii. 191). See further, Appendix, "The Marriage of Peleus and Thetis."

¹ The Muses sang at the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, according to Pindar (*Pyth.* iii. 89 (159) *sqq.*). Catullus describes the Fates singing on the same occasion, and he has recorded their magic song (lxiv. 305 *sqq.*).

² Compare Homer, *Il.* xvi. 140-144, with the Scholiast on v. 140, according to whom Chiron felled the ash-tree for the

and there the gods celebrated the marriage with feast and song.¹ And Chiron gave Peleus an ashen spear,² and Poseidon gave him horses, Balius and Xanthus, and these were immortal.³

When Thetis had got a babe by Peleus, she wished to make it immortal, and unknown to Peleus she used to hide it in the fire by night in order to destroy the mortal element which the child inherited from its father, but by day she anointed him with ambrosia.⁴ But Peleus watched her, and, seeing the child

shaft, while Athena polished it, and Hephaestus wrought (the blade). For this account the Scholiast refers to the author of the epic *Cypria*.

³ Compare Homer, *Il.* xvi. 148 *sqq.*

⁴ This account of how Thetis attempted to render Achilles immortal, and how the attempt was frustrated by Peleus, is borrowed from Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 869 *sqq.* Compare Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 178 (vol. i. p. 458, ed. Müller). According to another legend, Thetis bore seven sons, of whom Achilles was the seventh; she destroyed the first six by throwing them into the fire or into a kettle of boiling water to see whether they were mortal or to make them immortal by consuming the merely mortal portion of their frame; and the seventh son, Achilles, would have perished in like manner, if his father Peleus had not snatched him from the fire at the moment when as yet only his ankle-bone was burnt. To supply this missing portion of his body, Peleus dug up the skeleton of the giant Damysus, the fleetest of all the giants, and, extracting from it the ankle-bone, fitted it neatly into the ankle of his little son Achilles, applying drugs which caused the new, or rather old, bone to coalesce perfectly with the rest. See Ptolemy Hephaestionis, vi. in Westernmann's *Mythographi Graeci*, p. 195; Lycophron, *Cassandra*, 178 *sq.*, with scholium of Tzetzes on v. 178 (vol. i. pp. 455 *sq.*); Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xvi. 37; Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 1068, p. 443, ed. Fr. Dübner; Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 816. A similar story is told of Demeter and the infant son of Celeus. See above, i. 5. 1, with the note.

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τὸν παῖδα ἰδὼν ἐπὶ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐβόησε· καὶ Θέτις κωλυθεῖσα τὴν προαίρεσιν τελειῶσαι, νήπιον τὸν παῖδα ἀπολιποῦσα πρὸς Νηρηίδας ᾤχετο. κομίζει δὲ τὸν παῖδα πρὸς Χείρωνα Πηλεὺς. ὁ δὲ λαβὼν αὐτὸν ἔτρεφε σπλάγχχοις λεόντων καὶ συῶν ἀγρίων καὶ ἄρκτων μυελοῖς, καὶ ὠνόμασεν Ἀχιλλέα (πρότερον δὲ¹ ἦν ὄνομα αὐτῷ Λιγύρων) ὅτι τὰ χεῖλη μαστοῖς οὐ προσήνεγκε.

7 Πηλεὺς δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα σὺν Ἰάσονι καὶ Διοσ-

¹ δὲ E: μὲν A.

¹ Compare Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 875 *sqq.*, who says that when Thetis was interrupted by Peleus in her effort to make Achilles immortal, she threw the infant screaming on the floor, and rushing out of the house plunged angrily into the sea, and never returned again. In the *Iliad* Homer represents Thetis dwelling with her old father Nereus and the sea-nymphs in the depths of the sea (*Il.* i. 357 *sqq.*, xviii. 35 *sqq.*, xxiv. 83 *sqq.*), while her forlorn husband dragged out a miserable and solitary old age in the halls (*Il.* xviii. 434 *sq.*). Thus the poet would seem to have been acquainted with the story of the quarrel and parting of the husband and wife, though he nowhere alludes to it or to the painful misunderstanding which led to their separation. In this, as in many other places, Homer passes over in silence features of popular tradition which he either rejected as incredible or deemed below the dignity of the epic. Yet if we are right in classing the story of Peleus and Thetis with the similar tales of the marriage of a man to a mermaid or other marine creature, the narrative probably always ended in the usual sad way by telling how, after living happily together for a time, the two at last quarrelled and parted for ever.

² Compare Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xvi. 37. According to Statius (*Achill.* ii. 382 *sqq.*), Chiron fed the youthful Achilles not on ordinary victuals, but on the flesh and marrows of lions. Philostratus says that his nourishment consisted of honeycombs and the marrows of fawns (*Heroica*, xx. 2), while the author of the *Etymologicum Magnum* (s.v. Ἀχιλλεύς, p. 181)

writhing on the fire, he cried out; and Thetis, thus prevented from accomplishing her purpose, forsook her infant son and departed to the Nereids.¹ Peleus brought the child to Chiron, who received him and fed him on the inwards of lions and wild swine and the marrows of bears,² and named him Achilles, because he had not put his lips to the breast;³ but before that time his name was Ligyron.

After that Peleus, with Jason and the Dioscuri,

says that he was nurtured on the marrows of deer. Compare Eustathius, on Homer, *Il.* i. 1, p. 14. The flesh and marrows of lions, wild boars, and bears were no doubt supposed to impart to the youthful hero who partook of them the strength and courage of these animals, while the marrows of fawns or deer may have been thought to ensure the fleetness of foot for which he was afterwards so conspicuous. It is thus that on the principle of sympathetic magic many races seek to acquire the qualities of certain animals by eating their flesh or drinking their blood; whereas they abstain from eating the flesh of other animals lest they should, by partaking of it, be infected with the undesirable qualities which these creatures are believed to possess. For example, in various African tribes men eat the hearts of lions in order to become lion-hearted, while others will not eat the flesh of tortoises lest they should become slow-footed like these animals. See *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, ii. 138 *sqq.* On the same principle the ancients believed that men could acquire the art of divination by eating the hearts of ravens, moles, or hawks, because these creatures were supposed to be endowed with prophetic powers. See Porphyry, *De abstinentia*, ii. 48; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxx. 19. So Medea is said to have restored the aged Aeson to youth by infusing into his veins a decoction of the liver of a long-lived stag and of the head of a crow that had survived nine generations of men. See Ovid, *Metamorph.* vii. 273 *sqq.*

³ Apollodorus absurdly derives the name Achilles from α (privative) and χείλη, "lips," so that the word would mean "not lips." Compare *Etymologicum Magnum*, p. 181, *s.v.* Ἀχιλλεύς; Eustathius, on Homer, *Il.* i. 1, p. 14.

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κούροις ἐπόρθησεν Ἴωλκόν, καὶ Ἀστυδάμειαν τὴν Ἀκάστου γυναῖκα φονεύει, καὶ διελὼν μεληδὼν διήγαγε δι' αὐτῆς τὸν στρατὸν εἰς τὴν πόλιν.

- 8 Ὡς δὲ ἐγένετο ἐνναετῆς Ἀχιλλεύς, Κάλχαντος λέγοντος οὐ δύνασθαι χωρὶς αὐτοῦ Τροίαν αἰρεθῆναι, Θέτις προειδυῖα ὅτι δεῖ στρατευόμενον αὐτὸν ἀπολέσθαι, κρύψασα ἐσθῆτι γυναικείᾳ ὡς παρθένον Λυκομήδει¹ παρέθετο. κἀκεῖ τρέφό-

¹ Λυκομήδει ES, apparently wanting in A.

¹ As to the wicked behaviour of Astydamia to Peleus, see above, iii. 13. 3. But it is probable that the cutting of the bad woman in pieces and marching between the pieces into the city was more than a simple act of vengeance; it may have been a solemn sacrifice or purification designed to ensure the safety of the army in the midst of a hostile people. In Boeotia a form of public purification was to cut a dog in two and pass between the pieces. See Plutarch, *Quaestiones Romanae*, 111. A similar rite was observed at purifying a Macedonian army. A dog was cut in two: the head and fore part were placed on the right, the hinder part, with the entrails, was placed on the left, and the troops in arms marched between the pieces. See Livy, xli. 6; Quintus Curtius, *De gestis Alexandri Magni*, x. 9. 28. For more examples of similar rites, and an attempt to explain them, see *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*, i. 391 sqq. To the instances there cited may be added another. When the Algerine pirates were at sea and in extreme danger, it was their custom to sacrifice a sheep, cut off its head, extract its entrails, and then throw them, together with the head, overboard; afterwards "with all the speed they can (without skinning) they cut the body in two parts by the middle, and then throw one part over the right side of the ship, and the other over the left, into the sea, as a kind of propitiation." See Joseph Pitts, *A true and faithful Account of the Religion and Manners of the Mohammedans* (Exon. 1704), p. 14. As to the capture of Iolcus by Peleus, see Pindar, *Nem.* iii. 34 (59), iv. 54 (89) sq. In the former of these passages Pindar says that Peleus captured Iolcus single-handed; but the

laid waste Iolcus; and he slaughtered Astydamia, wife of Acastus, and, having divided her limb from limb, he led the army through her into the city.¹

When Achilles was nine years old, Calchas declared that Troy could not be taken without him; so Thetis, foreseeing that it was fated he should perish if he went to the war, disguised him in female garb and entrusted him as a maiden to Lycomedes.² Bred at

Scholiast on the passage affirms, on the authority of Pherecydes, that he was accompanied by Jason and the Tyndarids (Castor and Pollux). As this statement tallies with the account given by Apollodorus, we may surmise that here, as often elsewhere, our author followed Pherecydes. According to the Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius (*Argon.* i. 224), Peleus on his return to Iolcus put to death Acastus himself as well as his wicked wife.

² As to Achilles disguised as a girl at the court of Lycomedes in Scyros, see Bion, ii. 5 *sqq.*; Philostratus Junior, *Imag.* 1; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* ix. 668; Hyginus, *Fab.* 96; Statius, *Achill.* i. 207 *sqq.* The subject was painted by Polygnotus in a chamber at the entrance to the acropolis of Athens (Pausanias i. 22. 6). Euripides wrote a play called *The Scyrians* on the same theme. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. Nauck², pp. 574 *sq.* Sophocles composed a tragedy under the same title, which has sometimes been thought to have dealt with the same subject, but more probably it was concerned with Neoptolemus in Scyros and the mission of Ulysses and Phoenix to carry him off to Troy. See *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. ii. pp. 191 *sqq.* The youthful Dionysus, like the youthful Achilles, is said to have been brought up as a maiden. See above, iii. 4. 3, with the note. One of the questions which the emperor Tiberius used solemnly to propound to the antiquaries of his court was: What was the name of Achilles when he lived as a girl among girls? See Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 70. The question was solemnly answered by learned men in various ways: some said that the stripling's female name was Cercysaera, others that it was Issa, and others that it was Pyrrha. See Ptolemy Hephaestionis, *Nov. Hist.* i. in Westermann's *Mythographi Graeci*, p. 183.

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μενος τῇ Λυκομήδους θυγατρὶ Δηιδαμείᾳ μίγνυται, καὶ γίνεται παῖς Πύρρος αὐτῷ ὁ κληθεὶς Νεοπτόλεμος αὐθις. Ὀδυσσεὺς δὲ μνησθέντα παρὰ Λυκομήδει¹ ζητῶν Ἀχιλλέα, σάλπιγγι χρυσάμενος εὖρε. καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον εἰς Τροίαν ἦλθε.

Συνείπετο δὲ αὐτῷ Φοῖνιξ ὁ Ἀμύντορος. οὗτος ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐτυφλώθη καταφουσαμένης φθορᾶν² Φθίας τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς παλλακῆς.³ Πηλεὺς δὲ αὐτὸν πρὸς Χείρωνα κομίσας, ὑπ' ἐκείνου θεραπευθέντα τὰς ὄψεις βασιλέα κατέστησε Δολόπων.

Συνείπετο δὲ καὶ Πάτροκλος ὁ Μενoitίου καὶ

¹ Λυκομήδει ES R (compend.): λυκομήδου A.

² φθορᾶν ES: φθορᾶ A.

³ παλλακῆς ES, Scholiast on Plato, *Laws*, xi. p. 931B: παλλακίδος A.

¹ The usual story was that the crafty Ulysses spread out baskets and women's gear, mingled with arms, before the disguised Achilles and his girlish companions in Scyros; and that while the real girls pounced eagerly on the feminine gauds, Achilles betrayed his sex by snatching at the arms. See Philostratus Junior, *Imagines*, i; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xix. 326; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xiii. 162 *sqq.* Apollodorus tells us that Achilles was detected by the sound of a trumpet. This is explained by Hyginus (*Fab.* 96), who says that while Achilles was surveying the mingled trumpery and weapons, Ulysses caused a bugle to sound and a clash of arms to be heard, whereupon Achilles, imagining that an enemy was at hand, tore off his maidenly attire and seized spear and shield. Statius gives a similar account of the detection (*Achill.* ii. 167 *sqq.*).

² See Homer, *Il.* ix. 437-484, with the Scholiast on v. 448. But Homer says nothing about the blinding of Phoenix by his angry father or his cure by Chiron; and according to Homer the accusation of having debauched his father's con-

his court, Achilles had an intrigue with Deidamia, daughter of Lycomedes, and a son Pyrrhus was born to him, who was afterwards called Neoptolemus. But the secret of Achilles was betrayed, and Ulysses, seeking him at the court of Lycomedes, discovered him by the blast of a trumpet.¹ And in that way Achilles went to Troy.

He was accompanied by Phoenix, son of Amyntor. This Phoenix had been blinded by his father on the strength of a false accusation of seduction preferred against him by his father's concubine Phthia. But Peleus brought him to Chiron, who restored his sight, and thereupon Peleus made him king of the Dolopians.²

Achilles was also accompanied by Patroclus, son of

cubine was not false but true, Phoenix having been instigated to the deed by his mother, who was jealous of the concubine. But variations from the Homeric narrative were introduced into the story by the tragedians who handled the theme (Scholiast on Homer, *l.c.*). Sophocles and Euripides both wrote tragedies on the subject under the same title of *Phoenix*; the tragedy of Euripides seems to have been famous. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck², pp. 286, 621 *sqq.*; *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. ii. pp. 320 *sqq.* The blinding of Phoenix by his father Amyntor is alluded to by a poet of the Greek anthology (*Anthol. Palat.* iii. 3). Both the poet and Apollodorus probably drew on Euripides, who from an allusion in Aristophanes (*Acharn.* 421) is known to have represented Phoenix as blind. Both the blinding and the healing of Phoenix are related by Tzetzes (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 421), who may have followed Apollodorus. According to the Scholiast on Homer (*l.c.*), the name of the concubine was Clytia; according to Tzetzes (*l.c.*), it was Clytia or Phthia. Apollodorus calls her Phthia. The Scholiast on Plato (*Laws*, xi. p. 931 B), gives a version of the story which agrees entirely with that of Apollodorus, and may have been copied from it. The healing of Phoenix's eyes by Chiron is mentioned by Propertius (ii. 1. 60).

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Σθενέλης τῆς Ἀκάστου ἢ Περιώπιδος τῆς Φέρητος, ἢ καθάπερ φησὶ Φιλοκράτης, Πολυμήλης τῆς Πηλέως. οὗτος ἐν Ὀπούντι διενεχθεὶς ἐν παιδιᾷ περὶ ἀστραγάλων¹ παῖδα Κλειτώνυμον² τὸν Ἀμφιδάμαντος ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ φυγῶν μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς παρὰ Πηλεῖ κατῴκει, καὶ Ἀχιλλέως ἐρώμενος γίνεται.³ . . .

XIV. Κέκροψ αὐτόχθων, συμφυὲς ἔχων σῶμα ἀνδρὸς καὶ δράκοντος, τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐβασίλευσε πρῶτος, καὶ τὴν γῆν πρότερον λεγομένην Ἀκτὴν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ Κεκροπίαν ὠνόμασεν. ἐπὶ τούτου, φασίν, ἔδοξε τοῖς θεοῖς πόλεις καταλαβέσθαι, ἐν

¹ ἐν παιδιᾷ περὶ ἀστραγάλων παίζων A, Westermann, Müller, Wagner. I follow Bekker in omitting παίζων, but Heyne may be right in proposing to strike out both ἐν παιδιᾷ and παίζων as independent glosses on περὶ ἀστραγάλων. Compare Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xii. 1, περὶ ἀστραγάλων ὀργισθεὶς ἀπέκτεινεν. Hercher changed παίζων into παῖς ὦν, but the jingle παῖς ὦν παῖδα is not at all in the manner of Apollodorus.

² κλειτώνυμον RO: κλυτώνυμον A: κλεισώνυμος Pherecydes (quoted by Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xxiii. 87), Philostephanus (quoted by Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xvi. 14): κλισώνυμος Hellenicus (quoted by Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xii. 1).

³ Heyne was probably right in marking a lacuna here.

¹ Compare Homer, *Il.* xi. 785 *sqq.* Homer does not mention the name of Patroclus's mother.

² See Homer, *Il.* xxiii. 84–90; compare Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xii. 1; Strabo, ix. 4. 2, p. 425; Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, i. 3. 73 *sq.* The name of the slain lad was variously given as Clisonymus (Scholiast, *l.c.*) or Aeanes (Strabo and Scholiast, *l.c.*).

³ According to the *Parian Chronicle* (*Marmor Parium*, lines 2–4), with which Apollodorus is in general agreement,

Menoetius¹ and Sthenele, daughter of Acastus; or the mother of Patroclus was Periopis, daughter of Pheres, or, as Philocrates says, she was Polymele, daughter of Peleus. At Opus, in a quarrel over a game of dice, Patroclus killed the boy Clitonymus, son of Amphidamas, and flying with his father he dwelt at the house of Peleus² and became a minion of Achilles.

XIV. Cecrops, a son of the soil, with a body compounded of man and serpent, was the first king of Attica, and the country which was formerly called Acte he named Cecropia after himself.³ In his time, they say, the gods resolved to take possession of

the first king of Attica was Cecrops, and the country was named Cecropia after him, whereas it had formerly been called Actice (*sic*) after an aboriginal named Actaeus. Pausanias (i. 2. 6) represents this Actaeus as the first king of Attica, and says that Cecrops succeeded him on the throne by marrying his daughter. But Pausanias, like Apollodorus (iii. 15. 5), distinguishes this first Cecrops from a later Cecrops, son of Erechtheus (i. 5. 3). Apollodorus is at one with Pausanias in saying that the first Cecrops married the daughter of Actaeus, and he names her Agraulus (see below, iii. 14. 2). Philochorus said, with great probability, that there never was any such person as Actaeus; according to him, Attica lay waste and depopulated from the deluge in the time of Ogyges down to the reign of Cecrops. See Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelii*, x. 10. J. Tzetzes (*Chiliades*, v. 637) and Hyginus (*Fab.* 48) agree in representing Cecrops as the first king of Attica; Hyginus calls him a son of the earth. As to his double form, the upper part of him being human and the lower part serpentine, see Aristophanes, *Wasps*, 438, with the Scholiast; Euripides, *Ion*, 1163 *sq.*; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 111; *id. Chiliades*, v. 638 *sqq.*; Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 773; Diodorus Siculus, i. 28. 7, who rationalizes the fable after his usual fashion.

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αἰς ἔμελλον ἔχειν τιμὰς ἰδίας ἕκαστος. ἦκεν οὖν πρῶτος Ποσειδῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν, καὶ πλήξας τῇ τριαίνῃ κατὰ μέσσην τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀπέφηνε θάλασσαν, ἣν νῦν Ἐρεχθίδα καλοῦσι. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἦκεν Ἀθηνᾶ, καὶ ποιῆσαμένη τῆς καταλήψεως Κέκροπα μάρτυρα ἐφύτευσεν ἐλαίαν, ἣ νῦν ἐν τῷ Πανδροσείῳ¹ δείκνυται. γενομένης δὲ ἔριδος ἀμφοῖν περὶ τῆς χώρας, διαλύσας Ζεὺς

¹ Πανδροσεῖο Bekker : πανδροσίῳ EA.

¹ As to the contest between Poseidon and Athena for possession of Attica, see Herodotus, viii. 55; Plutarch, *Themistocles*, 19; Pausanias, i. 24. 5, i. 26. 5; Ovid, *Metamorph.* vi. 70 sqq.; Hyginus, *Fab.* 164; Servius, on Virgil, *Georg.* i. 12; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* vii. 185; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 1, 115 (First Vatican Mythographer, 2; Second Vatican Mythographer, 119). A rationalistic explanation of the fable was propounded by the eminent Roman antiquary Varro. According to him, the olive-tree suddenly appeared in Attica, and at the same time there was an eruption of water in another part of the country. So king Cecrops sent to inquire of Apollo at Delphi what these portents might signify. The oracle answered that the olive and the water were the symbols of Athena and Poseidon respectively, and that the people of Attica were free to choose which of these deities they would worship. Accordingly the question was submitted to a general assembly of the citizens and citizenesses; for in these days women had the vote as well as men. All the men voted for the god, and all the women voted for the goddess; and as there was one more woman than there were men, the goddess appeared at the head of the poll. Chagrined at the loss of the election, the male candidate flooded the country with the water of the sea, and to appease his wrath it was decided to deprive women of the vote and to forbid children to bear their mother's names for the future. See Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, xviii. 9. The print of Poseidon's trident on the rock of the acropolis at Athens was shown

cities in which each of them should receive his own peculiar worship. So Poseidon was the first that came to Attica, and with a blow of his trident on the middle of the acropolis, he produced a sea which they now call Erechtheis.¹ After him came Athena, and, having called on Cecrops to witness her act of taking possession, she planted an olive-tree, which is still shown in the Pandrosium.² But when the two strove for possession of the country, Zeus parted

down to late times. See Strabo, ix. 1. 16, p. 396; Pausanias, i. 26. 5. The "sea," which the god was supposed to have produced as evidence of his right to the country was also to be seen within the Erechtheum on the acropolis; Pausanias calls it a well of sea water, and says that, when the south wind blew, the well gave forth a sound of waves. See Herodotus, viii. 55; Pausanias, i. 26. 5, viii. 10. 4. According to the late Latin mythographers (see the references above), Poseidon produced a horse from the rock in support of his claim, and this version of the story seems to have been accepted by Virgil (*Georg.* i. 12 *sqq.*), but it is not countenanced by Greek writers. The Athenians said that the contest between Poseidon and Athena took place on the second of the month Boedromion, and hence they omitted that day from the calendar. See Plutarch, *De fraterno amore*, 11; *id. Quaest. Conviv.* ix. 6. The unlucky Poseidon also contested the possession of Argos with Hera, and when the judges gave a verdict against him and in favour of the goddess, he took his revenge, as in Attica, by flooding the country. See Pausanias, ii. 22. 4; compare *id.* ii. 15. 5; Polemo, *Greek History*, cited by the Scholiast on Aristides, vol. iii. p. 322, ed. G. Dindorf.

² The olive-tree seems to have survived down to the second century of our era. See Herodotus, viii. 55; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *De Dinarcho Judicium*, 3; Pausanias, i. 27. 3; Cicero, *De legibus*, i. 1. 2; Hyginus, *Fab.* 164; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xvi. 240. Dionysius agrees with Apollodorus in representing the tree as growing in the Pandrosium, which is proved by inscriptions to have been an enclosure to the west of the Erechtheum. See my commentary on Pausanias, vol. ii. p. 337.

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κριτὰς ἔδωκεν,¹ οὐχ ὡς εἰπὸν τινες, Κέκροπα καὶ Κραναόν,² οὐδὲ Ἐρυσίχθονα, θεοὺς δὲ τοὺς δώδεκα. καὶ τούτων δικαζόντων ἢ χώρα τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐκρίθη, Κέκροπος μαρτυρήσαντος ὅτι πρώτη³ τὴν ἐλαίαν ἐφύτευσε. Ἀθηνᾶ μὲν οὖν ἀφ' ἑαυτῆς τὴν πόλιν ἐκάλεσεν Ἀθήνας, Ποσειδῶν δὲ θυμῷ ὀργισθεὶς τὸ Θριάσιον πεδίον ἐπέκλυσε καὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ὕφαλον ἐποίησε.

- 2 Κέκροψ δὲ γήμας τὴν Ἀκταίου κόρην Ἀγραυλον παῖδα μὲν ἔσχεν Ἐρυσίχθονα, ὃς ἄτεκνος μετήλλαξε, θυγατέρας δὲ Ἀγραυλον Ἐρσην Πάνδροσον. Ἀγραύλου μὲν οὖν καὶ Ἄρεος Ἀλκίππη γίνεται. ταύτην βιαζόμενος Ἀλιρρόθιος, ὁ Ποσειδῶνος καὶ νύμφης Εὐρύτης, ὑπὸ Ἄρεος φωραθεὶς κτείνεται. Ποσειδῶνος δὲ <εἰσάγοντος> ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ κρίνεται δικαζόντων τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν Ἄρης⁴ καὶ ἀπολύεται.

¹ Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ Ποσειδῶνι κριτὰς δέδωκεν ὁ Ζεὺς E: Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ Ποσειδῶνα διαλύσας Ζεὺς κριτὰς ἔδωκε A: Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ Ποσειδῶνι διαλύσας Ζεὺς κριτὰς ἔδωκε Wagner. The words Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ Ποσειδῶνι (or Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ Ποσειδῶνα) appear to be a gloss on the preceding ἀμφοῖν, as Heyne perceived. Accordingly I have omitted them with Hercher.

² Κραναὸν Aegius: δαναὸν A.

³ πρώτη ER (compend.), Hercher, Wagner: πρῶτον A, Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker.

⁴ Ποσειδῶνος δὲ <εἰσάγοντος> ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ κρίνεται δικαζόντων τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν Ἄρης Scaliger: Ποσειδῶν δὲ ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ κρίνεται, δικαζόντων τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν, Ἄρει Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher, Wagner. But the construction κρίνεσθαι τινι in the sense of "bring a person to trial" is impossible, and the abrupt change of nominative from κρίνεται (Ποσειδῶν) to ἀπολύεται (Ἄρης) is very harsh, if not intolerable. Scaliger's emendation certainly gives the right sense and may be verbally correct also. The accidental omission of εἰσάγοντος would not be difficult. The emendation is recorded, but not accepted, by Heyne.

them and appointed arbiters, not, as some have affirmed, Cecrops and Cranaus, nor yet Erysichthon, but the twelve gods.¹ And in accordance with their verdict the country was adjudged to Athena, because Cecrops bore witness that she had been the first to plant the olive. Athena, therefore, called the city Athens after herself, and Poseidon in hot anger flooded the Thriasian plain and laid Attica under the sea.²

Cecrops married Agraulus, daughter of Actaeus, and had a son Erysichthon, who departed this life childless; and Cecrops had daughters, Agraulus, Herse, and Pandrosus.³ Agraulus had a daughter Alcippe by Ares. In attempting to violate Alcippe, Halirrhóthius, son of Poseidon and a nymph Euryte, was detected and killed by Ares.⁴ Impeached by Poseidon, Ares was tried in the Areopagus before the twelve gods, and was acquitted.⁵

¹ Compare Ovid, *Metamorph.* vi. 72 sq.

² As to this flood, see Varro, in Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, xviii. 9; Hyginus, *Fab.* 164. The Thriasian plain is the plain in which Eleusis stands. See Strabo, ix. i. 6, p. 392, ix. i. 13, p. 395.

³ Compare Pausanias, i. 2. 6; Hyginus, *Fab.* 146; Ovid, *Metamorph.* ii. 737 sqq. All these writers call the first of the daughters Aglaurus instead of Agraulus, and the form Aglaurus is confirmed by inscriptions on two Greek vases (*Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, vol. iv. p. 146, Nos. 7716, 7718).

⁴ Compare Pausanias, i. 21. 4; Stephanus Byzantius and Suidas, *s.v.* Ἄπειος πάγος; Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, vol. i. p. 444, lines 8 sqq. From the three latter writers we learn that the story was told by the historians Philochorus and Hellanicus, whom Apollodorus may here be following.

⁵ See Euripides, *Ion*, 1258 sqq., *Iphigenia in Tauris*, 945 sq.; Demosthenes, xxiii. 66, p. 641; *Parian Chronicle (Marmor Parium)*, lines 5 sq.; Pausanias, i. 28. 5; Scholiast on Euripides, *Orestes*, 1648, 1651. The name Areopagus was

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3 Ἐρσης δὲ καὶ Ἑρμοῦ Κέφαλος, οὗ ἐρασθεῖσα Ἥως ἤρπασε καὶ μιγείσα ἐν Συρία παῖδα ἐγέννησε Τιθωνόν, οὗ παῖς ἐγένετο Φαέθων, τούτου δὲ Ἀστύνοος, τοῦ δὲ Σάνδοκος,¹ ὃς ἐκ Συρίας ἐλθὼν εἰς Κιλικίαν, πόλιν ἔκτισε Κελένδεριν, καὶ γήμας Φαρνάκην² τὴν Μεγασσάρου τοῦ Ἑτρίων βασιλέως³ ἐγέννησε Κινύραν.⁴ οὗτος ἐν Κύπρῳ,

¹ Σάνδοκος RR^aC: σάνδακος B.

² Φαρνάκη Muncker (on Antoninus Liberalis, *Transform.* 34, p. 277, ed. Koch, comparing Hesychius, s.v. Κινύρας Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Φαρνάκης παῖς): θαινάκην RR^a: θανάκην A.

³ τῶν Ἑτρίων βασιλέως Bekker, Hercher, Wagner: τοῦ συρῶν βασιλέως R: τῶν συρῶν βασιλέα A.

⁴ Κινύραν R: κινύρας A.

commonly supposed to mean "the hill of Ares" and explained by the tradition that Ares was the first to be tried for murder before the august tribunal. But more probably, perhaps, the name meant "the hill of curses." See my note on Pausanias. i. 28. 5 (vol. ii. pp. 363 sq.). For other legendary or mythical trials in the court of the Areopagus, see below, iii. 15. 1, iii. 15. 9.

¹ See above, i. 9. 4, note, where Cephalus is said to have been a son of Deion by Diomede; compare ii. 4. 7, iii. 15. 1. Pausanias also calls Cephalus a son of Deion (i. 37. 6, x. 29. 6), and so does Antoninus Liberalis (*Transform.* 41). The Scholiast on Homer (*Od.* xi. 321) calls his father Deioneus. Hyginus in two passages (*Fab.* 189, 270) describes Cephalus as a son of Deion, and in another passage (*Fab.* 160) as a son of Hermes (Mercury) by Creusa, daughter of Erechtheus. Euripides tells how "Dawn with her lovely light once snatched up Cephalus to the gods, all for love" (*Hippolytus*, 454 sqq.).

² According to Hesiod (*Theog.* 986 sqq.) and Pausanias (i. 3. 1), Phaethon was a son of Cephalus and the Dawn or Day. According to another and seemingly more usual account the father of Phaethon was the Sun. See Diodorus Siculus, v. 23; Pausanias, i. 4. 1, ii. 3. 2; Lucian, *Dialog. deorum*, xxv. 1; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, iv. 357 sqq.; Eustathius, on Homer, *Od.* xi. 325, p. 1689; Scholiast on Homer,

Herse had by Hermes a son Cephalus, whom Dawn loved and carried off,¹ and consorting with him in Syria bore a son Tithonus, who had a son Phaethon,² who had a son Astynous, who had a son Sandocus, who passed from Syria to Cilicia and founded a city Celenderis, and having married Pharnace, daughter of Megassares, king of Hyria, begat Cinyras.³ This Cinyras in Cyprus, whither he had come with

Od. xvii. 208; Ovid, *Metamorph.* ii. 19 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 152, 156; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* i. 221; *Scholia in Caesaris Germanici Aratea*, p. 421, ed. Fr. Eysenhardt, in his edition of Martianus Capella; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 37, 93, 208 (First Vatican Mythographer, 118; Second Vatican Mythographer, 57; Third Vatican Mythographer, iii. 8. 14); Servius on Virgil, *Aen.* x. 189. The mother who bore him to the Sun is usually called Clymene (so Lucian, Tzetzes, Eustathius, Ovid, Hyginus, Lactantius Placidus, the Vatican mythographers, and Servius); but the Scholiast on Homer (*l.c.*) calls her Rhode, daughter of Asopus. Clymene herself, the mother of Phaethon, is said to have been a daughter of Ocean and Tethys (J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, iv. 359; Ovid, *Metamorph.* ii. 156) or of Iphys or Minyas (Eustathius, *l.c.*). Apollodorus passes over in silence the famous story how Phaethon borrowed the chariot of the Sun for a day, and driving too near the earth set it on fire, and how in his wild career he was struck dead by Zeus with a thunderbolt and fell into the river Eridanus, where his sisters mourned for him till they were turned into poplar trees, their tears being changed into drops of amber which exuded from the trees. The story is told at great length and with many picturesque details by Ovid (*Metamorph.* ii. 1 *sqq.*). Compare Lucretius, v. 396 *sqq.*; Diodorus Siculus, Lucian, the Scholiast on Homer, Hyginus, and the Latin Mythographers, *U.c.c.* Euripides wrote a tragedy on the subject, of which some considerable fragments survive. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck², pp. 599 *sqq.* For some similar stories, see Appendix, "Phaethon and the Chariot of the Sun."

³ According to Hyginus (*Fab.* 142), Cinyras was a son of Paphus.

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παραγενόμενος σὺν λαῶ, ἔκτισε Πάφον, γήμας δὲ
 ἐκεῖ Μεθάρμην, κόρην Πυγμαλίωνος Κυπρίων
 βασιλέως, Ὁξύπορον ἐγέννησε καὶ Ἄδωνιν, πρὸς
 δὲ τούτοις θυγατέρας Ὀρσεδίκην <καὶ> Λαογόρην
 καὶ Βραισίαν. αὐται δὲ διὰ μῆνιν Ἀφροδίτης
 ἀλλοτρίοις ἀνδράσι συνευναζόμεναι τὸν βίον ἐν
 4 Αἰγύπτῳ μετήλλαξαν. Ἄδωνις δὲ ἔτι παῖς ὢν
 Ἀρτέμιδος χόλῳ πληγείς ἐν θήρᾳ¹ ὑπὸ σὸς
 ἀπέθανεν. Ἡσίοδος δὲ αὐτὸν Φοῖνίκος καὶ Ἀλ-
 φεσιβοίας λέγει, Πανύασις² δὲ φησι Θεῖαντος

¹ θήρα Heyne (conjecture), Hercher, Wagner: θήραι RR^a:
 θήραις A, Heyne (in text), Westermann, Müller, Bekker.

² πανύαστος A.

¹ A different and apparently more prevalent tradition re-
 presented Adonis as the son of Cinyras by incestuous inter-
 course with his daughter Myrrha or Smyrna. See Scholiast
 on Theocritus, i. 107; Plutarch, *Parallela*, 22; Antoninus
 Liberalis, *Transform.* 34 (who, however, differs as to the
 name of Smyrna's father); Ovid, *Metamorph.* x. 298 sqq.;
 Hyginus, *Fab.* 58, 164; Fulgentius, *Mytholog.* iii. 8; Lac-
 tantius Placidus, *Narrat. Fabul.* x. 9; Servius, on Virgil,
Ecl. x. 18, and on *Aen.* v. 72; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum*
Latini, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 60 (First Vatican Mytho-
 grapher, 200). Similar cases of incest with a daughter are
 frequently reported of royal houses in antiquity. They per-
 haps originated in a rule of transmitting the crown through
 women instead of through men; for under such a rule a
 widowed king would be under a strong temptation to marry
 his own daughter as the only means of maintaining himself
 legitimately on the throne after the death of his wife. See
Adonis, Attis, Osiris, 3rd ed., i. 43 sq. The legend of the
 incestuous origin of Adonis is mentioned, on the authority
 of Panyasis, by Apollodorus himself a little lower down.

² Compare Bion, *Idyl.* i.; Cornutus, *Theologiae Graecae*
Compendium, 28; Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.* iv. 5. 3, § 8;
 Athenaeus, ii. 80, p. 69B; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*,

some people, founded Paphos; and having there married Metharme, daughter of Pygmalion, king of Cyprus, he begat Oxyporus and Adonis,¹ and besides them daughters, Orsedice, Laogore, and Braesia. These by reason of the wrath of Aphrodite cohabited with foreigners, and ended their life in Egypt. And Adonis, while still a boy, was wounded and killed in hunting by a boar through the anger of Artemis.² Hesiod, however, affirms that he was a son of Phoenix and Alpheisboea; and Panyasis says that he was a son

831; Aristides, *Apology*, ed. J. Rendel Harris (Cambridge, 1891), pp. 44, 106 sq.; Propertius, iii. 4 (5) 53 sq.; ed. F. A. Paley; Ovid, *Metamorph.* x. 710 sqq.; Hyginus, *Fab.* 248; Macrobius, *Saturnal.* i. 21. 4; Lactantius, *Divin. Inst.* i. 17; Firmicus Maternus, *De errore profanarum religionum*, 9; Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, vi. 7. There are some grounds for thinking that formerly Adonis and his Babylonian prototype Tammuz were conceived in the form of a boar, and that the story of his death by a boar was only a misinterpretation of this older conception. See *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, ii. 22 sq.; C. F. Burney, *The Book of Judges* (London, 1918), pp. xvii sqq., who refers to "the brilliant discovery of Ball (*PSBA.* xvi. 1894, pp. 195 sqq.) that the Sumerian name of Tammuz, DUMU.ZI (Bab. *Du'ûzu*, *Dâzu*) is identical with the Turkish *dömüz* 'pig,' and that there is thus an 'original identity of the god with the wild boar that slays him in the developed legend.'" W. Robertson Smith, as Professor Burney points out, had many years ago expressed the view that "the Cyprian Adonis was originally the Swine-god, and in this as in many other cases the sacred victim has been changed by false interpretation into the enemy of the god" (*Religion of the Semites*, New Edition, London, 1894, p. 411, note⁴). The view is confirmed by the observation that the worshippers of Adonis would seem to have abstained from eating swine's flesh. See W. W. Baudissin, *Adonis und Esmun* (Leipsic, 1911), p. 142, quoting *SS. Cyri et Joannis Miracula*, in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, lxxxvii. 3, col. 3624.

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Βασιλέως Ἀσσυρίων, ὃς ἔσχε θυγατέρα Σμύρναν. αὕτη κατὰ μῆνιν Ἀφροδίτης (οὐ γὰρ αὐτὴν ἐτίμα) ἴσχει τοῦ πατρὸς ἔρωτα, καὶ συνεργὸν λαβοῦσα τὴν τροφὸν ἀγνοοῦντι τῷ πατρὶ νύκτας δώδεκα συνεννάσθη. ὁ δὲ ὡς ἤσθητο, σπασάμενος <τὸ>¹ ξίφος ἐδίωκεν αὐτήν· ἡ δὲ περικαταλαμβανομένη θεοῖς ἠῤῥατο ἀφανῆς γενέσθαι. θεοὶ δὲ κατοικτείραντες αὐτὴν εἰς δένδρον μετήλλαξαν, ὃ καλοῦσι σμύρναν.² δεκαμηνιαίῳ δὲ ὕστερον χρόνῳ τοῦ δένδρου ῥαγέντος γεννηθῆναι τὸν λεγόμενον Ἀδωνιν, ὃν Ἀφροδίτη διὰ κάλλος ἔτι νήπιον κρύφα θεῶν εἰς λάρνακα κρύψασα Περσεφόνῃ παρέστατο. ἐκείνη δὲ ὡς ἐθεάσατο, οὐκ ἀπέδιδου. κρίσεως δὲ ἐπὶ Διὸς γενομένης εἰς τρεῖς μοίρας διηρέθη ὁ ἐνιαυτός, καὶ μίαν μὲν παρ' ἑαυτῷ μένειν τὸν Ἀδωνιν, μίαν δὲ παρὰ Περσεφόνῃ προσέταξε, τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν παρ' Ἀφροδίτῃ· ὁ δὲ

¹ τὸ added by Hercher.

² σμύρναν R^a: μύρναν B, μύρνας C.

¹ According to Antoninus Liberalis (*Transform.* 34), Smyrna, the mother of Adonis, was a daughter of Belus by a nymph Orithyia. Tzetzes mentions, but afterwards rejects, the view that Myrrha, the mother of Adonis, was a daughter of Thias (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 829, 831). Hyginus says that Cinyras, the father of Adonis, was king of Assyria (*Fab.* 58). This traditional connexion of Adonis with Assyria may well be due to a well-founded belief that the religion of Adonis, though best known to the Greeks in Syria and Cyprus, had originated in Assyria or rather in Babylonia, where he was worshipped under the name of Dumuzi or Tammuz. See *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, 3rd ed., i. 6 sqq.

² As to the transformation of the mother of Adonis into a myrrh-tree, see Scholiast on Theocritus, i. 107; Plutarch, *Parallela*, 22; Antoninus Liberalis, *Transform.* 34; Tzetzes,

of Thias, king of Assyria,¹ who had a daughter Smyrna. In consequence of the wrath of Aphrodite, for she did not honour the goddess, this Smyrna conceived a passion for her father, and with the complicity of her nurse she shared her father's bed without his knowledge for twelve nights. But when he was aware of it, he drew his sword and pursued her, and being overtaken she prayed to the gods that she might be invisible; so the gods in compassion turned her into the tree which they call *smyrna* (myrrh).² Ten months afterwards the tree burst and Adonis, as he is called, was born, whom for the sake of his beauty, while he was still an infant, Aphrodite hid in a chest unknown to the gods and entrusted to Persephone. But when Persephone beheld him, she would not give him back. The case being tried before Zeus, the year was divided into three parts, and the god ordained that Adonis should stay by himself for one part of the year, with Persephone for one part, and with Aphrodite for the remainder.³

Schol. on Lycophron, 829; Ovid, *Metamorph.* x. 476 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 58, 164; Fulgentius, *Mytholog.* iii. 8; Lactantius Placidus, *Narrat. Fabul.* x. 9; Servius, on Virgil, *Ecl.* x. 18 and *Aen.* v. 72; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 60 (First Vatican Mythographer, 200). The drops of gum which oozed from the myrrh-tree were thought to be the tears shed by the transformed Myrrha for her sad fate (Ovid, *l.c.* 500 *sqq.*).

³ According to another version of the story, Aphrodite and Persephone referred their dispute about Adonis to the judgment of Zeus, and he appointed the Muse Calliope to act as arbitrator between them. She decided that Adonis should spend half the year with each of them; but the decision so enraged Aphrodite that in revenge she instigated the Thracian women to rend in pieces Calliope's son, the musician Orpheus. See Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 6. A Scholiast on Theocritus (*Id.* iii. 48) reports the common saying that the dead Adonis

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Ἄδωνις ταύτη προσένειμε καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν μοῖραν. ὕστερον δὲ θηρεύων Ἄδωνις ὑπὸ σὺς πληγῆς ἀπέθανε.

- 5 Κέκροπος δὲ ἀποθανόντος Κραναὸς <ἐβασίλευσεν>¹ αὐτόχθων ὢν, ἐφ' οὗ τὸν ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος λέγεται κατακλυσμὸν γενέσθαι. οὗτος γήμας ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος Πεδιάδα τὴν Μύνητος² ἐγέννησε Κρανάνην καὶ Κραναίχμην καὶ Ἀτθίδα, ἧς ἀποθανούσης ἔτι παρθένου τὴν χώραν Κραναὸς Ἀτθίδα προσηγόρευσε.
- 6 Κραναὸν δὲ ἐκβαλὼν Ἀμφικτύων ἐβασίλευσε τοῦτον ἔνιοι μὲν Δευκαλίωνος, ἔνιοι δὲ αὐτόχθονα³ λέγουσι. βασιλεύσαντα δὲ αὐτὸν ἔτη⁴ δώδεκα Ἐριχθόνιος ἐκβάλλει. τοῦτον οἱ μὲν Ἡφαίστου καὶ τῆς Κραναοῦ θυγατρὸς Ἀτθίδος εἶναι λέγουσιν, οἱ δὲ Ἡφαίστου καὶ Ἀθηναῖς, οὕτως Ἀθηναῖα παρεγένετο πρὸς Ἡφαιστον, ὅπλα κατασκευάσαι θέλουσα. ὁ δὲ ἐγκαταλελειμμένος⁵ ὑπὸ Ἀφροδίτης εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν ὤλισθε τῆς Ἀθηναῖς,

¹ ἐβασίλευσεν conjecturally inserted by Gale.

² Μύνητος Bekker, Hercher, Wagner: μήνητος A.

³ αὐτόχθονα R^a: αὐτόχθονος A.

⁴ ἔτη L: ἐπὶ A.

⁵ ἐγκαταλελειμμένος E: ἐγκαταλελεγμένος A.

spends six months of the year in the arms of Persephone, and six months in the arms of Aphrodite; and he explains the saying as a mythical description of the corn, which after sowing is six months in the earth and six months above ground.

¹ Compare Pausanias, i. 2. 6.

² According to the *Parian Chronicle* (lines 4-7), Deucalion reigned at Lycorea on Mount Parnassus, and when the flood, following on heavy rains, took place in that district, he fled for safety to king Cranaus at Athens, where he founded a

However Adonis made over to Aphrodite his own share in addition ; but afterwards in hunting he was gored and killed by a boar.

When Cecrops died, Cranaus came to the throne¹ ; he was a son of the soil, and it was in his time that the flood in the age of Deucalion is said to have taken place.² He married a Lacedaemonian wife, Pedias, daughter of Mynes, and begat Cranae, Menaechme, and Atthis ; and when Atthis died a maid, Cranaus called the country Atthis.³

Cranaus was expelled by Amphictyon, who reigned in his stead ;⁴ some say that Amphictyon was a son of Deucalion, others that he was a son of the soil ; and when he had reigned twelve years he was expelled by Erichthonius.⁵ Some say that this Erichthonius was a son of Hephaestus and Atthis, daughter of Cranaus, and some that he was a son of Hephaestus and Athena, as follows : Athena came to Hephaestus, desirous of fashioning arms. But he, being forsaken by Aphrodite, fell in love with Athena, and began to pursue

sanctuary of Rainy Zeus and offered thank-offerings for his escape. Compare Eusebius, *Chronic.* vol. ii. p. 26, ed. A. Schoene. We have seen that, according to Apollodorus (iii. 8. 2), the flood happened in the reign of Nyctimus, king of Arcadia.

¹ Compare Pausanias, i. 2. 6 ; Eusebius, *Chronic.* vol. ii. p. 28, ed. A. Schoene.

² Compare the *Parian Chronicle*, lines 8-10 ; Pausanias, i. 2. 6 ; Eusebius, *Chronic.* vol. ii. p. 30, ed. A. Schoene. The *Parian Chronicle* represents Amphictyon as a son of Deucalion and as reigning, first at Thermopylae, and then at Athens ; but it records nothing as to his revolt against Cranaus. Pausanias says that Amphictyon deposed Cranaus, although he had the daughter of Cranaus to wife. Eusebius says that Amphictyon was a son of Deucalion and son-in-law of Cranaus.

³ Compare Pausanias, i. 2. 6.

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καὶ διώκειν αὐτὴν ἤρξατο· ἡ δὲ ἔφευγεν. ὡς δὲ ἐγγὺς αὐτῆς ἐγένετο πολλῇ ἀνάγκῃ (ἦν γὰρ χωλός), ἐπειράτο συνελθεῖν. ἡ δὲ ὡς σῶφρων καὶ παρθένος οὔσα οὐκ ἠνέσχετο· ὁ δὲ ἀπεσπέρμηθεν εἰς τὸ σκέλος τῆς θεᾶς. ἐκείνη δὲ μυσσάχθεισα ἐρίῳ ἀπομάξασα τὸν γόνον εἰς γῆν ἔρριψε. φευγούσης δὲ αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς γονῆς εἰς γῆν πεσοῦσης Ἐριχθόνιος γίνεται. τοῦτον Ἀθηναῖ κρύφα τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν ἔτρεφεν, ἀθάνατον θέλουσα ποιῆσαι· καὶ καταθείσα αὐτὸν εἰς κίστην Πανδρόσῳ τῇ Κέκροπος παρακατέθετο, ἀπειπούσα τὴν κίστην ἀνοίγειν. αἱ δὲ ἀδελφαὶ τῆς Πανδρόσου ἀνοίγουσιν ὑπὸ περιεργίας, καὶ θεῶνται τῷ βρέφει παρεσπειραμένον δράκοντα· καὶ ὡς μὲν ἔνιοι λέγουσιν, ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διεφθάρησαν τοῦ δράκοντος, ὡς δὲ ἔνιοι, δι' ὄργην Ἀθηναῖς ἐμμανεῖς γενόμεναι κατὰ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως αὐτὰς ἔρριψαν. ἐν δὲ τῷ τεμένει τραφεῖς Ἐριχθόνιος

¹ With this story of the birth of Erichthonius compare Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* ii. 547 (who agrees to a great extent verbally with Apollodorus); Euripides, *Ion*, 20 *sqq.*, 266 *sqq.*; Eratosthenes, *Cataster.* 13; Nonnus, in Westermann's *Mythographi Graeci, Appendix Narrationum*, 3, pp. 359 *sq.*; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 111; Antigonus Carystius, *Histor. Mirab.* 12; *Etymologicum Magnum, s.v. Ἐρεχθεύς*, p. 371. 29; Hyginus, *Fab.* 166; *id. Astronom.* ii. 13; Servius, on Virgil, *Georg.* iii. 113; Fulgentius, *Mytholog.* ii. 14; Lactantius, *Divin. Inst.* ii. 17; Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, xviii. 12; *Scholia in Caesaris Germanici Aratea*, p. 304, ed. Fr. Eyssenhardt (in his edition of Martianus Capella); *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 41, 86 *sq.*, 88 (First Vatican Mythographer, 128; Second Vatican Mythographer, 37, 40). The story of the birth of Erichthonius was told by Euripides, according to Eratosthenes (*l.c.*) and by Callimachus, according to the Scholiast on

her; but she fled. When he got near her with much ado (for he was lame), he attempted to embrace her; but she, being a chaste virgin, would not submit to him, and he dropped his seed on the leg of the goddess. In disgust, she wiped off the seed with wool and threw it on the ground; and as she fled and the seed fell on the ground, Erichthonius was produced.¹ Him Athena brought up unknown to the other gods, wishing to make him immortal; and having put him in a chest, she committed it to Pandrosus, daughter of Cecrops, forbidding her to open the chest. But the sisters of Pandrosus opened it out of curiosity, and beheld a serpent coiled about the babe; and, as some say, they were destroyed by the serpent, but according to others they were driven mad by reason of the anger of Athena and threw themselves down from the acropolis.² Having been brought up by Athena

Homer (*l.c.*). Pausanias was plainly acquainted with the fable, though he contents himself with saying that Erichthonius was reported to be a son of Hephaestus and Earth (i. 2. 6, i. 14. 6). As C. G. Heyne long ago observed, the story is clearly an etymological myth invented to explain the meaning of the name Erichthonius, which some people derived from *ἔρις*, "strife," and *χθών*, "the ground," while others derived it from *ἔριον*, "wool," and *χθών*, "the ground." The former derivation of *eri* in Erichthonius seems to have been the more popular. Mythologists have perhaps not sufficiently reckoned with the extent to which false etymology has been operative in the creation of myths. "Disease of language" is one source of myths, though it is very far from being the only one.

² With this story of the discovery of Erichthonius in the chest compare Euripides, *Ion*, 20 *sqq.*, 266 *sqq.*; Pausanias, i. 18. 2; Antigonus Carystius, *Hist. Mirab.* 12; Ovid, *Metamorph.* ii. 552 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 166; *id.* *Astronom.* ii. 13; Fulgentius, *Mytholog.* ii. 14; Lactantius, *Divin. Inst.* i. 17; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 41, 86 *sq.*, 88 (First Vatican Mythographer, 128;

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ὑπ' αὐτῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, ἐκβαλὼν Ἀμφικτύονα ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀθηνῶν, καὶ τὸ ἐν ἀκροπόλει ξόανον τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἰδρύσατο, καὶ τῶν Παναθηναίων τὴν ἑορτὴν συνεστήσατο, καὶ Πραξιθέαν¹ νηίδα

¹ Πραξιθέαν Heyne: πρασιθέαν A: Πασιθέαν Aegius. Tzetzes calls her φρασιθεία (*Chiliades*, i. 174, v. 671), but mentions Πραξιθεία as the wife of Erechtheus and mother of Cecrops (*Chiliades*, i. 177, v. 674).

Second Vatican Mythographer, 37, 40). Apollodorus apparently describes the infant Erichthonius in the chest as a purely human babe with a serpent coiled about him. The serpent was said to have been set by Athena to guard the infant; according to Euripides (*Ion*, 20 sqq.), there were two such guardian serpents. But according to a common tradition Erichthonius was serpent-footed, that is, his legs ended in serpents. See Nonnus, in Westermann's *Mythographi Graeci, Appendix Narrationum*, 3, p. 360; *Etymologicum Magnum*, s.v. Ἐρεχθεύς, p. 371. 47; Hyginus, *Fab.* 166; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 113; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 41, 87 (First Vatican Mythographer, 128, Second Vatican Mythographer 37). Indeed, in one passage (*Astronom.* ii. 13) Hyginus affirms that Erichthonius was born a serpent, and that when the box was opened and the maidens saw the serpent in it, they went mad and threw themselves from the acropolis, while the serpent took refuge under the shield of Athena and was reared by the goddess. This view of the identity of Erichthonius with the serpent was recognized, if not accepted, by Pausanias; for in describing the famous statue of the Virgin Athena on the acropolis of Athens, he notices the serpent coiled at her feet behind the shield, and adds that the serpent "may be Erichthonius" (i. 24. 7). The sacred serpent which lived in the Erechtheum on the acropolis of Athens and was fed with honey-cakes once a month, may have been Erichthonius himself in his original form of a worshipful serpent. See Herodotus, viii. 41; Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*, 758 sq., with the Scholiast; Plutarch, *Themistocles*, 10; Philostratus, *Imagines*, ii. 17. 6; Hesychius, s.v. δράκουλός and οἰκουρὸν ἕφιν; Suidas, s.v. Δράκουλός; *Etymo-*

herself in the precinct,¹ Erichthonius expelled Amphictyon and became king of Athens; and he set up the wooden image of Athena in the acropolis,² and instituted the festival of the Panathenaea,³ and

logicum Magnum, s.v. δράκωντος, p. 287; Photius, *Lexicon*, s.v. οἰκουρὸν ὕφιν; Eustathius on Homer, *Od.* i. 357, p. 1422, lines 7 sqq. According to some, there were two such sacred serpents in the Erechtheum (Hesychius, s.v. οἰκουρὸν ὕφιν). When we remember that Cecrops, the ancestor of Erichthonius, was said, like his descendant, to be half-man, half-serpent (above, iii. 14. 1), we may conjecture that the old kings of Athens claimed kinship with the sacred serpents on the acropolis, into which they may have professed to transmigrate at death. Compare *The Dying God*, pp. 86 sq.; and my note on Pausanias, i. 18. 2 (vol. ii. pp. 168 sqq.). The Erechtheids, or descendants of Erēchtheus, by whom are meant the Athenians in general, used to put golden serpents round the necks or bodies of their infants, nominally in memory of the serpents which guarded the infant Erichthonius, but probably in reality as amulets to protect the children. See Euripides, *Ion*, 20–26, 1426–1431. Erēchtheus and Erichthonius may have been originally identical. See Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* ii. 547; *Etymologicum Magnum*, s.v. Ἐρεχθεύς, p. 371. 29; C. F. Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, vol. i. p. 61 note n.

¹ "The precinct" is the Erechtheum on the acropolis of Athens. It was in the Erechtheum that the sacred serpent dwelt, which seems to have been originally identical with Erichthonius. See the preceding note.

² That is, the ancient image of Athena, made of olive-wood, which stood in the Erechtheum. See my note on Pausanias, i. 26. 6 (vol. ii. pp. 340 sq.).

³ Compare the *Parian Chronicle*, line 18; Harpocration, s.v. Παναθήναια; Eratosthenes, *Cataster.* 13; Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 13, who says that Erichthonius competed at the games in a four-horse car. Indeed, Erichthonius was reputed to have invented the chariot, or, at all events, the four-horse chariot. See the *Parian Chronicle*, lines 18 and 21; Eusebius, *Chronic.* vol. ii. p. 32, ed. A. Schoene; Virgil, *Georg.* iii. 113 sq.; Fulgentius, *Mytholog.* ii. 14. According to some, he invented the chariot for the purpose of

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νύμφην ἔγημεν, ἐξ ἧς αὐτῷ παῖς Πανδίων ἐγεννήθη.

- 7 Ἐριχθονίου δὲ ἀποθανόντος καὶ ταφέντος ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ¹ τεμένει τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς Πανδίων ἐβασίλευσεν, ἐφ' οὗ Δημήτηρ καὶ Διόνυσος εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἦλθον. ἀλλὰ Δήμητρα μὲν Κελεὸς [εἰς

¹ τῷ αὐτῷ Scaliger, Wagner : τῷ ἂ R^a : τῷ ἂ τῷ A.

concealing his serpent feet. See Servius, on Virgil, *Georg.* iii. 113; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 41, 87 (First Vatican Mythographer, 127; Second Vatican Mythographer, 37). The institution of the Panathenaic festival was by some attributed to Theseus (Plutarch, *Theseus*, 24), but the *Parian Chronicle* (line 18), in agreement with Apollodorus, ascribes it to Erichthonius; and from Harpocration (*l.c.*) we learn that this ascription was supported by the authority of the historians Hellanicus and Androtion in their works on Attica. Here, therefore, as usual, Apollodorus seems to have drawn on the best sources.

¹ Compare Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* iii. 45, p. 39, ed. Potter, who gives a list of legendary or mythical personages who were said to have been buried in sanctuaries or temples. Amongst the instances which he cites are the graves of Cinyras and his descendants in the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Paphus, and the grave of Acrisius in the temple of Athena on the acropolis of Larissa. To these examples C. G. Heyne, commenting on the present passage of Apollodorus, adds the tomb of Castor in a sanctuary at Sparta (Pausanias, iii. 13. 1), the tomb of Hyacinth under the image of Apollo at Amyclae (Pausanias, iii. 19. 3), and the grave of Arcas in a temple of Hera at Mantinea (Pausanias, viii. 9. 3). "Arguing from these examples," says Heyne, "some have tried to prove that the worship of the gods sprang from the honours paid to buried mortals."

² Compare Pausanias, i. 5. 3, who distinguishes two kings named Pandion, first, the son of Erichthonius, and, second,

married Praxithea, a Naiad nymph, by whom he had a son Pandion.

When Erichthonius died and was buried in the same precinct of Athena,¹ Pandion² became king, in whose time Demeter and Dionysus came to Attica.³ But Demeter was welcomed by Celeus at Eleusis,⁴ and

the son of Cecrops the Second. This distinction is accepted by Apollodorus (see below, iii. 15. 5), and it is supported by the *Parian Chronicle* (*Marmor Parium*, lines 22 and 30). Eusebius also recognizes Pandion the Second, but makes him a son of Erechtheus instead of a son of Cecrops the Second (*Chronic.* bk. i. vol. i. col. 185, ed. A. Schoene). But like Cecrops the Second, son of Erechtheus (below, iii. 15. 5), Pandion the Second is probably no more than a chronological stop-gap thrust into the broken framework of tradition by a comparatively late historian. Compare R. D. Hicks, in *Companion to Greek Studies*, ed. L. Whibley, 3rd. ed. (Cambridge, 1916), p. 76.

³ Here Apollodorus differs from the *Parian Chronicle*, which dates the advent of Demeter, not in the reign of Pandion, but in the reign of his son Erechtheus (*Marmor Parium*, lines 23 sq.). To the reign of Erechtheus the *Parian Chronicle* also refers the first sowing of corn by Triptolemus in the Rharian plain at Eleusis, and the first celebration of the mysteries by Eumolpus at Eleusis (*Marmor Parium*, lines 23-29). Herein the *Parian Chronicle* seems to be in accord with the received Athenian tradition which dated the advent of Demeter, the beginning of agriculture, and the institution of the Eleusinian mysteries in the reign of Erechtheus. See Diodorus Siculus, i. 29. 1-3. On the other hand, the *Parian Chronicle* dates the discovery of iron on the Cretan Mount Ida in the reign of Pandion the First (*Marmor Parium*, lines 22 sq.). He says nothing of the coming of Dionysus to Attica. The advent of Demeter and Dionysus is a mythical expression for the first cultivation of corn and vines in Attica; these important discoveries Attic tradition referred to the reigns either of Pandion the First or of his son Erechtheus.

⁴ See above, i. 5. 1.

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τὴν Ἐλευσίνα]¹ ὑπεδέξατο, Διόνυσον δὲ Ἰκάριος·
 ὃς² λαμβάνει παρ' αὐτοῦ κλήμα ἀμπέλου καὶ τὰ
 περὶ τὴν οἴνοποιαν μαθάνει. καὶ τὰς τοῦ θεοῦ
 δωρήσασθαι θέλων χάριτας ἀνθρώποις, ἀφικνεῖται
 πρὸς τινὰς ποιμένας, οἱ γευσάμενοι τοῦ ποτοῦ
 καὶ χωρὶς ὕδατος δι' ἡδονὴν ἀφειδῶς ἐλκύσαντες,
 πεφαρμάχθαι νομίζοντες ἀπέκτειναν αὐτόν. μεθ'
 ἡμέραν δὲ νοήσαντες³ ἔθαψαν αὐτόν. Ἐριγόνη
 δὲ τῇ θυγατρὶ τὸν πατέρα μαστευούσῃ κύων
 συνήθης ὄνομα Μαῖρα, ἣ τῷ Ἰκαρίῳ συνείπετο,
 τὸν γεκρὸν ἐμήνυσε· κάκείνη κατοδुरαμένη⁴ τὸν
 πατέρα ἑαυτὴν ἀνήρτησε.

¹ εἰς τὴν Ἐλευσίνα. These words may be, as Heyne thought, a gloss on εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν. They are omitted by Hercher. Wagner keeps them unbracketed.

² ὃς . . . μαθάνει E: καὶ . . . μαθάνων A.

³ νοήσαντες A: νήσαντες Valckenar.

⁴ κατοδुरαμένη Hercher: κατοδυρομένη Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Wagner.

¹ The implication is that their wassailing had taken place by night. The Greek μεθ' ἡμέραν regularly means "by day" as opposed to "by night"; it is not to be translated "the day after." See Herodotus, ii. 150, οὐ νυκτὸς ἀλλὰ μετ' ἡμέρην ποιούμενον; Plato, *Phaedrus*, p. 251 D, ἐμμανὴς οὐσα οὔτε νυκτὸς δύναται καθεῦδειν οὔτε μεθ' ἡμέραν. Compare Apollodorus, i. 9. 18, iii. 5. 6 (νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν), iii. 12. 3, *Epitome*, iv. 5, vii. 31 (μεθ' ἡμέραν μὲν ὑφαίνουσα, νύκτωρ δὲ ἀναλύουσα).

² With this story of the first introduction of wine into Attica, and its fatal consequences, compare Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xxii. 29; Aelian, *Var. Hist.* vii. 28; Nonnus, *Dionys.* xlvii. 34-245; Hyginus, *Fab.* 130; *id.* *Astronom.* ii. 4; Statius, *Theb.* xi. 644-647, with the comment of Lactantius Placidus on v. 644; Servius, on Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 389; Probus, on Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 385; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 6, 94 sq. (First Vatican Mythographer, 19; Second Vatican Mythographer, 61). The Athenians celebrated a curious festival of

Dionysus by Icarius, who received from him a branch of a vine and learned the process of making wine. And wishing to bestow the god's boons on men, Icarius went to some shepherds, who, having tasted the beverage and quaffed it copiously without water for the pleasure of it, imagined that they were bewitched and killed him; but by day¹ they understood how it was and buried him. When his daughter Erigone was searching for her father, a domestic dog, named Maera, which had attended Icarius, discovered his dead body to her, and she bewailed her father and hanged herself.²

swinging, which was supposed to be an expiation for the death of Erigone, who had hanged herself on the same tree at the foot of which she had discovered the dead body of her father Icarius (Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 4). See Hesychius and *Etymologicum Magnum*, s.v. Αἰώρα; Athenaeus, xiv. 10, p. 618 EF; Festus, ed. C. O. Müller, p. 194, s.v. "Oscillantes." Compare *The Dying God*, pp. 281 sqq. However, some thought that the Erigone whose death was thus expiated was not the daughter of Icarius, but the daughter of Aegisthus, who accused Orestes at Athens of the murder of her father and hanged herself when he was acquitted (so *Etymologicum Magnum*, l.c.; compare Apollodorus, *Epitome*, vi. 25 with the note). Sophocles wrote a play *Erigone*, but it is doubtful to which of the two Erigones it referred. See *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. i. pp. 173 sqq. The home of Icarius was at Icaria (Stephanus Byzantius, s.v. Ἰκαρία). From the description of Statius (l.c.) we infer that the place was in the woods of Marathon, and in accordance with this description the site has been discovered in a beautiful wooded dell at the northern foot of the forest-clad slopes of Mount Pentelicus. The place is still appropriately named Dionysos. A rugged precipitous path leads down a wild romantic ravine from the deserted village of Rapentosa to the plain of Marathon situated at a great depth below. Among the inscriptions found on the spot several refer to the worship of Dionysus. See my commentary on Pausanias, vol. ii. pp. 461 sqq., compare p. 442.

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8 Πανδίων δὲ γήμας Ζευξίππην τῆς μητρὸς τὴν ἀδελφὴν θυγατέρας μὲν ἐτέκνωσε Πρόκνην καὶ Φιλομήλαν, παῖδας δὲ διδύμους Ἐρεχθεά καὶ Βούτην. πολέμου δὲ ἐνστάτος¹ πρὸς Λάβδακον περὶ γῆς ὄρων ἐπεκαλέσατο βοηθὸν ἐκ Θράκης Τηρέα τὸν Ἄρεος, καὶ τὸν πόλεμον σὺν αὐτῷ κατορθώσας ἔδωκε Τηρεῖ πρὸς γάμον τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέρα Πρόκνην. ὁ δὲ ἐκ ταύτης γεννήσας

¹ ἐνστάτος E: ἐξαναστάτος A, Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher, Wagner. But such a use of ἐξαναστάς seems unparalleled, whereas ἐνστάς is regularly applied to war breaking out or threatening. See below iii. 15. 4, πολέμου ἐνστάτος πρὸς Ἀθηναίους: Isocrates, *Or.* v. 2, τὸν πόλεμον τὸν ἐνστάτα σοὶ καὶ τῇ πόλει περὶ Ἀμφιπόλει; Demosthenes, *Or.* xviii. 89, ὁ γὰρ τότε ἐνστάς πόλεμος, and 139, οὐκέτ' ἐν ἀμφισβητησίμῳ τὰ πράγματα ἦν, ἀλλ' ἐνειστήκει πόλεμος; Polybius, i. 71 4, μείζονος γὰρ ἐνίστατο πολέμου καταρχή.

¹ This tradition of marriage with a maternal aunt is remarkable. I do not remember to have met with another instance of such a marriage in Greek legend.

² For the tragic story of Procne and Philomela, and their transformation into birds, see Zenobius, *Cent.* iii. 14 (who, to a certain extent, agrees verbally with Apollodorus); Conon, *Narrat.* 31; Achilles Tatius, v. 3 and 5; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, vii. 459 *sqq.*; Pausanias, i. 5. 4, i. 41. 8 *sq.*, x. 4. 8 *sq.*; Eustathius, on Homer, *Od.* xix. 518, p. 1875; Hyginus, *Fab.* 45; Ovid, *Metamorph.* vi. 426-674; Servius, on Virgil, *Ecl.* vi. 78; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* v. 120; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 2 and 147 (First Vatican Mythographer, 8; Second Vatican Mythographer, 217). On this theme Sophocles composed a tragedy *Tereus*, from which most of the extant versions of the story are believed to be derived. See *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. ii. pp. 221 *sqq.* However, the version of Hyginus differs from the rest in a number of particulars. For example, he represents Tereus as transformed into a hawk instead of into a hoopoe; but for this

Pandion married Zeuxippe, his mother's sister,¹ and begat two daughters, Procne and Philomela, and twin sons, Erechtheus and Butes. But war having broken out with Labdacus on a question of boundaries, he called in the help of Tereus, son of Ares, from Thrace, and having with his help brought the war to a successful close, he gave Tereus his own daughter Procne in marriage.² Tereus had by her a son Itys,

transformation he had the authority of Aeschylus (*Suppliants*, 60 *sqq.*). Tereus is commonly said to have been a Thracian, and the scene of the tragedy is sometimes laid in Thrace. Ovid, who adopts this account, appears to have associated the murder of Itys with the frenzied rites of the Bacchanals, for he says that the crime was perpetrated at the time when the Thracian women were celebrating the biennial festival (*sacra trieterica*) of Dionysus, and that the two women disguised themselves as Bacchanals. On the other hand, Thucydides (ii. 29) definitely affirms that Tereus dwelt in Daulia, a district of Phocis, and that the tragedy took place in that country; at the same time he tells us that the population of the district was then Thracian. In this he is followed by Strabo (ix. 3. 13, p. 423), Zenobius, Conon, Pausanias, and Nonnus (*Dionys.* iv. 320 *sqq.*). Thucydides supports his view by a reference to Greek poets, who called the nightingale the Daulian bird. The Megarians maintained that Tereus reigned at Pagae in Megaris, and they showed his grave in the form of a barrow, at which they sacrificed to him every year, using gravel in the sacrifice instead of barley groats (Pausanias, i. 41. 8 *sq.*). But no one who has seen the grey ruined walls and towers of Daulis, thickly mantled in ivy and holly-oak, on the summit of precipices that overhang a deep romantic glen at the foot of the towering slopes of Parnassus, will willingly consent to divest them of the legendary charm which Greek poetry and history have combined to throw over the lovely scene.

It is said that, after being turned into birds, Procne and Tereus continued to utter the same cries which they had emitted at the moment of their transformation; the nightingale still fled warbling plaintively the name of her dead son, *Itu! Itu!* while the hoopoe still pursued his cruel wife

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παῖδα Ἴτυν, καὶ Φιλομήλας ἐρασθεῖς ἔφθειρε καὶ ταύτην, [εἰπὼν τεθνάναι Πρόκνην,]¹ κρύπτων ἐπὶ τῶν χωρίων. [αὐθις δὲ γήμας Φιλομήλαν συνηννάζετο,]² καὶ τὴν γλώσσαν ἐξέτεμεν αὐτῆς. ἡ δὲ ὑφήνασα ἐν πέπλῳ γράμματα διὰ τούτων ἐμήνυσε Πρόκνη τὰς ἰδίας συμφοράς. ἡ δὲ ἀναζητήσασα τὴν ἀδελφὴν κτείνει τὸν παῖδα Ἴτυν, καὶ καθεψήσασα Τηρεῖ δεῖπνον ἀγνοοῦντι παρατίθησι.³ καὶ μετὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς διὰ τάχους⁴ ἔφυγε.⁵ Τηρεὺς δὲ αἰσθόμενος, ἀρπύσας πέλεκυν ἐδίωκεν. αἱ δὲ ἐν Δαυλία τῆς Φωκίδος γινόμεναι περικατάληπτοι θεοῖς εὐχονται ἀπορνεωθῆναι, καὶ Πρόκνη μὲν γίνεται ἀηδῶν, Φιλομήλα δὲ χελιδῶν· ἀπορνεοῦται δὲ καὶ Τηρεὺς, καὶ γίνεται ἔποψ.

XV. Πανδίωνος δὲ ἀποθανόντος οἱ παῖδες τὰ πατρῶα ἐμερίσαντο, καὶ τὴν <μὲν>⁶ βασιλείαν Ἐρεχθεὺς λαμβάνει, τὴν δὲ ἱερωσύνην τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος τοῦ Ἐρεχθέως⁷ Βούτης.

¹ εἰπὼν τεθνάναι Πρόκνην omitted by Hercher.

² αὐθις δὲ γήμας Φιλομήλαν συνηννάζετο omitted by Hercher. The narrative gains in clearness by the omission.

³ παρατίθησι Zenobius, *Cent.* iii. 14, Bekker, Hercher, Wagner: προτίθησι EA, Heyne, Westermann, Müller.

⁴ διὰ τάχους E: διαταχέως A: διὰ ταχέως Müller: διὰ ταχέων Westermann, Bekker, Hercher.

⁵ ἔφυγε EA: ἔφευγε Hercher.

⁶ μὲν inserted by Bekker.

⁷ Ἐρεχθέως Heyne (conjecture), Hercher, Wagner: Ἐριχθονίου A, Westermann, Müller, Bekker.

crying, *Poo! poo!* (ποῦ, ποῦ, "Where? Where?"). The later Roman mythographers somewhat absurdly inverted the transformation of the two sisters, making Procne the swallow and the tongueless Philomela the songstress nightingale.

¹ Erechtheus is recognized as the son of Pandion by the *Parian Chronicle* (*Marmor Parium*, lines 28 sq.), Eusebius

and having fallen in love with Philomela, he seduced her also saying that Procne was dead, for he concealed her in the country. Afterwards he married Philomela and bedded with her, and cut out her tongue. But by weaving characters in a robe she revealed thereby to Procne her own sorrows. And having sought out her sister, Procne killed her son Itys, boiled him, served him up for supper to the unwitting Tereus, and fled with her sister in haste. When Tereus was aware of what had happened, he snatched up an axe and pursued them. And being overtaken at Daulia in Phocis, they prayed the gods to be turned into birds, and Procne became a nightingale, and Philomela a swallow. And Tereus also was changed into a bird and became a hoopoe.

XV. When Pandion died, his sons divided their father's inheritance between them, and Erechtheus got the kingdom,¹ and Butes got the priesthood of Athena and Poseidon Erechtheus.² Erechtheus

(*Chronic.* vol. i. p. 186, ed. A. Schoene), Hyginus (*Fab.* 48) and Ovid (*Metamorph.* vi. 675 *sqq.*). According to Ovid (*l.c.*), Erechtheus had four sons and four daughters.

² Compare Harpocration, *s.v.* Βούρης, who tells us that the families of the Butads and Eteobutads traced their origin to this Butes. There was an altar dedicated to him as to a hero in the Erechtheum on the acropolis of Athens (Pausanias, i. 26. 5). Compare J. Toepffer, *Attische Genealogie* (Berlin, 1889), pp. 113 *sqq.* Erechtheus was identified with Poseidon at Athens (Hesychius, *s.v.* Ἐρεχθεύς). The Athenians sacrificed to Erechtheus Poseidon (Athenagoras, *Supplicatio pro Christianis*, 1). His priesthood was called the priesthood of Poseidon Erechtheus (Pseudo-Plutarch, x. *Orat. Vit., Lycurgus*, 30, p. 1027, ed. Dübner; *Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum*, iii. No. 805; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*³, No. 790). An inscription found at the Erechtheum contains a dedication to Poseidon Erechtheus

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γῆμας δὲ Ἐρεχθεύς· Πράξιθέαν τὴν Φρασίμου
καὶ Διογενείας τῆς Κίφισου, ἔσχε παῖδας Κέ-
κροπα Πάνδωρον. Μῆτιονα, θυγατέρας δὲ Πρόκριν
Κρέουσαν Χθονίαν· Ωρείθυιαν, ἣν ἤρπασε Βορέας.
Χθονίαν μὲν οὖν ἔγημε Βούτης, Κρέουσαν δὲ
Ξοῦθος, Πρόκριν δὲ Κέφαλος <ὁ> Δηϊόνος. ἡ δὲ

(*Corpus-Inscriptionum Atticarum*, i. No. 387). Hence we may conclude with great probability that Heyne is right in restoring Ἐρεχθέως for Ἐριχθονίου in the present passage of Apollodorus. See the Critical Note.

Orithyia is said to have been carried off by Boreas from the banks of the Ilissus, where she was dancing or gathering flowers with her playmates. An altar to Boreas marked the spot. See below, iii. 15. 2; Plato, *Phaedrus*, p. 229 BC; Pausanias, i. 19. 5; Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 212 sqq., with the Scholiast on v. 212, from whom we learn that the story was told by the poet Simonides and the early historian Pherecydes. Compare Ovid, *Metamorph.* vi. 683 sqq. According to another account, Orithyia was seen and loved by Boreas as she was carrying a basket in a procession, which was winding up the slope of the acropolis to offer sacrifice to Athena Polias, the Guardian of the City; the impetuous lover whirled her away with him, invisible to the crowd and to the guards that surrounded the royal maidens. See Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* xiv. 533, who refers to Aculiaus as his authority. A different tradition as to the parentage of Orithyia appears to be implied by a vase-painting, which represents Boreas carrying off Orithyia in the presence of Cecrops, Erechtheus, Aglaurus, Herse, and Pandrosus, all of whom are identified by inscriptions (*Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, vol. iv. p. 146, No. 7716). The painting is interpreted most naturally by the supposition that in the artist's opinion Aglaurus, Herse, and Pandrosus, the three daughters of Cecrops (see above, iii. 14. 2), were the sisters of Orithyia, and therefore that her father was Cecrops, and not Erechtheus, as Apollodorus, following the ordinary Greek tradition (Herodotus, vii. 189), assumes in the present passage. This inference is confirmed by an express statement of the Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius (*Argon.* i. 212) that

married Praxithea, daughter of Phrasimus by Diogenia, daughter of Cephisus, and had sons, to wit, Cecrops, Pandorus, and Metion; and daughters, to wit, Procris, Creusa, Chthonia, and Orithyia, who was carried off by Boreas.¹

Chthonia was married to Butes,² Creusa to Xuthus,³ and Procris to Cephalus, son of Deion.⁴ Bribed by

Cecrops was the father of Orithyia. As to the vase-painting in question, see F. G. Welcker, *Antike Denkmäler*, iii. 144 sqq.; A. Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, i. 351 sqq.

² This is the third instance of marriage or betrothal with a niece, the daughter of a brother, which has met us in Apollodorus. See above, ii. 4. 3, ii. 4. 5. So many references to such a marriage seem to indicate a former practice of marrying a niece, the daughter of a brother.

³ Compare Euripides, *Ion*, 57 sqq.; Pausanias, vii. 1. 2, where, however, Creusa is not named.

⁴ The tragic story of Cephalus and Procris was told with variations in detail by ancient writers. See Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* xi. 321; Eustathius on Homer, *l.c.*, p. 1688; Antoninus Liberalis, *Transform.* 41; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, i. 542 sqq.; Hyginus, *Fab.* 189; Ovid, *Metamorph.* vii. 670-862; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 445; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 16 sq., 147 (First Vatican Mythographer, 44; Second Vatican Mythographer, 216). Of these writers, Tzetzes closely follows Apollodorus, whom he cites by name. They are the only two authors who mention the intrigue of Procris with Pteleus and the bribe of the golden crown. The story was told by Pherecydes, as we learn from the Scholiast on Homer, *l.c.*, who gives an abstract of the narrative. In it the test of his wife's chastity is made by Cephalus himself in disguise; nothing is said of the flight of the abashed Procris to Minos, and nothing of the love of Dawn (Aurora) for Cephalus, which in several of the versions figures conspicuously, since it is the jealous goddess who suggests to her human lover the idea of tempting his wife to her fall. The episode of Procris's flight to Minos is told with some differences of detail by Antoninus Liberalis. As to the dog which Procris

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λαβοῦσα χρυσοῦν στέφανον Πτελέοντι συνευνά-
ζεται, καὶ φωραθεῖσα ὑπὸ Κεφάλου πρὸς Μίνωα
φεύγει. ὁ δὲ αὐτῆς ἐρᾷ καὶ πείθει συνελθεῖν. εἰ
δὲ συνέλθοι γυνὴ Μίνωι, ἀδύνατον ἦν αὐτὴν
σωθῆναι. Πασιφάη γάρ, ἐπειδὴ πολλαῖς Μίνως
συνηυνάζετο γυναιξίν, ἐφαρμάκευσεν αὐτόν, καὶ
ὁπότε ἄλλη συνηυνάζετο, εἰς τὰ ἄρθρα ἀφίει¹
θηρία, καὶ οὕτως ἀπώλλυντο. ἔχοντος οὖν αὐτοῦ
κύνα ταχὺν <καὶ> ἀκόντιον ἰθυβόλου, ἐπὶ τούτοις
Πρόκρις, δοῦσα τὴν Κιρκαίαν πιεῖν ρίζαν πρὸς τὸ
μηδὲν βλάψαι, συνευνάζεται. δείσασα δὲ αὐθις
τὴν Μίνωος γυναιῖκα ἤκεν εἰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ δια-
λαγεῖσα Κεφάλῳ μετὰ τούτου παραγίνεται ἐπὶ
θήραν· ἦν γὰρ θηρευτικὴ. διωκούσης δὲ αὐτῆς
ἐν τῇ λόχμῃ² ἀγνοήσας Κέφαλος ἀκοντίζει, καὶ
τυχῶν ἀποκτείνει Πρόκριν. καὶ κριθεὶς ἐν Ἀρείῳ
πάγῳ φυγὴν αἰδίου καταδικάζεται.

2 Ὀρειθιανὴν δὲ παίζουσαν³ ἐπὶ Ἴλισσοῦ ποταμοῦ
ἀρπάσας Βορέας συνῆλθεν· ἡ δὲ γεννᾷ θυγατέρας
μὲν Κλεοπάτραν καὶ Χιόνην, υἱοὺς δὲ Ζήτην καὶ
Κάλαϊν πτερωτοὺς, οἳ πλείοντες σὺν Ἰάσονι καὶ

¹ ἀφίει Heyne (conjecture), Bekker, Hercher: ἐφίει, Westermann, Müller, Wagner, following apparently the MSS.

² λόχμη O: λόγχη A.

³ παίζουσαν Staverenus, Hercher, Wagner (compare παίζουσαν in Plato, *Phaedrus*, p. 229 c; Pausanias, i. 29. 5; Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 212): περῶσαν A, Westermann, Bekker.

received from Minos, see above, ii. 7. 1. The animal's name was Laelaps (Ovid, *Metamorph.* vii. 771; Hyginus, *Fab.* 189). According to Hyginus (*l.c.*), both the dog and the dart which could never miss were bestowed on Procris by Artemis (Diana). Sophocles wrote a tragedy *Procris*, of

a golden crown, Procris admitted Pteleon to her bed, and being detected by Cephalus she fled to Minos. But he fell in love with her and tried to seduce her. Now if any woman had intercourse with Minos, it was impossible for her to escape with life; for because Minos cohabited with many women, Pasiphae bewitched him, and whenever he took another woman to his bed, he discharged wild beasts at her joints, and so the women perished.¹ But Minos had a swift dog and a dart that flew straight; and in return for these gifts Procris shared his bed, having first given him the Circean root to drink that he might not harm her. But afterwards, fearing the wife of Minos, she came to Athens and being reconciled to Cephalus she went forth with him to the chase; for she was fond of hunting. As she was in pursuit of game in the thicket, Cephalus, not knowing she was there, threw a dart, hit and killed Procris, and, being tried in the Areopagus, was condemned to perpetual banishment.²

While Orithyia was playing by the Ilissus river, Boreas carried her off and had intercourse with her; and she bore daughters, Cleopatra and Chione, and winged sons, Zetes and Calais. These sons sailed

which antiquity has bequeathed to us four words. See *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. ii. pp. 170 sq. The accidental killing of Procris by her husband was a familiar, indeed trite, tale in Greece (Pausanias, x. 29. 6).

¹ The danger which the women incurred, and the device by which Procris contrived to counteract it, are clearly explained by Antoninus Liberalis (*Transform.* 41). According to him, the animals which Minos discharged from his body were snakes, scorpions, and millipeds.

² Compare J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, i. 552. After the homicide of his wife, Cephalus is said to have dwelt as an exile in Thebes (Pausanias, i. 37. 6).

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- τὰς ἀρπυίας διώκοντες ἀπέθανον, ὡς δὲ Ἀκουσί-
 λαος λέγει, περὶ Τήνων ὑφ' Ἑρακλέους ἀπώλοντο.
- 3 Κλεοπάτραν δὲ ἔγημε Φινεύς, ᾧ γίνονται παῖδες
 <ἐξ>¹ αὐτῆς Πλήξιππος καὶ Πανδίων. ἔχων δὲ
 τούτους ἐκ Κλεοπάτρας παῖδας Ἰδαίαν ἐγάμει²
 τὴν Δαρδάνου. καὶ κείνη τῶν προγόνων πρὸς Φινέα
 φθορὰν καταψεύδεται, καὶ πιστεύσας Φινεὺς
 ἀμφοτέροισι τυφλοῖ. παραπλέοντες δὲ οἱ Ἀργο-
 ναῦται σὺν Βορέα κολάζονται³ αὐτόν.
- 4 Χιόνη δὲ Ποσειδῶνι⁴ μίγνυται. ἡ δὲ κρύφα

¹ ἐξ inserted by Heyne.

² γαμεί Hercher.

³ κολάζουσιν Bekker (conjecture), Hercher.

⁴ Χιόνη δὲ Ποσειδῶν Hercher.

¹ See above, i. 9. 21; Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 211 *sqq.*, ii. 273 *sqq.*; Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* xiv. 533; Scholiast on Sophocles, *Antigone*, 981; Hyginus, *Fab.* 14, pp. 42 *sq.*, ed. Bunte; Ovid, *Metamorph.* vi. 711 *sqq.*; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 209. According to Hyginus (*l.c.*), their wings were attached to their feet, and their hair was sky-blue. Elsewhere (*Fab.* 19) he describes them with wings on their heads as well as on their feet. Ovid says that they were twins, and that they did not develop wings until their beards began to grow; according to him, the pinions sprouted from their sides in the usual way.

² This is the version adopted by Apollonius Rhodius (*Argon.* i. 1298-1308), who tells us that when Zetes and Calais were returning from the funeral games of Pelias, Hercules killed them in Tenos because they had persuaded the Argonauts to leave him behind in Mysia; over their grave he heaped a barrow, and on the barrow he set up two pillars, one of which shook at every breath of the North Wind, the father of the two dead men. The slaughter of Zetes and Calais by Hercules is mentioned by Hyginus (*Fab.* 14, p. 43, ed. Bunte).

³ See above, i. 9. 21. The story of Phineus and his sons is related by the Scholiast on Sophocles (*Antigone*, 981), referring

with Jason¹ and met their end in chasing the Harpies; but according to Acusilaus, they were killed by Hercules in Tenos.² Cleopatra was married to Phineus, who had by her two sons, Plexippus and Pandion. When he had these sons by Cleopatra, he married Idaea, daughter of Dardanus. She falsely accused her stepsons to Phineus of corrupting her virtue, and Phineus, believing her, blinded them both.³ But when the Argonauts sailed past with Boreas, they punished him.⁴

Chione had connexion with Poseidon, and having

to the present passage of Apollodorus as his authority. The tale was told by the ancients with many variations, some of which are noticed by the Scholiast on Sophocles (*l.c.*) According to Sophocles (*Antigone*, 969 *sqq.*), it was not their father Phineus, but their cruel stepmother, who blinded the two young men, using her shuttle as a dagger. The names both of the stepmother and of her stepsons are variously given by our authorities. See further Diodorus Siculus, iv. 43 *sq.*; Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* xii. 69 (who refers to Asclepiades as his authority); Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* ii. 178; Hyginus, *Fab.* 19; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 209; Scholiast on Ovid, *Ibis*, 265, 271; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 9, 124 (First Vatican Mythographer, 27; Second Vatican Mythographer, 124). According to Phylarchus, Aesculapius restored the sight of the blinded youths for the sake of their mother Cleopatra, but was himself killed by Zeus with a thunderbolt for so doing. See Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus mathematicos*, i. 262, p. 658, ed. Bekker; compare Scholiast on Pindar, *Pyth.* iii. 54 (96); Scholiast on Euripides, *Alcestis*, 1. Both Aeschylus and Sophocles composed tragedies entitled *Phineus*. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck², pp. 83, 284 *sqq.*; *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. ii. pp. 311 *sqq.*

⁴ Here Apollodorus departs from the usual tradition, followed by himself elsewhere (i. 9. 21), which affirmed that the Argonauts, instead of punishing Phineus, rendered him a great service by delivering him from the Harpies.

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τοῦ πατρὸς Εὐμόλπον τεκούσα, ἵνα μὴ γένηται καταφανής, εἰς τὸν βυθὸν ρίπτει τὸ παιδίον. Ποσειδῶν δὲ ἀνελόμενος εἰς Αἰθιοπίαν κομίζει καὶ δίδωσι Βενθесικύμη τρέφειν, αὐτοῦ θυγατρὶ καὶ Ἀμφιτρίτης. ὡς δὲ ἐτελειώθη,¹ ὁ Βενθесικύμης ἀνὴρ τὴν ἑτέραν αὐτῷ τῶν θυγατέρων δίδωσιν. ὁ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν τῆς γαμηθείσης ἐπεχείρησε βιάζεσθαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φυγαδευθεὶς μετὰ Ἰσμάρου τοῦ παιδὸς πρὸς Τεγύριον ἦκε, Θρακῶν βασιλέα, ὃς αὐτοῦ τῷ παιδί τὴν θυγατέρα συνώκισεν.² ἐπιβουλεύων δὲ ὕστερον Τεγυρίῳ καταφανής γίνεται, καὶ πρὸς Ἐλευσινίους φεύγει καὶ φιλίαν ποιεῖται πρὸς αὐτούς. αὐτῆς δὲ Ἰσμάρου τελευτήσαντος μεταπεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ Τεγυρίου παραγίνεται, καὶ τὴν πρὸ τοῦ μάχην διαλυσάμενος τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβε. καὶ πολέμου ἐνστάτος πρὸς Ἀθηναίους τοῖς Ἐλευσινίοις,³ ἐπικληθεὶς ὑπὸ Ἐλευσινίων μετὰ πολλῆς συνε-

¹ After ἐτελειώθη some MSS. read *ἔνδον* or *ἔνδον ἐν*, which Bekker changed into *Ἐνδιος* and Hercher into *Ἐναλος*. It seems probable that the name of Benthesisicyme's husband is concealed under *ἔνδον* or *ἔνδον ἐν*.

² *συνώκισεν* R^a: *συνώκησεν* A.

³ *τοῖς Ἐλευσινίοις* Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher, Wagner: καὶ *Ἐλευσινίους* A.

¹ With this account of the parentage of Eumolpus, compare Pausanias, i. 38. 2; Scholiast on Euripides, *Phoeniss.* 854; Hyginus, *Fab.* 157. Isocrates (iv. 68) agrees with Apollodorus in describing Eumolpus as a son of Poseidon, but does not name his mother. On the other hand the *Parian Chronicle* (*Marmor Parium*, lines 27 *sq.*) represents Eumolpus as a son of Musaeus, and says that he founded the mysteries of Eleusis. Apollodorus does not expressly attribute the institution of the

given birth to Eumolpus¹ unknown to her father, in order not to be detected, she flung the child into the deep. But Poseidon picked him up and conveyed him to Ethiopia, and gave him to Benthescyeme (a daughter of his own by Amphitrite) to bring up. When he was full grown, Benthescyeme's husband gave him one of his two daughters. But he tried to force his wife's sister, and being banished on that account, he went with his son Ismarus to Tegyrus, king of Thrace, who gave his daughter in marriage to Eumolpus's son. But being afterwards detected in a plot against Tegyrus, he fled to the Eleusinians and made friends with them. Later, on the death of Ismarus, he was sent for by Tegyrus and went, composed his old feud with him, and succeeded to the kingdom. And war having broken out between the Athenians and the Eleusinians, he was called in by the Eleusinians and fought on their side with a large

mysteries to Eumolpus, but perhaps he implies it. Compare ii. 5. 12. It seems to have been a common tradition that the mysteries of Eleusis were founded by the Thracian Eumolpus. See Plutarch, *De exilio*, 17; Lucian, *Demonax*, 34; Photius, *Lexicon*, s.v. Εὐμολπίδαι. But some people held that the Eumolpus who founded the mysteries was a different person from the Thracian Eumolpus; his mother, according to them, was Deiope, daughter of Triptolemus. Some of the ancients supposed that there were as many as three different legendary personages of the name of Eumolpus, and that the one who instituted the Eleusinian mysteries was descended in the fifth generation from the first Eumolpus. See Scholiast on Sophocles, *Oedipus Colon.* 1053; Photius, *Lexicon*, s.v. Εὐμολπίδαι. The story which Apollodorus here tells of the casting of Eumolpus into the sea, his rescue by Poseidon, and his upbringing in Ethiopia, appears not to be noticed by any other ancient writer.

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μαχει Θρακῶν δυνάμεως. Ἐρεχθεὶ δὲ ὑπὲρ¹
 Ἀθηναίων νίκης χρωμένῳ ἔχρησεν ὁ θεὸς κατορ-
 θώσειν τὸν πόλεμον, ἐὰν μίαν τῶν θυγατέρων
 σφάξῃ. καὶ σφάξαντος αὐτοῦ τὴν νεωτάτην καὶ
 αἱ λοιπαὶ ἑαυτὰς κατέσφαξαν· ἐπεποίητο γάρ,
 ὡς ἔφασάν τινες, συνωμοσίαν ἀλλήλαις συναπο-
 λέσθαι. γενομένης δὲ μετὰ <τὴν>² σφαγὴν τῆς
 5 μάχης Ἐρεχθεὺς μὲν ἀνεῖλεν Εὐμόλπον, Ποσειδῶ-
 νος δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἐρεχθέα καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ κατα-
 λύσαντος, Κέκροψ ὁ πρεσβύτατος τῶν Ἐρεχθέως
 παίδων ἐβασίλευσεν, ὃς γήμας Μητιάδουσιν τὴν
 Εὐπαλάμου παῖδα ἐτέκνωσε Πανδίονα. οὗτος
 μετὰ Κέκροπα³ βασιλεύων ὑπὸ τῶν Μητίουος

¹ ὑπὲρ A : περὶ Hercher.

² τὴν inserted by Bekker.

³ Κέκροπα Heyne : κέκροπος A.

¹ As to the war between the Athenians and the Eleusinians, see Pausanias, i. 5. 2, i. 27. 4, i. 31. 3, i. 36. 4, i. 38. 3, ii. 14. 2, vii. 1. 5, ix. 9. 1; Alcidas, *Odyss.* 23, p. 182, ed. Blass; Scholiast on Euripides, *Phoeniss.* 854; Aristides, *Or.* xiii. vol. i. pp. 190 sq., ed. Dindorf. Pausanias differs from Apollodorus and our other authorities in saying that in the battle it was not Eumolpus, but his son Ismarus or, as Pausanias calls him, Immaradus who fell by the hand of Erechtheus (i. 5. 2, i. 27. 4). According to Pausanias (i. 38. 3), Erechtheus was himself slain in the battle, but Eumolpus survived it and was allowed to remain in Eleusis (ii. 14. 2). Further, Pausanias relates that in the war with Eleusis the Athenians offered the supreme command of their forces to the exiled Ion, and that he accepted it (i. 31. 3, ii. 14. 2, vii. 1. 5); and with this account Strabo (viii. 7. 1, p. 383) substantially agrees. The war waged by Eumolpus on Athens is mentioned by Plato (*Menezenus*, p. 239 B), Isocrates (iv. 68, xii. 193), Demosthenes (ix. 8. p. 1391), and Plutarch (*Parallela*, 31). According to Isocrates, Eumolpus claimed the kingdom of Athens against Erechtheus on the ground that his father Poseidon had gained possession of the country before Athena.

force of Thracians.¹ When Erechtheus inquired of the oracle how the Athenians might be victorious, the god answered that they would win the war if he would slaughter one of his daughters; and when he slaughtered his youngest, the others also slaughtered themselves; for, as some said, they had taken an oath among themselves to perish together.² In the battle which took place after the slaughter, Erechtheus killed Eumolpus. But Poseidon having destroyed Erechtheus³ and his house, Cecrops, the eldest of the sons of Erechtheus, succeeded to the throne.⁴ He married Metiadusa, daughter of Eupalamus, and begat Pandion. This Pandion, reigning after Cecrops, was

² Compare Lycurgus, *Contra Leocratem*, 98 sq., ed. C. Scheibe; Plutarch, *Parallela*, 20; Suidas, s.v. *παρθέροι*; Apostolius, *Cent.* xiv. 7; Aristides, *Or.* xiii. vol. i. p. 191, ed. Dindorf; Cicero, *Pro Sestio*, xxi. 48; *id. Tusculan. Disput.* i. 48. 116; *id. De natura deorum*, iii. 19. 50; *id. De finibus*, v. 22. 62; Hyginus, *Fab.* 46. According to Suidas and Apostolius, out of the six daughters of Erechtheus only the two eldest, Protogonia and Pandora, offered themselves for the sacrifice. According to Euripides (*Ion*, 277-280), the youngest of the sisters, Creusa, was spared because she was an infant in arms. Aristides speaks of the sacrifice of one daughter only. Cicero says (*De natura deorum*, iii. 19. 50) that on account of this sacrifice Erechtheus and his daughters were reckoned among the gods at Athens. "Sober," that is, wineless, sacrifices were offered after their death to the daughters of Erechtheus. See Scholiast on Sophocles, *Oedipus Coloneus*, 100. The heroic sacrifice of the maidens was celebrated by Euripides in his tragedy *Erechtheus*, from which a long passage is quoted by Lycurgus (*op. cit.* 100). See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck², pp. 464 sqq.

³ According to Hyginus (*Fab.* 46), Zeus killed Erechtheus with a thunderbolt at the request of Poseidon, who was enraged at the Athenians for killing his son Eumolpus.

⁴ Compare Pausanias, i. 5. 3, vii. 1. 2.

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υἱὼν κατὰ στάσιν ἐξεβλήθη, καὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς Μέγαρα πρὸς Πύλαν τὴν ἐκείνου θυγατέρα Πυλίαν¹ γαμεῖ. αὐθις <δὲ>² καὶ τῆς πόλεως βασιλεὺς³ καθίσταται· κτείνας γὰρ Πύλας τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀδελφὸν Βίαντα τὴν βασιλείαν δίδωσι Πανδίονι, αὐτὸς δὲ εἰς Πελοπόννησον σὺν λαῷ παραγενόμενος κτίζει πόλιν Πύλον.

Πανδίονι δὲ ἐν Μεγάροις ὄντι παῖδες ἐγένοντο Αἰγεὺς Πάλλας Νίσος Λύκος. ἔνιοι δὲ Αἰγέα Σκυρίου εἶναι λέγουσιν, ὑποβληθῆναι δὲ ὑπὸ 6 Πανδίωνος. μετὰ δὲ τὴν Πανδίωνος τελευτὴν οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ στρατεύσαντες ἐπ' Ἀθήνας ἐξέβαλον τοὺς Μητιονίδας καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τετραχῆ διεῖλον· εἶχε δὲ τὸ πᾶν κράτος Αἰγεὺς. γαμεῖ δὲ πρώτην⁴ μὲν Μήτην τὴν Ὀπλήτος, δευτέραν δὲ Χαλκιοπην τὴν Ῥηξήνορος. ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἐγένετο παῖς αὐτῷ, δεδοικῶς τοὺς ἀδελφούς εἰς Πυθίαν⁵

¹ Πυλίαν Faber, Bekker, Hercher, Wagner, preferred by Heyne: *πελίαν* A, Westermann, Müller.

² δὲ conjectured by Heyne, accepted by Westermann, Hercher, and Wagner.

³ βασιλεὺς. The MSS. (A) add ὑπ' αὐτῆς, which is kept by Westermann, Bekker, and Wagner, but altered into ὑπ' αὐτοῦ by Müller. I have followed Hercher in omitting the words as a gloss, which was the course preferred by Heyne.

⁴ πρώτην Hercher, Wagner: *πρῶτον* AS.

⁵ Πυθίαν a rare, if not unexampled, form of the old name for Delphi. The usual form is Πυθῶ, which is used by Apollodorus elsewhere (i. 4. 1) and should perhaps be restored here.

¹ Compare Pausanias, i. 5. 3, who tells us that the tomb of Pandion was in the land of Megara, on a bluff called the bluff of Diver-bird Athena.

expelled by the sons of Metion in a sedition, and going to Pylas at Megara married his daughter Pylia.¹ And at a later time he was even appointed king of the city; for Pylas slew his father's brother Bias and gave the kingdom to Pandion, while he himself repaired to Peloponnese with a body of people and founded the city of Pylus.²

While Pandion was at Megara, he had sons born to him, to wit, Aegeus, Pallas, Nisus, and Lycus. But some say that Aegeus was a son of Scyrius, but was passed off by Pandion as his own.³ After the death of Pandion his sons marched against Athens, expelled the Metionids, and divided the government in four; but Aegeus had the whole power.⁴ The first wife whom he married was Meta, daughter of Hoples, and the second was Chalciope, daughter of Rhexenor.⁵ As no child was born to him, he feared his brothers, and went to Pythia and consulted the

¹ Compare Pausanias, i. 39. 4, iv. 36. 1, vi. 22. 5, who variously names this Megarian king Pylas, Pylus, and Pylon.

² Compare Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 494, who may have copied Apollodorus. The sons of Pallas, the brother of Aegeus, alleged that Aegeus was not of the stock of the Erechtheids, since he was only an adopted son of Pandion. See Plutarch, *Theseus*, 13.

³ Compare Pausanias i. 5. 4, i. 39. 4, according to whom Aegeus, as the eldest of the sons of Pandion, obtained the sovereignty of Attica, while his brother Nisus, relinquishing his claim to his elder brother, was invested with the kingdom of Megara. As to the fourfold partition of Attica among the sons of Pandion, about which the ancients were not agreed, see Strabo, ix. i. 6, p. 392; Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*, 58, and on *Wasps*, 1223.

⁵ Compare Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 494, who may have copied Apollodorus.

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ἦλθε καὶ περὶ παίδων γοῆς ἔμαντεύετο. ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἔχρησεν αὐτῷ·

ἄσκου τὸν προύχοντα ποδάουνα,¹ φέρτατε λαῶν,
μὴ λύσης, πρὶν ἐς ἄκρον Ἀθηναίων ἀφίκηαι.

ἄπορῶν δὲ τὸν χρησμὸν ἀνῆει πάλιν εἰς Ἀθήνας.
7 καὶ Τροιζήνα διωδεύων ἐπιξενούται Πιτθεὶ τῷ Πέλοπος, ὃς τὸν χρησμὸν συνείς, μεθύσας αὐτὸν τῇ θυγατρὶ συγκατέκλινεν Αἴθρα. τῇ δὲ αὐτῇ νυκτὶ καὶ Ποσειδῶν ἐπλησίασεν αὐτῇ. Αἰγεὺς δὲ ἐντείλαμενος Αἴθρα, ἐὰν ἄρρενα γεννήσῃ, τρέφειν, τίνος ἐστὶ μὴ λέγουσαν,² ἀπέλιπεν ὑπὸ τινα πέτραν³ μάχαιραν καὶ πέδιλα, εἰπών, ὅταν ὁ παῖς δύνηται τὴν πέτραν ἀποκυλίσας ἀνελεῖσθαι ταῦτα, τότε μετ' αὐτῶν αὐτὸν ἀποπέμψειν.

Αὐτὸς δὲ ἦκεν εἰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ τὸν τῶν Παναθηναίων ἀγῶνα ἐπετέλει, ἐν ᾧ ὁ Μίνωος παῖς Ἀνδρόγεως ἐνίκησε πάντας. τοῦτον Αἰγεὺς⁴ ἐπὶ τὸν Μαραθῶνιον ἔπεμψε ταῦρον, ὑφ' οὗ διεφθάρη. ἔνιοι δὲ αὐτὸν λέγουσι πορευόμενον εἰς Θήβας⁵

¹ ποδάουνα ES, Scholiast on Euripides, *Medea*, 679, Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 494 (where, however, the MSS. seem to vary), Heyne, Wagner: πόδα μέγα A, Plutarch, *Theseus*, 3, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher. The form ποδάων seems to be known only in these passages: elsewhere the word occurs in the form ποδεών.

² τίνος ἐστὶ μὴ λέγουσαν ES: καὶ τίνος ἔσται μὴ λέγειν A.

³ τινα πέτραν ESA, Westermann, Wagner: τινι πέτρα Heyne, Müller, Bekker, Hercher.

⁴ Αἰγεὺς S: ὁ ζεὺς A.

⁵ Θήβας Meursius (compare Diodorus Siculus, iv, 60. 5; Scholiast on Plato, *Minos*, p. 321 A): ἀθήνας A.

¹ As to the oracle, the begetting of Theseus, and the tokens of his human paternity, see Plutarch, *Theseus*, 3 and

oracle concerning the begetting of children. The god answered him :—

“The bulging mouth of the wineskin, O best of men,
Loose not until thou hast reached the height of
Athens.”¹

Not knowing what to make of the oracle, he set out on his return to Athens. And journeying by way of Troezen, he lodged with Pittheus, son of Pelops, who, understanding the oracle, made him drunk and caused him to lie with his daughter Aethra. But in the same night Poseidon also had connexion with her. Now Aegeus charged Aethra that, if she gave birth to a male child, she should rear it, without telling whose it was; and he left a sword and sandals under a certain rock, saying that when the boy could roll away the rock and take them up, she was then to send him away with them.

But he himself came to Athens and celebrated the games of the Panathenian festival, in which Androgeus, son of Minos, vanquished all comers. Him Aegeus sent against the bull of Marathon, by which he was destroyed. But some say that as he journeyed

6; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 494; Hyginus, *Fab.* 37. As to the tokens, compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 59. 1 and 6; Pausanias, i. 27. 8, ii. 32. 7. Theseus is said to have claimed to be a son of Poseidon, because the god had consorted with his mother; and in proof of his marine descent he dived into the sea and brought up a golden crown, the gift of Amphitrite, together with a golden ring which Minos had thrown into the sea in order to test his claim to be a son of the sea-god. See Bacchylides, xvi. (xvii.) 33 *sqq.*; Pausanias, i. 17. 3; Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 5. The picturesque story was painted by Micon in the sanctuary of Theseus at Athens (Pausanias, *l.c.*), and is illustrated by some Greek vase-paintings. See my commentary on Pausanias, vol. ii. pp. 157 *sq.*

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ἐπὶ τὸν Λαΐου ἀγῶνα πρὸς τῶν ἀγωνιστῶν ἐνεδρευθέντα διὰ φθόνου ἀπολέσθαι. Μίνως δέ, ἀγγελθέντος αὐτῷ τοῦ θανάτου,¹ θύων ἐν Πάρῳ ταῖς χάρισι, τὸν μὲν στέφανον ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἔρριψε καὶ τὸν αὐλὸν κατέσχε, τὴν δὲ θυσίαν οὐδὲν ἦττον ἐπετέλεσεν· ὅθεν ἔτι καὶ δεῦρο χωρὶς αὐλῶν καὶ στεφάνων ἐν Πάρῳ θύουσι ταῖς χάρισι.
 8 μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ θαλασσοκρατῶν ἐπολέμησε στόλῳ τὰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ Μέγαρα εἶλε Νίσου βασιλεύοντος τοῦ Πανδίωνος, καὶ Μεγαρέα τὸν Ἴππομένους ἐξ Ὀγχηστοῦ Νίσῳ βοηθὸν ἐλθόντα ἀπέκτεινεν. ἀπέθανε δὲ καὶ Νίσος διὰ θυγατρὸς προδοσίαν. ἔχοντι γὰρ αὐτῷ πορφυρέαν ἐν μέσῃ τῇ κεφαλῇ τρίχα ταύτης ἀφαιρεθείσης ἦν χρῆσιμος τελευτῆσαι.² ἡ δὲ θυγάτηρ αὐτοῦ Σκύλλα ἐρασθεῖσα Μίνως ἐξεῖλε τὴν τρίχα. Μίνως³ δὲ Μεγάρων κρατήσας καὶ τὴν κόρην τῆς πρύμνης τῶν ποδῶν ἐκδήσας ὑποβρύχιον ἐποίησε.

¹ ἀγγελθέντος αὐτῷ τοῦ θανάτου Wytttenbach (on Plutarch, *Præcepta sanit. tuend.*, 132 E, vol. ii., p. 154, Leipsic, 1821), Westermann, Bekker, Hercher, Wagner: ἐπαγγελθέντος αὐτῷ τοῦ θανάτου Heyne; ἐπελθόντος αὐτοῦ θανάτου A, Müller.

² ἦν χρῆσιμος τελευτῆσαι E: τελευτῆ A (omitting ἦν χρῆσιμος). ³ Μίνως E: μόνον A.

¹ This account of the murder of Androgeus is repeated almost verbally by the Scholiast on Plato, *Minos*, p. 321 A. Compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 60. 4 sq.; Zenobius, *Cent.* iv. 6; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xviii. 590. All these writers mention the distinction won by Androgeus in the athletic contests of the Panathenian festival as the ultimate ground of his undoing. Servius (on Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 14) and Lactantius Placidus (on Statius, *Achill.* 192) say that, as an eminent athlete who beat all competitors in the games, Androgeus was murdered at Athens by Athenian and Megarian conspirators. Pausanias (i. 27. 10) mentions the killing of Andro-

to Thebes to take part in the games in honour of Laius, he was waylaid and murdered by the jealous competitors.¹ But when the tidings of his death were brought to Minos, as he was sacrificing to the Graces in Paros, he threw away the garland from his head and stopped the music of the flute, but nevertheless completed the sacrifice; hence down to this day they sacrifice to the Graces in Paros without flutes and garlands. But not long afterwards, being master of the sea, he attacked Athens with a fleet and captured Megara, then ruled by king Nisus, son of Pandion, and he slew Megareus, son of Hippomenes, who had come from Onchestus to the help of Nisus.² Now Nisus perished through his daughter's treachery. For he had a purple hair on the middle of his head, and an oracle ran that when it was pulled out he should die; and his daughter Scylla fell in love with Minos and pulled out the hair. But when Minos had made himself master of Megara, he tied the damsel by the feet to the stern of the ship and drowned her.³

gens by the Marathonian bull. According to Hyginus (*Fab.* 41), Androgeus was killed in battle during the war which his father Minos waged with the Athenians.

² Compare Pausanias, i. 39. 5, who calls Megareus a son of Poseidon, and says that Megara took its name from him.

³ With this story of the death of Nisus through the treachery of his daughter Scylla, compare Aeschylus, *Choephor.* 612 *sqq.*; Pausanias, i. 19. 5, ii. 34. 7; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 650; Scholiast on Euripides, *Hippolytus*, 1200; Propertius, iv. 19 (18) 21 *sqq.*; [Virgil,] *Ciris*, 378 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 198; Ovid, *Metamorph.* viii. 6 *sqq.*; Servius, on Virgil, *Ecl.* vi. 74; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* i. 333, vii. 261; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 2, 116 (First Vatican Mythographer, 3; Second Vatican Mythographer, 121). A similar tale is told of Pterelaus and his daughter Comaetho. See above, ii. 4. 5, ii. 4. 7.

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Χρονιζομένου δὲ τοῦ πολέμου, μὴ δυνάμενος ἐλεῖν Ἀθήνας εὐχεται Διὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίων λαβεῖν δίκας. γενομένου δὲ τῆ πόλει λιμοῦ τε καὶ λοιμοῦ. τὸ μὲν πρῶτον κατὰ λόγιον Ἀθηναῖοι παλαιὸν τὰς Ἑκκλῆστος κόρας, Ἀνθηίδα Αἰγληίδα Λυταίαν Ὀρθαίαν, ἐπὶ τὸν Γεραίστου τοῦ Κύκλωπος τάφον κατέσφαξαν· τούτων δὲ ὁ πατὴρ Ἑκκλῆστος ἐλθὼν ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος Ἀθήνας κατῶκει. ὡς δὲ οὐδὲν ὄφελος ἦν τοῦτο, ἐχρῶντο περὶ ἀπαλλαγῆς. ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἀνεῖλεν¹ αὐτοῖς Μίνωι δίδοναι δίκας ἂς ἂν αὐτὸς αἰροῖτο.² πέμψαντες οὖν πρὸς Μίνωα ἐπέτρεπον αἰτεῖν δίκας. Μίνως δὲ ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοῖς κόρους³ ἑπτὰ καὶ κόρας τὰς ἴσας χωρὶς ὀπλων πέμπειν τῷ Μινωταύρῳ βοράν. ἦν δὲ

¹ ἀνεῖλεν Faber, Hercher, Wagner: ἀνεῖπεν Scholiast on Plato, *Minos*, p. 321 A, Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker: ἀπεῖπεν A.

² αἰροῖτο E, Wagner: αἰρεῖται A, Heyne, Müller: αἰρήται Scholiast on Plato, *Minos*, p. 321 A, Westermann, Bekker, Hercher.

³ κόρους E, Scholiast on Plato, *Minos*, p. 321 A: κούρους A.

¹ Compare Diodorus Siculus, xvii. 15. 2; Hyginus, *Fab.* 233 (who seems to mention only one daughter; but the passage is corrupt); Harpocration, *s.v.* Ἑκκλῆστος, who says that the daughters of Hyacinth the Lacedaemonian were known as the Hyacinthides. The name of one of the daughters of Hyacinth is said to have been Lusía (Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Λουσία). Some people, however, identified the Hyacinthides with the daughters of Erechtheus, who were similarly sacrificed for their country (above, iii. 15. 4). See Demosthenes, I. 27, p. 1397; Suidas, *s.v.* παρθένοι. According to Phanodemus in the fifth book of his *Atthis* (cited by Suidas, *l.c.*), the daughters of Erechtheus were called Hyacinthides because they were sacrificed at the hill named Hyacinth. Similarly, as Heyne pointed out in his note on the present passage, the three daughters of Leos, namely, Praxithea, Theope, and Eubule,

When the war lingered on and he could not take Athens, he prayed to Zeus that he might be avenged on the Athenians. And the city being visited with a famine and a pestilence, the Athenians at first, in obedience to an ancient oracle, slaughtered the daughters of Hyacinth, to wit, Antheis, Aegleis, Lytaea, and Orthaea, on the grave of Geraestus, the Cyclops; now Hyacinth, the father of the damsels, had come from Lacedaemon and dwelt in Athens.¹ But when this was of no avail, they inquired of the oracle how they could be delivered; and the god answered them that they should give Minos whatever satisfaction he might choose. So they sent to Minos and left it to him to claim satisfaction. And Minos ordered them to send seven youths and the same number of damsels without weapons to be fodder for the Minotaur.² Now the Minotaur was confined

are said to have sacrificed themselves voluntarily, or to have been freely sacrificed by their father, for the safety of Athens in obedience to an oracle. A precinct called the Leocorium was dedicated to their worship at Athens. See Aelian, *Var. Hist.* xii. 28; Demosthenes, lx. 28, p. 1398; Pausanias, i. 5. 2, with my note (vol. ii. p. 78); Apostolius, *Cent.* x. 53; Aristides, *Or.* xiii. vol. i. pp. 191 sq., ed. Dindorf; Cicero, *De natura deorum*, iii. 19. 50. So, too, in Boeotia the two maiden daughters of Orion are said to have sacrificed themselves freely to deliver their country from a fatal pestilence or dearth, which according to an oracle of the Gortynian Apollo could be remedied only by the voluntary sacrifice of two virgins. See Antoninus Liberalis, *Transform.* 25; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xiii. 685-699. The frequency of such legends, among which the traditional sacrifice of Iphigenia at Aulis may be included, suggests that formerly the Greeks used actually to sacrifice maidens in great emergencies, such as plagues and prolonged droughts, when ordinary sacrifices had proved ineffectual.

² Compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 61. 1-4; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 15; Pausanias, i. 27. 10; Scholiast on Plato, *Minos*, p. 321 A; Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 20 sqq.; Servius on Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 14; Hyginus, *Fab.* 41; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Achill.* 192.

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οὗτος ἐν λαβυρίνθῳ καθειργμένος, ἐν ᾧ τὸν εἰσελθόντα ἀδύνατον ἦν ἐξιέναι· πολυπλόκοις γὰρ καμπαῖς τὴν ἀγνοουμένην ἔξοδον ἀπέκλειε. κατεσκευάκει δὲ αὐτὸν Δαίδαλος ὁ Εὐπαλάμου παῖς τοῦ Μητίου καὶ Ἀλκίππης. ἦν γὰρ¹ ἀρχιτέκτων ἄριστος καὶ πρῶτος ἀγαλμάτων εὐρετής. οὗτος ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἔφυγεν, ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως βαλὼν τὸν τῆς ἀδελφῆς [Πέρδικος]² υἱὸν Τάλῳ,³ μαθητὴν ὄντα, δείσας μὴ διὰ τὴν εὐφυΐαν αὐτὸν ὑπερβάλλῃ· σιαγόνα γὰρ ὄψεως εὐρῶν ξύλον λεπ-

¹ ἦν γὰρ E: οὗτος ἦν SA.

² πέρδικος A: περδικας E, Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, i. 493.

³ Τάλῳ Diodorus Siculus, iv. 76. 4: ἀτάλῳ AS (*Rheinisches Museum*, xlvi. 1891, p. 618): ἀτάλῳ Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, i. 493: ἀτάλην E.

¹ As to the Minotaur and the Labyrinth, see above, iii. 1. 4.

² Compare J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, i. 490, and the Scholiast on Plato, *Ion*, p. 121 A, both of whom name the father and mother of Daedalus in agreement with Apollodorus. The father of Daedalus is called Eupalamus also by Suidas (*s.v.* Πέρδικος ἱερὸν), the Scholiast on Plato (*Republic*, vii. p. 529 D), Hyginus (*Fab.* 39, 244, and 274), and Servius (on Virgil, vi. 14). He is called Palamaon by Pausanias (ix. 3. 2), and Metion, son of Eupalamus, son of Erechtheus, by Diodorus Siculus (iv. 76. 1). Our oldest authority for the parentage of Daedalus is Pherecydes, who says that the father of Daedalus was Metion, son of Erechtheus, and that his mother was Iphinoe (Scholiast on Sophocles, *Oedipus Coloneus*, 472); and this tradition as to the father of Daedalus is supported by Plato (*Ion*, 4, p. 533 A). According to Clidemus, cited by Plutarch (*Theseus*, 19), Daedalus was a cousin of Theseus, his mother being Merope, daughter of Erechtheus. On the whole, tradition is in harmony with the statement of Pausanias (vii. 4. 5) "that Daedalus came of the royal house of Athens, the Metionids." Compare J. Töpffer, *Attische Genealogie*, pp. 165 sqq. Through the clouds of fable which gathered round

in a labyrinth, in which he who entered could not find his way out; for many a winding turn shut off the secret outward way.¹ The labyrinth was constructed by Daedalus, whose father was Eupalamus, son of Metion, and whose mother was Alcippe;² for he was an excellent architect and the first inventor of images. He had fled from Athens, because he had thrown down from the acropolis Talos, the son of his sister Perdix;³ for Talos was his pupil, and Daedalus feared that with his talents he might surpass himself, seeing that he had sawed a thin stick

his life and adventures we may dimly discern the figure of a vagabond artist as versatile as Leonardo da Vinci and as unscrupulous as Benvenuto Cellini.

¹ As to Daedalus's murder of his nephew, his trial, and flight, compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 76. 4-7; Pausanias, i. 21. 4, i. 26. 4, vii. 4. 5; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, i. 490 sqq.; Suidas and Photius, *Lexicon*, s.v. Πέρδικος ἱερόν; Apostolius, *Cent.* xiv. 17; Scholiast on Euripides, *Orestes*, 1648; Ovid, *Metamorph.* viii. 236-259; Hyginus, *Fab.* 39 and 244; Servius, on Virgil, *Georg.* i. 143 and on *Aen.* vi. 14; Isidore, *Orig.* xix. 19. 9. The name of the murdered nephew is commonly given as Talos, but according to Pausanias and Suidas (*ll. cc.*) it was Calos. On the other hand Sophocles, in his lost play *The Camicians* (cited by Suidas and Photius, *ll. cc.*) called him Perdix, that is, Partridge; and this name is accepted by Ovid, Hyginus, Servius, and Isidore. But according to a different tradition, here followed by Apollodorus, Perdix ("Partridge") was the name, not of the murdered nephew, but of his mother, the sister of Daedalus, who hanged herself in grief at the death of her son; the Athenians worshipped her and dedicated a sanctuary to her beside the acropolis (so Apostolius, Suidas, and Photius, *ll. cc.*). The grave of Talos or Calos was shown near the theatre, at the foot of the acropolis, probably on the spot where he was supposed to have fallen from the battlements (Pausanias, i. 21. 4). The trial of Daedalus before the Areopagus is mentioned by Diodorus Siculus and the Scholiast on Euripides (*ll. cc.*).

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τὸν ἔπρισε. φωραθέντος δὲ τοῦ νεκροῦ κριθεὶς ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ καὶ καταδικασθεὶς πρὸς Μίνωα ἔφυγε. [κἀκεῖ¹ Πασιφάῃ ἐρασθείσῃ² τοῦ Ποσειδωνείου³ ταύρου συνήργησε⁴ τεχνησάμενος ξυλίην βούην, καὶ τὸν λαβύρινθον κατεσκεύασεν, εἰς ὃν κατὰ ἔτος Ἀθηναῖοι κόρους⁵ ἑπτὰ καὶ κόρας τὰς ἴσας τῷ Μινωταύρῳ βορὰν ἔεμπον.]

XVI. Θησεὺς δὲ γεννηθεὶς ἐξ Αἴθρας Αἰγεί παῖς, ὡς ἐγένετο⁶ τέλειος, ἀπωσάμενος τὴν πέτραν τὰ πέδιλα καὶ τὴν μάχαιραν ἀναιρεῖται, καὶ πεζὸς ἠπείγετο εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας. φρουρουμένην⁷ δὲ ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶν κακούργων τὴν ὁδὸν ἠμέρωσε. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ Περιφῆτην τὸν Ἡφαίστου καὶ Ἀντικλείας, ὃς ἀπὸ τῆς κορύνης ἦν ἐφόρει κορυνήτης ἐπεκαλεῖτο, ἔκτεινεν ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ. πόδας δὲ ἀσθενεῖς⁸ ἔχων οὗτος ἐφόρει κορύνην σιδηρᾶν,⁹ δι' ἧς τοὺς παριόντας ἔκτεινέ. ταύτην ἀφελόμενος Θησεὺς ἐφόρει. δεύτερον δὲ κτείνει Σίνυν

¹ The passage enclosed in square brackets (κἀκεῖ Πασιφάης . . . βορὰν ἔεμπον) is found in ESA, but is probably an interpolation, as Heyne observed. It is merely a repetition of what the author has already said (iii. i. 4, iii. 15. 8).

² Πασιφάῃ ἐρασθείσῃ E: Πασιφάης ἐρασθείσης SA, Heyne, Müller, Westermann, Bekker, Wagner.

³ Ποσειδωνείου E: Ποσειδῶνος Heyne, Müller, Westermann, Bekker, Wagner, following apparently the other MSS.

⁴ συνήργησε E: συνήρτησε S: συνήρπασε A.

⁵ κόρους ES: κούρους A. ⁶ ἐγένετο E: ἐγεννήθη SA.

⁷ φρουρουμένην . . . τὴν ὁδὸν E: φρουρουμένης . . . τῆς ὁδοῦ A.

⁸ ἀσθενεῖς A: βριαροὺς S.

⁹ σιδηρᾶν. In S there follow the words ἦν ἀπὸ τὸν Ἡφαίστου Περιφῆτην ἔλαβεν.

¹ He is said to have improved the discovery by inventing the iron saw in imitation of the teeth in a serpent's jawbone. See Diodorus Siculus, iv. 76. 5; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, i.

with a jawbone of a snake which he had found.¹ But the corpse was discovered; Daedalus was tried in the Areopagus, and being condemned fled to Minos. And there Pasiphae having fallen in love with the bull of Poseidon, Daedalus acted as her accomplice by contriving a wooden cow, and he constructed the labyrinth, to which the Athenians every year sent seven youths and as many damsels to be fodder for the Minotaur.

XVI. Aethra bore to Aegeus a son Theseus, and when he was grown up, he pushed away the rock and took up the sandals and the sword,² and hastened on foot to Athens. And he cleared³ the road, which had been beset by evildoers. For first in Epidaurus he slew Periphetes, son of Hephaestus and Anticlia, who was surnamed the Clubman from the club which he carried. For being crazy on his legs he carried an iron club, with which he despatched the passers-by. That club Theseus wrested from him and continued to carry about.⁴ Second, he killed Sinis,

494 *sqq.* Latin writers held that the invention was suggested to him by the backbone of a fish. See Ovid, *Metamorph.* viii. 244 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 274; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 14; Isidore, *Orig.*, xix. 19. 9. According to these Latin writers, the ingenious artist invented the compass also. As to Talos or Perdix and his mechanical inventions, see A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, i. 724 *sqq.*

² The tokens of paternity left by his human father Aegeus. See above, iii. 15. 7.

³ Literally, "tamed." As to the adventures of Theseus on his road to Athens, see Bacchylides, xvii. (xviii.) 16 *sqq.*; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 59; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 8 *sqq.*; Pausanias, i. 44. 8, ii. 1. 3 *sq.*; Scholiast on Lucian, *Jupiter Tragoedus*, 21, pp. 64 *sq.*, ed. H. Rabe; Ovid, *Metamorph.* vii. 433 *sqq.*; *id. Ibis*, 407 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 38.

⁴ Compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 59. 2; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 8. 1; Pausanias, ii. 1. 4; Ovid, *Metamorph.* vii. 436 *sq.*;

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τὸν Πολυπήμονος καὶ Συλέας τῆς Κορίνθου. οὗτος πιτυοκάμπτης ἐπεκαλείτο· οἰκῶν γὰρ τὸν Κορινθίων ἰσθμὸν ἠνάγκαζε τοὺς παριόντας πίτυς κάμπτοντας ἀνέχεσθαι· οἱ δὲ διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν οὐκ ἠδύνατο,¹ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν δένδρων ἀναρριπτούμενοι πανωλέθρως ἀπώλλυντο. τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ καὶ Θησεὺς Σίνιν ἀπέκτεινεν.

¹ ἠδύνατο. E and apparently A add κάμπτειν, which was rightly rejected as a gloss by Heyne and omitted by Hercher. It is retained by Westermann, Bekker, and Wagner, and bracketed by Müller.

Hyginus, *Fab.* 38. Periphetes dwelt in Epidaurus, which Theseus had to traverse on his way from Troezen to the Isthmus of Corinth. No writer but Apollodorus mentions that this malefactor was weak on his legs; the infirmity suggests that he may have used his club as a crutch on which to hobble along like a poor cripple, till he was within striking distance of his unsuspecting victims, when he surprised them by suddenly lunging out and felling them to the ground.

¹ Compare Bacchylides, xvii. (xviii.) 19 *sqq.*; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 59. 3; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 8. 2; Pausanias, ii. 1. 4; Scholiast on Lucian, *Jupiter Tragoedus*, 21; Scholiast on Pindar, *Isthm.*, *Argum.* p. 514, ed. Boeckh; Ovid, *Metamorph.* vii. 440 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 38. Bacchylides, the Scholiast on Pindar, and Hyginus call Sinis a son of Poseidon (Neptune). The ancients are not agreed as to the exact mode in which the ruffian Sinis despatched his victims. According to Diodorus, Pausanias, and the Scholiast on Pindar he bent two pine-trees to the ground, tied the extremities of his victim to both trees, and then let the trees go, which, springing up and separating, tore the wretch's body in two. This atrocious form of murder was at a later time actually employed by the emperor Aurelian in a military execution. See Vopiscus, *Aurelian*, 7. 4. A Ruthenian pirate, named Botho, is said to have put men to death in similar fashion. See Saxo Grammaticus, *Historia Danica*, bk. vii.

son of Polypemon and Sylea, daughter of Corinthus. This Sinis was surnamed the Pine-bender; for inhabiting the Isthmus of Corinth he used to force the passers-by to keep bending pine-trees; but they were too weak to do so, and being tossed up by the trees they perished miserably. In that way also Theseus killed Sinis.¹

vol. i. pp. 353 *sq.*, ed. P. E. Müller. According to Hyginus, Sinis, with the help of his victim, dragged down a pine-tree to the earth; then, when the man was struggling to keep the tree down, Sinis released it, and in the rebound the man was tossed up into the air and killed by falling heavily to the ground. Apollodorus seems to have contemplated a similar mode of death, except that he does not mention the co-operation of Sinis in bending the tree to the earth. According to the *Parian Chronicle* (*Marmor Parium*, lines 35 *sq.*) it was not on his journey from Troezen to Athens that Theseus killed Sinis, but at a later time, after he had come to the throne and united the whole of Attica under a single government; he then returned to the Isthmus of Corinth, killed Sinis, and celebrated the Isthmian games. This tradition seems to imply that Theseus held the games as a funeral honour paid to the dead man, or more probably as an expiation to appease the angry ghost of his victim. This implication is confirmed by the Scholiast on Pindar (*l.c.*), who says that according to some people Theseus held the Isthmian games in honour of Sinis, whom he had killed. Plutarch tells us (*l.c.*) that when Theseus had killed Sinis, the daughter of the dead man, by name Perigune, fled and hid herself in a bed of asparagus; that she bore a son Melanippus to Theseus, and that Melanippus had a son Ioxus, whose descendants, the Ioxids, both men and women, revered and honoured asparagus and would not burn it, because asparagus had once sheltered their ancestress. This hereditary respect shown by all the members of a family or clan for a particular species of plant is reminiscent of totemism, though it is not necessarily a proof of it.

EPITOME

APOLLODORI BIBLIOTHECA EPITOMA

EX EPITOMA VATICANA ET FRAGMENTIS
SABBAITICIS COMPOSITA ¹

- E I. Τρίτην ἔκτεινεν ἐν Κρομμῶνι σὺν τὴν καλου-
μένην Φαιὰν ἀπὸ ² τῆς θρεψάσης γραδὸς αὐτήν·
ταύτην τινὲς Ἐχίδνης καὶ Τυφῶνος λέγουσι.
2 τέταρτον ἔκτεινε Σκείρωνα τὸν Κορίνθιον τοῦ
Πέλοπος, ὡς δὲ ἔνιοι Ποσειδῶνος. οὗτος ἐν τῇ
Μεγαρικῇ κατέχων τὰς ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ κληθείσας
πέτρας Σκειρωνίδας, ἠνάγκαζε τοὺς παριόντας
νίξειν αὐτοῦ τοὺς πόδας, καὶ νίζοντας εἰς τὸν
βυθὸν αὐτοὺς ἔρριπτε βορὰν ὑπερμεγέθει χελώνη.
3 Θησεὺς δὲ ἀρπάσας αὐτὸν τῶν ποδῶν ἔρριψεν
<εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν>. ³ πέμπτον ἔκτεινεν ἐν

¹ The passages derived from the Vatican and Sabbaitic manuscripts respectively are indicated in the margin by the letters E (= Vatican Épitome) and S (= Sabbaitic). The combination ES signifies that the passage is found in both manuscripts, though sometimes with variations, which are indicated in the Critical Notes. The point of transition from the one manuscript to the other, or from one to both, or from both to one, is marked by a vertical line in the Greek text.

² ἀπὸ Wagner: ἰπὸ E.

³ εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν added by Wagner, comparing Scholiast on Euripides, *Hippolytus*, 979, *ρίψας εἰς θάλασσαν*, and Pausanias, i. 44. 8, *ἀφεθέντα ἐς θάλασσαν*.

EPITOME OF THE LIBRARY OF APOLLODORUS

COMPOUNDED OF THE VATICAN EPITOME AND THE SABBAITIC FRAGMENTS

I. THIRD, he slew at Crommyon the sow that was called Phaea after the old woman who bred it;¹ that sow, some say, was the offspring of Echidna and Typhon. Fourth, he slew Sciron, the Corinthian, son of Pelops, or, as some say, of Poseidon. He in the Megarian territory held the rocks called after him Scironian, and compelled passers-by to wash his feet, and in the act of washing he kicked them into the deep to be the prey of a huge turtle. But Theseus seized him by the feet and threw him into the sea.²

¹ Compare Bacchylides, xvii. (xviii.) 23 sq.; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 59. 4; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 9; Pausanias, ii. 1. 3; Hyginus, *Fab.* 38, who calls the animal a boar. Plutarch notices a rationalistic version of the story, which converted the sow Phaea into a female robber of that name. No ancient writer but Apollodorus mentions the old woman Phaea who nursed the sow, but she appears on vase-paintings which represent the slaughter of the sow by Theseus. See Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, iii. pp. 1787 sq., 1789, fig. 1873; Höfer, in W. H. Roscher, *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, ii. 1450 sq.

² Compare Bacchylides, xvii. (xviii.) 24 sq.; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 59. 4; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 10; Pausanias, i. 44. 8; Scholiast on Euripides, *Hippolytus*, 979; Scholiast on Lucian, *Jupiter Tragoedus*, 21, p. 65, ed. H. Rabe; Ovid, *Metamorph.*

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Ἐλευσῖνι Κερκύονα τὸν Βράγχου καὶ Ἀργιόπης
 νύμφης. οὗτος ἠνάγκαζε τοὺς παριόντας παλαίειν
 καὶ παλαίων ἀνήρει. Θησεὺς δὲ αὐτὸν μετέωρον
 4 ἀράμενος ἤρραξεν εἰς γῆν. ἕκτον ἀπέκτεινε Δαμά-
 στην, ὃν ἔνιοι Πολυπήμονα λέγουσιν. οὗτος τῆν

vii. 443 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 38; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* i. 333; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 52, 117 (First Vatican Mythographer, 167; Second Vatican Mythographer, 127). Curiously enough, the Second Vatican Mythographer attributes the despatching of Sciron, not to Theseus, but to the artist Daedalus. The Megarians, as we learn from Plutarch, indignantly denied the defamatory reports current as to the character and pursuits of their neighbour Sciron, whom they represented as a most respectable man, the foe of robbers, the friend of the virtuous, and connected by marriage with families of the highest quality; but their efforts to whitewash the blackguard appear to have been attended with little success. The Scironian Rocks, to which Sciron was supposed to have given his name, are a line of lofty cliffs rising sheer from the sea; a narrow, crumbling ledge about half way up their face afforded a perilous foothold, from which the adventurous traveller looked down with horror on the foam of the breakers far below. The dangers of the path were obviated about the middle of the nineteenth century by the construction of a road and railway along the coast. See my note on Pausanias, i. 44. 6 (vol. ii. pp. 546 *sqq.*).

¹ Compare Bacchylides, xvii. (xviii.) 26 *sq.*; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 59. 5; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 11; Pausanias, i. 39. 3; Scholiast on Lucian, *Jupiter Tragoedus*, 21, p. 65, ed. H. Rabe; Ovid, *Metamorph.* vii. 439; Hyginus, *Fab.* 38, who calls Cercyon a son of Vulcan (Hephaestus). The place associated with the story, known as the wrestling-school of Cercyon, was near Eleusis, on the road to Megara (Pausanias, *l.c.*). The Scholiast on Lucian (*l.c.*) says that it was near Eleutheræ, but he is probably in error; for if the place were near Eleutheræ, it must have been on the road from Eleusis to Thebes, which is not the road that Theseus would take on his way from the Isthmus of Corinth to Athens.

EPITOME, I. 3-4

Fifth, in Eleusis he slew Cercyon, son of Branchus and a nymph Argiope. This Cercyon compelled passers-by to wrestle, and in wrestling killed them. But Theseus lifted him up on high and dashed him to the ground.¹ Sixth, he slew Damastes, whom some call Polypemon.²

² More commonly known as Procrustes. See Bacchylides, xvii. (xviii.) 27 *sqq.*; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 59. 5; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 11; Pausanias, i. 38. 5; Scholiast on Euripides, *Hippolytus*, 977; Ovid, *Metamorph.* vii. 438; Hyginus, *Fab.* 38. Ancient authorities are not agreed as to the name of this malefactor. Apollodorus and Plutarch call him Damastes; but Apollodorus says that some people called him Polypemon, and this latter name is supported by Pausanias, who adds that he was surnamed Procrustes. Ovid in two passages (*Metam.* vii. 438, *Heroides*, ii. 69) calls him simply Procrustes, but in a third passage (*Ibis*, 407) he seems to speak of him as the son of Polypemon. The Scholiast on Euripides (*l.c.*) wrongly names him Sinis. The reference of Bacchylides to him is difficult of interpretation. Jebb translates the passage: "The mighty hammer of Polypemon has dropt from the hand of the Maimer [*Prokoptes*], who has met with a stronger than himself." Here Jebb understands *Prokoptes* to be another name for Procrustes, who received the hammer and learned the use of it from Polypemon, his predecessor, perhaps his father. But other translations and explanations have been proposed. See the note in Jebb's Appendix, pp. 490 *sq.*; W. H. Roscher, *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, iii. 2683, 2687 *sqq.* The hammer in question was the instrument with which Procrustes operated on the short men, beating them out till they fitted the long bed, as we learn from the Scholiast on Euripides as well as from Apollodorus; a hand-saw was probably the instrument with which he curtailed the length of the tall men. According to Apollodorus, with whom Hyginus agrees, Procrustes had two beds for the accommodation of his guests, a long one for the short men, and a short one for the long men. But according to Diodorus Siculus, with whom the Scholiast on Euripides agrees, he had only one bed for all comers, and adjusted his visitors to it with the hammer or the hand-saw according to circumstances.

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οἴκησιν ἔχων παρ' ὄδον ἐστόρεσε δύο κλίνας, μίαν μὲν μικράν, ἑτέραν δὲ μεγάλην, καὶ τοὺς παριόντας ἐπὶ ξένια¹ καλῶν τοὺς μὲν βραχεῖς ἐπὶ τῆς μεγάλης κατακλίνων σφύραις ἔτυπτεν, ἵν' ἐξισωθῶσι² τῇ κλίνῃ,³ τοὺς δὲ μεγάλους ἐπὶ τῆς μικρᾶς, καὶ τὰ ὑπερέχοντα τοῦ σώματος ἀπέπριζε.

Καθάρας οὖν Θησεὺς τὴν ὄδον ἤκεν εἰς Ἀθήνας.⁴
 ES 5 | Μῆδεια δὲ Αἰγεί τότε συνοικοῦσα⁵ ἐπεβούλευσεν αὐτῷ, καὶ πείθει τὸν Αἰγέα φυλάττεσθαι ὡς ἐπιβουλον αὐτῷ.⁶ Αἰγεὺς δὲ τὸν ἴδιον ἀγνοῶν παῖδα, δείσας⁷ ἔπεμψεν ἐπὶ τὸν Μαραθῶνιον ταῦρον.⁸
 6 ὡς δὲ ἀνεῖλεν αὐτόν, παρὰ Μηδείας λαβὼν αὐθίμερον⁹ προσήνεγκεν αὐτῷ φάρμακον. ὁ δὲ μέλλοντος αὐτῷ τοῦ ποτοῦ προσφέρεσθαι ἐδωρήσατο τῷ πατρὶ τὸ ξίφος, ὅπερ ἐπιγνοὺς Αἰγεὺς¹⁰ τὴν κύλικα ἐξέριψε τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ. Θησεὺς δὲ

¹ ξένια Wagner: ξενίαν E. Compare iii. 8. 1.

² ἐξισωθῶσι Wagner: ἐξισωθῆ E.

³ τῇ κλίνῃ Frazer: ταῖς κλίναῖς E, Wagner.

⁴ καθάρας οὖν Θησεὺς τὴν ὄδον ἤκεν εἰς Ἀθήνας E. The whole opening passage, down to and inclusive of this sentence, is wanting in S, which substitutes the following: ἐκτείνει δὲ πάντας καὶ κατετροπώσατο τοὺς ἀντιπράττοντας ἥρωας καὶ πάντας τοὺς ληστρικὸν μετιόντας βίον. "And he slew all and put to flight the heroes that withstood him and all that pursued a robber life." But the verb κατατροπώομαι is late, the use of ἥρωας is suspicious, and the whole sentence is probably an independent concoction of the abbreviator.

⁵ συνοικοῦσα E: συνοικοῦσα Ἀθήναῖς S.

⁶ αὐτῷ Frazer: αὐτοῦ ES, Wagner: αὐτόν Bücheler. For the dative, compare Plato, *Symposium*, p. 203 D, ἐπίβουλος ἐστὶ τοῖς καλοῖς.

⁷ δείσας E: δείσας αὐτὸν ὡς βριαρὸν ὕντα S. The rare epic adjective βριαρὸς, "strong," seems to be rather a favourite with S, for he goes out of his way to apply it absurdly to the crazy legs of Periphetes. See Critical Note on iii. 16. 1.

He had his dwelling beside the road, and made up two beds, one small and the other big; and offering hospitality to the passers-by, he laid the short men on the big bed and hammered them, to make them fit the bed; but the tall men he laid on the little bed and sawed off the portions of the body that projected beyond it.

So, having cleared the road, Theseus came to Athens. But Medea, being then wedded to Aegeus, plotted against him¹ and persuaded Aegeus to beware of him as a traitor. And Aegeus, not knowing his own son, was afraid and sent him against the Marathonian bull. And when Theseus had killed it, Aegeus presented to him a poison which he had received the selfsame day from Medea. But just as the draught was about to be administered to him, he gave his father the sword, and on recognizing it Aegeus dashed the cup from his hands.² And when

¹ That Theseus was sent against the Marathonian bull at the instigation of Medea is affirmed also by the First Vatican Mythographer. See *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 18, *Fab.* 48. Compare Plutarch, *Theseus*, 14; Pausanias, i. 27. 10; Ovid, *Metamorph.* vii. 433 sq. As to Medea at Athens, see above, i. 9. 28.

² Compare Plutarch, *Theseus*, 12; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xi. 741; Ovid, *Metamorph.* vii. 404-424. According to Ovid, the poison by which Medea attempted the life of Theseus was aconite, which she had brought with her from Scythia. The incident seems to have been narrated by Sophocles in his tragedy *Aegeus*. See *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. i. pp. 15 sq.

⁸ ἐπεμψεν ἐπὶ τὸν Μαραθῶνιον ταῦρον E: ἐπὶ τὸν Μαραθῶνιον ἐπεμψε ταῦρον ἀναλωθῆναι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ S.

⁹ αὐθήμερον S: αὐθημερινὸν E.

¹⁰ ἐπιγνοὺς Αἰγέου E: Αἰγέου ἐπιγνοὺς S.

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ἀναγνωρισθεὶς τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τὴν ἐπιβουλήν μαθὼν
ἐξέβαλε τὴν Μῆδειαν.

- 7 Καὶ εἰς τὸν τρίτον δασμὸν τῷ Μινωταύρῳ συγ-
E καταλέγεται¹ | ὡς δέ τινες λέγουσιν, ἐκὼν ἑαυτὸν
ἔδωκεν. ἐχούσης δὲ τῆς νεῶς μέλαν ἰστίον Αἰγυῆς
τῷ παιδί ἐνετείλατο, ἐὰν ὑποστρέφη ζῶν, λευκοῖς
ES 8 πετάσαι τὴν ναῦν ἰστίοις. | ὡς δὲ ἦκεν εἰς Κρήτην,²
'Αριάδνη θυγάτηρ Μίνωος ἐρωτικῶς διατεθεῖσα
πρὸς αὐτὸν³ συμπράσσειν⁴ ἐπαγγέλλεται,⁵ ἐὰν
ὁμολογήσῃ γυναῖκα αὐτὴν ἔξειν ἀπαγαγὼν εἰς
'Αθήνας. ὁμολογήσαντος δὲ σὺν ὄρκοις Θεσεῦς
9 δεῖται Δαιδάλου μνηῦσαι τοῦ λαβυρίνθου τὴν
ἔξοδον. ὑποθεμένου δὲ ἐκείνου, λίνον εἰσιόντι
Θησεῖ δίδωσι· τοῦτο ἐξάψας Θεσεὺς τῆς θύρας⁶
ἐφελκόμενος εἰσῆι. καταλαβὼν δὲ Μινώταυρον

¹ συγκαταλέγεται E: συγκαταλέγει βοράν S.

² ὡς δὲ ἦκεν εἰς Κρήτην E: ἐξέπλει δ' εἰς Κρήτην καὶ ἦκεν S.

³ 'Αριάδνη θυγάτηρ Μίνωος ἐρωτικῶς διατεθεῖσα πρὸς αὐτὸν E:
'Αριάδνη γοῦν ἢ Μίνωος θυγάτηρ ἐρωτικῶς τῷ Θεσεῖ διατεθεῖσα S.

⁴ συμπράσσειν S: συμπεράσειν E.

⁵ ἐπαγγέλλεται E: ἐπαγγέλλεται πρὸς τὴν Μινωταύρου εἰσέ-
λευσιν λαβυρίνθου S.

⁶ Θεσεὺς τῆς θύρας E: τῆς θύρας Θεσεὺς S.

¹ Compare Plutarch, *Theseus*, 17; Eustathius, on Homer, *Od.* xi. 320, p. 1688; Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* xi. 322, and on *Il.* xviii. 590; Hyginus, *Fab.* 41; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Achill.* 192. The usual tradition seems to have been that he volunteered for the dangerous service; but a Scholiast on Homer (*Il.* xviii. 590) speaks as if the lot had fallen on him with the other victims. According to Hellanicus, cited by Plutarch (*l.c.*), the victims were not chosen by lot, but Minos came to Athens and picked them for himself, and on this particular occasion Theseus was the first on whom his choice fell.

² As to the black and white sails, see Diodorus Siculus, iv.

Theseus was thus made known to his father and informed of the plot, he expelled Medea.

And he was numbered among those who were to be sent as the third tribute to the Minotaur; or, as some affirm, he offered himself voluntarily.¹ And as the ship had a black sail, Aegeus charged his son, if he returned alive, to spread white sails on the ship.² And when he came to Crete, Ariadne, daughter of Minos, being amorously disposed to him, offered to help him if he would agree to carry her away to Athens and have her to wife. Theseus having agreed on oath to do so, she besought Daedalus to disclose the way out of the labyrinth. And at his suggestion she gave Theseus a clue when he went in; Theseus fastened it to the door, and, drawing it after him, entered in.³ And having found

61. 4; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 17 and 22; Pausanias, i. 22. 5; Catullus, lxiv. 215-245; Hyginus, *Fab.* 41 and 43; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 74. According to Simonides, quoted by Plutarch (*l.c.*), the sail that was to be the sign of safety was not white but scarlet, which, by contrast with the blue sea, would have caught the eye almost as easily as a white sail at a great distance.

³ Compare Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* xi. 322, and on *Il.* xviii. 590; Eustathius, on Homer, *Od.* xi. 320, p. 1688; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 61. 4; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 19; Hyginus, *Fab.* 42; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 14, and on *Georg.* i. 222; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* xii. 676; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 16, 116 sq. (First Vatican Mythographer, 43; Second Vatican Mythographer, 124). The clearest description of the clue, with which the amorous Ariadne furnished Theseus, is given by the Scholiasts and Eustathius on Homer (*Il. cc.*). From them we learn that it was a ball of thread which Ariadne had begged of Daedalus for the use of her lover. He was to fasten one end of the thread to the lintel of the door on entering into the labyrinth, and holding the ball in his hand to unwind the skein while he penetrated deeper and deeper into

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ἐν ἐσχάτῳ μέρει τοῦ λαβυρίνθου παίων πυγμαῖς ἀπέκτεινεν,¹ ἐφελκόμενος δὲ τὸ λίνον πάλιν ἐξῆει. καὶ διὰ νυκτὸς μετὰ Ἀριάδνης καὶ τῶν παίδων εἰς Νάξον ἀφικνεῖται. ἔνθα Διόνυσος ἐρασθεὶς Ἀριάδνης ἤρπασε, καὶ κομίσας εἰς Λῆμνον ἐμίγη.
 S | καὶ γεννᾷ Θόαντα Στάφυλον Οἰνοπίωνα καὶ Πεπάρηθον.²

E 10 | Λυπούμενος δὲ Ἰησεὺς ἐπ' Ἀριάδνη καταπλέων ἐπελάθετο πετάσαι τὴν ναῦν λευκοῖς ἰστίοις. Αἰγυὺς δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως τὴν ναῦν ἰδὼν ἔχουσαν μέλαν ἰστίον, Ἰησεῖα νομίσας ἀπολω-

FS 11 λέναι ρίψας ἑαυτὸν μετήλλαξε. | Ἰησεὺς δὲ παρέ-

¹ ἀπέκτεινεν E: ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτόν S.

² Πεπάρηθον Bücheler: πάρηθον S.

the maze, till he found the Minotaur asleep in the inmost recess; then he was to catch the monster by the hair and sacrifice him to Poseidon; after which he was to retrace his steps, gathering up the thread behind him as he went. According to the Scholiast on the *Odyssey* (*l.c.*), the story was told by Pherecydes, whom later authors may have copied.

¹ That is, the boys and girls whom he had rescued from the Minotaur.

² Compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 61. 5; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 20; Pausanias, i. 20. 3, x. 29. 4; Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iii. 997; Scholiast on Theocritus, ii. 45; Catullus, lxiv. 116 *sqq.*; Ovid, *Heroides*, x.; *id.* *Ars amat.* i. 527 *sqq.*; *id.* *Metamorph.* viii. 174 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 43; Servius, on Virgil, *Georg.* i. 222; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 116 *sq.* (Second Vatican Mythographer, 124). Homer's account of the fate of Ariadne is different. He says (*Od.* xi. 321-325) that when Theseus was carrying off Ariadne from Crete to Athens she was slain by Artemis in the island of Dia at the instigation of Dionysus. Later writers, such as Diodorus Siculus, identified Dia with Naxos, but it is rather "the little island, now

the Minotaur in the last part of the labyrinth, he killed him by smiting him with his fists; and drawing the clue after him made his way out again. And by night he arrived with Ariadne and the children¹ at Naxos. There Dionysus fell in love with Ariadne and carried her off;² and having brought her to Lemnos he enjoyed her, and begat Thoas, Staphylus, Oenopion, and Peparethus.³

In his grief on account of Ariadne, Theseus forgot to spread white sails on his ship when he stood for port; and Aegeus, seeing from the acropolis the ship with a black sail, supposed that Theseus had perished; so he cast himself down and died.⁴ But Theseus

Standia, just off Heracliaion, on the north coast of Crete. Theseus would pass the island in sailing for Athens" (W. W. Merry on Homer, *Od.* xi. 322). Apollodorus seems to be the only extant ancient author who mentions that Dionysus carried off Ariadne from Naxos to Lemnos and had intercourse with her there.

¹ Compare Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iii. 997. Others said that Ariadne bore Staphylus and Oenopion to Theseus (Plutarch, *Theseus*, 20).

² Compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 61. 6 sq.; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 22; Pausanias, i. 22. 5; Hyginus, *Fab.* 43; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 74; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 117 (Second Vatican Mythographer, 125). The three Latin writers say that Aegeus threw himself into the sea, which was hence called the Aegean after him. The Greek writers say that he cast himself down from the rock of the acropolis. Pausanias describes the exact point from which he fell, to wit the lofty bastion at the western end of the acropolis, on which in after ages the elegant little temple of Wingless Victory stood and still stands. It commands a wonderful view over the ports of Athens and away across the sea to Aegina and the coast of Peloponnese, looming clear and blue through the diaphanous Attic air in the far distance. A better look-out the old man could not have chosen from which to watch, with straining eyes, for the white or scarlet sail of his returning son.

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S λαβε¹ τὴν Ἀθηναίων δυναστείαν, <καί>² | τοὺς μὲν Πάλλαντος παῖδας πεντήκοντα τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἀπέκτεινεν: ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὅσοι ἀντάραι ἤθελον παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀπεκτάνθησαν, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἄπασαν ἔσχε μόνος.

E 12 | Ὅτι Μίνως, αἰσθόμενος τοῦ φεύγειν τοὺς μετὰ Θησεῦς, Δαίδαλον αἴτιον ἐν τῷ λαβυρίνθῳ μετὰ τοῦ παιδὸς Ἰκάρου καθείρξεν, ὃς ἐγεγέννητο αὐτῷ ἐκ δούλης Μίνως Ναυκράτης. ὁ δὲ πτερὰ κατασκευάσας ἑαυτῷ καὶ τῷ παιδί ἀναπτάντι ἐνετείλατο μήτε εἰς ὕψος πέτεσθαι, μὴ τακείσης τῆς κόλλης ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου αἱ πτέρυγες λυθῶσι, μήτε ἐγγὺς θαλάσσης, ἵνα μὴ τὰ πτερὰ ὑπὸ τῆς νοτίδος λυθῇ. Ἰκαρος δὲ ἀμελήσας τῶν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐντολῶν ψυχαγωγούμενος αἰεὶ μετέωρος ἐφέρετο· τακείσης δὲ τῆς κόλλης πεσὼν εἰς τὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνου κληθεῖσαν Ἰκαρίαν θάλασσαν ἀπέθανε. <Δαί-

13

12 Zenobius, *Cent.* iv. 92:³ Δαίδαλον γὰρ σὺν Ἰκάρῳ τῷ παιδί καθείρξε Μίνως ἐν τῷ λαβυρίνθῳ, δι' ὃπερ εἰργάσατο μύσος ἐπὶ τῷ τῆς Πασιφάης ἔρωτι τῷ πρὸς τὸν ταῦρον. ὁ δὲ πτερὰ κατασκευάσας ἑαυτῷ καὶ τῷ παιδί ἐξήλθε τοῦ λαβυρίνθου καὶ ἀναπτάμενος ἔφυγε σὺν Ἰκάρῳ.

13 Ἰκάρου μὲν οὖν μετεωρότερον φερομένου καὶ τῆς κόλλης ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου τακείσης, αἱ πτέρυγες διελύθησαν. καὶ οὗτος μὲν εἰς τὸ ἀπ' ἐκείνου κληθὲν Ἰκαρίον πέλαγος κατα-

¹ Θησεὺς δὲ παρέλαβε E: Θησεὺς παραλαβὼν S.

² καὶ τοὺς μὲν Frazer: τοὺς μὲν S, Wagner.

³ The version of Zenobius, which is probably based on that of Apollodorus, is here printed for comparison.

¹ Pallas was the brother of Aegeus (see above, iii. 15. 5); hence his fifty sons were cousins to Theseus. So long as Aegeus was childless, his nephews hoped to succeed to the

succeeded to the sovereignty of Athens, and killed the sons of Pallas, fifty in number;¹ likewise all who would oppose him were killed by him, and he got the whole government to himself.

On being apprized of the flight of Theseus and his company, Minos shut up the guilty Daedalus in the labyrinth, along with his son Icarus, who had been borne to Daedalus by Naucratis, a female slave of Minos. But Daedalus constructed wings for himself and his son, and enjoined his son, when he took to flight, neither to fly high, lest the glue should melt in the sun and the wings should drop off, nor to fly near the sea, lest the pinions should be detached by the damp. But the infatuated Icarus, disregarding his father's injunctions, soared ever higher, till, the glue melting, he fell into the sea called after him Icarian, and perished.² But Daedalus made his way safely to

throne; but when Theseus appeared from Troezen, claiming to be the king's son and his heir apparent, they were disappointed and objected to his succession, on the ground that he was a stranger and a foreigner. Accordingly, when Theseus succeeded to the crown, Pallas and his fifty sons rebelled against him, but were defeated and slain. See Plutarch, *Theseus*, 3 and 13; Pausanias, i. 22. 2, i. 28. 10; Scholiast on Euripides, *Hippolytus*, 35, who quotes from Philochorus a passage about the rebellion. In order to be purified from the guilt incurred by killing his cousins, Theseus went into banishment for a year along with his wife Phaedra. The place of their exile was Troezen, where Theseus had been born; and it was there that Phaedra saw and conceived a fatal passion for her stepson Hippolytus, and laid the plot of death. See Euripides, *Hippolytus*, 34 *sqq.*; Pausanias, i. 22. 2. According to a different tradition, Theseus was tried for murder before the court of the Delphinium at Athens, and was acquitted on the plea of justifiable homicide (Pausanias, i. 28. 10).

² Compare Strabo, xiv. 1. 19, p. 639; Lucian, *Gallus*, 23; Arrian, *Anabasis*, vii. 20. 5; Zenobius, *Cent.* iv. 92; J.

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- δαλος δὲ διασώζεται εἰς Κάμικον τῆς Σικελίας.>¹
- 14 Δαίδαλον δὲ ἐδίωκε Μίνως, καὶ καθ' ἐκάστην
 χώραν ἐρευνῶν ἐκόμιζε κόχλον, καὶ πολλὴν ἐπηγ-
 γέλλετο δώσειν μισθὸν τῷ διὰ τοῦ κοχλίου λίνον
 διεύραντι,² διὰ τούτου νομίζων εὐρήσειν Δαίδαλον.
 ἔλθων δὲ εἰς Κάμικον τῆς Σικελίας παρὰ Κώκαλον,
 παρ' ᾧ Δαίδαλος ἐκρύπτετο, δείκνυσι τὸν κοχλίαν.
 ὁ δὲ λαβὼν ἐπηγγέλλετο διεύρειν³ καὶ Δαιδάλῳ
- 15 δίδωσιν· ὁ δὲ ἐξάψας μύρμηκος λίνον καὶ τρήσας
 τὸν κοχλίαν εἶσε δι' αὐτοῦ διελθεῖν. λαβὼν δὲ
 Μίνως τὸ λίνον διευρμένον⁴ ᾗσθητο ὄντα παρ'
 ἐκείνῳ Δαίδαλον, καὶ εὐθέως ἀπήτει. Κώκαλος
 δὲ ὑποσχόμενος ἐκδώσειν ἐξένισεν αὐτόν· ὁ δὲ

- 14 πίπτει, Δαίδαλος δὲ διασώζεται. ὁ Μίνως οὖν ἐδίωκε
 Δαίδαλον καὶ καθ' ἐκάστην χώραν ἐρευνῶν ἐκόμιζε κόχλον,
 καὶ πολλὴν ὑπισχνεῖτο δοῦναι μισθὸν τῷ διὰ τοῦ κοχλίου
 λίνον διεύραντι, διὰ τούτου νομίζων εὐρήσειν Δαίδαλον.
 ἔλθων δὲ εἰς Κώκαλον, παρ' ᾧ Δαίδαλος ἐκρύπτετο,
 δείκνυσι τὸν κοχλίαν. ὁ δὲ λαβὼν ἐπηγγέλλετο διεύρειν
- 15 καὶ Δαιδάλῳ δίδωσιν· ὁ δὲ ἐξάψας μύρμηκος λίνον καὶ
 τρήσας τὸν κοχλίαν εἶσε δι' αὐτοῦ διελθεῖν. λαβὼν δὲ
 Μίνως τὸν λίνον διευρμένον ᾗσθητο εἶναι παρ' ἐκείνῳ τὸν
 Δαίδαλον, καὶ εὐθέως ἀπήτει· Κώκαλος δὲ ὑποσχόμενος
 δώσειν ἐξένισεν αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ λουσάμενος ὑπὸ τῶν Κωκάλου
 θυγατέρων ἀνηρέθη ζέουσαν πίσσαν ἐπιχεαμένων αὐτῷ.

¹ Δαίδαλος δὲ διασώζεται εἰς Κάμικον τῆς Σικελίας inserted by Wagner from a comparison with Zenobius, *Cent.* iv. 92 and Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, i. 506, 'Ὁ Δαίδαλος δ' εἰς Κάμικον (sic) σώζεται Σικελίας.

² διεύραντι Valckenar: διεύραντι E: διεύραντι Zenobius.

³ διεύρειν Valckenar: διεύρειν E: διεύρειν Zenobius.

⁴ διευρμένον Valckenar: διευργμένον E: διευργασμένον Zenobius.

Camicus in Sicily. And Minos pursued Daedalus, and in every country that he searched he carried a spiral shell and promised to give a great reward to him who should pass a thread through the shell, believing that by that means he should discover Daedalus. And having come to Camicus in Sicily, to the court of Cocalus, with whom Daedalus was concealed, he showed the spiral shell. Cocalus took it, and promised to thread it, and gave it to Daedalus; and Daedalus fastened a thread to an ant, and, having bored a hole in the spiral shell, allowed the ant to pass through it. But when Minos found the thread passed through the shell, he perceived that Daedalus was with Cocalus, and at once demanded his surrender.¹ Cocalus promised to surrender him, and made an entertainment for

Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, i. 498 *sqq.*; Severus, *Narr.* 5, in Westermann's *Mythographi Graeci, Appendix Narrationum*, 32, p. 373; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* ii. 145; Ovid, *Metamorph.* viii. 183-235; Hyginus, *Fab.* 40; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 16 and 117 (First Vatican Mythographer, 43, Second Vatican Mythographer, 125). According to one account, Daedalus landed from his flight at Cumae, where he dedicated his wings to Apollo. See Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 14 *sqq.*; Juvenal, iii. 25. The myth of the flight of Daedalus and Icarus is rationalized by Diodorus Siculus (iv. 77. 5 *sq.*) and Pausanias (ix. 11. 4 *sq.*). According to Diodorus, the two were provided by Pasiphae with a ship in which they escaped, but in landing on a certain island Icarus fell into the sea and was drowned. According to Pausanias, father and son sailed in separate ships, scudding before the wind with sails, which Daedalus had just invented and spread for the first time to the sea breeze. The only writer besides Apollodorus who mentions the name of Icarus's mother is Tzetzes; he agrees with Apollodorus, whom he may have copied, in describing her as a slave woman named Naucrate.

¹ The story of the quaint device by which Minos detected Daedalus is repeated by Zenobius (*Cent.* iv. 92), who probably copied Apollodorus. See above, pp. 138, 140. The device was

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λουσάμενος ὑπὸ τῶν Κωκάλου θυγατέρων ἔκλυτος ἐγένετο¹ ὡς δὲ ἐνιοί φασι, ζεστῷ καταχυθεὶς <ὔδατι>² μετήλλαξεν.

ES 16 | Συστρατευσάμενος δὲ ἐπὶ Ἀμαζόνας Ἡρακλεῖ
S ἤρπασεν³ Ἀντιόπην, ὡς δὲ τινες Μελανίππην, Σιμωνίδης δὲ Ἴππολύτην.⁴ διὸ ἐστράτευσαν ἐπ'

¹ ἔκλυτος ἐγένετο. These words can hardly be right. The required sense is given by Zenobius, ἀγνῆθη. Perhaps we should read ἐν λουτροῖς ἀπέθανεν or ἀπόλετο. Compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 79. 2, κατὰ τὸν λουτρῶνα ὠλίσθηκε καὶ πεσὼν εἰς τὸ θερμὸν ὕδωρ ἐτελεύτησε. But see Exegetical Note.

² ζεστῷ καταχυθεὶς ὔδατι Wagner (comparing Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* ii. 145, ἀποθνήσκει καταχυθέντος αὐτοῦ ζεστοῦ ὕδατος): ζεστῷ καταλυθεὶς E.

³ συστρατευσάμενος δὲ ἐπὶ Ἀμαζόνας Ἡρακλεῖ ἤρπασεν S: ὄτι Θησεὺς Ἡρακλεῖ συστρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ Ἀμαζόνας ἤρπασε E.

⁴ Ἀντιόπην . . . Ἴππολύτην S: Γλαύκην τὴν καὶ Μελανίππην E.

mentioned by Sophocles in a lost play, *The Camicians*, in which he dealt with the residence of Daedalus at the court of Cocalus in Sicily. See Athenaeus, iii. 32, p. 86 CD; *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, ii. 3 sqq.

¹ Compare Zenobius, *Cent.* iv. 92; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 79. 2; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, i. 508 sq.; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* ii. 145; Scholiast on Pindar, *Nem.* iv. 59 (95); Ovid, *Ibis*, 289 sq., with the Scholia. The account of Zenobius agrees closely with that of Apollodorus, except that he makes the daughters of Cocalus pour boiling pitch instead of boiling water on the head of their royal guest. The other authorities speak of boiling water. The Scholiast on Pindar informs us that the ever ingenious Daedalus persuaded the princesses to lead a pipe through the roof, which discharged a stream of boiling water on Minos while he was disporting himself in the bath. Other writers mention the agency of the daughters of Cocalus in the murder of Minos, without describing the mode of his taking off. See Pausanias, vii. 4. 6; Conon, *Narrat.* 25; Hyginus, *Fab.* 44. Herodotus contents himself with saying (vii. 169 sq.) that Minos died a violent death at Camicus in Sicily, whither he had gone in search of Daedalus. The Greek expression which I have translated "was undone"

ἔκλυτος ἐγένετο) is peculiar. If the text is sound (see Critical

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Minos; but after his bath Minos was undone by the daughters of Cocalus; some say, however, that he died through being drenched with boiling water.¹

Theseus joined Hercules in his expedition against the Amazons and carried off Antiope, or, as some say, Melanippe; but Simonides calls her Hippolyte.²

Note), the words must be equivalent to *ξελεύθη*, "was relaxed, unstrung, or unnerved." Compare Aristotle, *Problem* i. p. 862 b 2 sq., ed. Bekker, *κατεψυγμένου παντός τοῦ σώματος καὶ ἐκλελυμένου πρὸς τοὺς πόρους*. Aristotle also uses the adjective *ἐκλυτός* to express a supple, nerveless, or effeminate motion of the hands (*Physiog.* 3, p. 808 a 14); and he says that tame elephants were trained to strike wild elephants, *ἕως ἂν ἐκλύσωσιν (αὐτούς)*, "until they relax or weaken them" (*Hist. anim.* ix. 1, p. 610 a 27, ed Bekker). Isocrates speaks of a mob (*ὄχλος*) *πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἐκλελυμένος* (*Or.* iv. 150). The verb *ἐκλύειν* is used in the sense of making an end of something troublesome or burdensome (Sophocles, *Oedipus Tyrannus*, 35 sq. with Jebb's note); from which it might perhaps be extended to persons regarded as troublesome or burdensome. We may compare the parallel uses of the Latin *dissolvere*, as applied both to things (Horace, *Odes*, i. 9. 5, *dissolve frigus*) and to persons (Sallust, *Jugurtha*, 17, *plerosque senectus dissolvit*).

² As to Theseus and the Amazons, see Diodorus Siculus, iv. 28; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 26-28; Pausanias, i. 2. 1, i. 15. 2, i. 41. 7, ii. 32. 9, v. 11. 4 and 7; Zenobius, *Cent.* v. 33. The invasion of Attica by the Amazons in the time of Theseus is repeatedly referred to by Isocrates (*Or.* iv. 68 and 70, vi. 42, vii. 75, xii. 193). The Amazon whom Theseus married, and by whom he had Hippolytus, is commonly called Antiope (Plutarch, *Theseus*, 26, 28; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 28; Pausanias, i. 2. 1, i. 41. 7; Seneca, *Hippolytus*, 927 sqq.; Hyginus, *Fab.* 30). But according to Clidemus, in agreement with Simonides, her name was Hippolyte (Plutarch, *Theseus*, 27), and so she is called by Isocrates (*Or.* xii. 193). Pausanias says that Hippolyte was a sister of Antiope (i. 41. 7). Tzetzes expressly affirms that Antiope, and not Hippolyte, was the wife of Theseus and mother of Hippolytus (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 1329). The grave of Antiope was shown both at Athens and Megara (Pausanias, i. 2. 1, i. 41. 7).

APOLLODORUS

- Ἀθήνας Ἀμαζόνες. καὶ στρατοπεδευσάμενας¹
 αὐτὰς περὶ τὸν Ἄρειον πάγον Θησεὺς μετὰ Ἀθη-
 ναίων ἐνίκησεν. | ἔχων δὲ² ἐκ τῆς Ἀμαζόνος παῖδα
 ES 17 Ἴππόλυτον, λαμβάνει μετὰ ταῦτα παρὰ Δευκαλί-
 S ωνος Φαίδραν τὴν Μίνως θυγατέρα, | ἣς ἐπιτε-
 λουμένων τῶν γάμων Ἀμαζῶν ἢ προγαμηθεῖσα
 Θησεῖ τοὺς συγκατακειμένους σὺν ταῖς μεθ' ἑαυτῆς
 Ἀμαζόσιν ἐπιστᾶσα σὺν ὄπλοις κτείνειν ἔμελλεν.
 οἱ δὲ κλείσαντες διὰ τάχους τὰς θύρας ἀπέκτειναν
 αὐτήν. τινὲς δὲ μαχομένην αὐτὴν ὑπὸ Θησεῶς
 ES 18 λέγουσιν ἀποθανεῖν. | Φαίδρα δὲ γεννήσασα Θησεῖ
 δύο παιδία Ἀκάμαντα καὶ Δημοφῶντα ἐρᾷ³ τοῦ
 ἐκ τῆς Ἀμαζόνος παιδὸς [ἤγουν τοῦ Ἴππολύτου]⁴
 καὶ δεῖται συνελθεῖν αὐτῇ.⁵ ὁ δὲ μισῶν πάσας
 γυναῖκας⁶ τὴν συνουσίαν ἔφυγεν. ἡ δὲ Φαίδρα,
 δεῖσασα μὴ τῷ πατρὶ διαβῆλη, κατασχίσασα⁷
 τὰς τοῦ θαλάμου θύρας καὶ τὰς ἐσθῆτας спа-
 19 ράξασα κατεψεύσατο Ἴππολύτου βίαν. Θησεὺς
 δὲ πιστεύσας ἠῤῥατο Ποσειδῶνι Ἴππόλυτον δια-
 φθαρῆναι· ὁ δὲ, θεόντος αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄρματος⁸
 καὶ παρὰ τῇ θαλάσῃ ὄχουμένου, ταῦρον ἀνήκεν
 ἐκ τοῦ κλύδωνος. πτοηθέντων δὲ τῶν ἵππων κατηρ-

¹ στρατοπεδευσάμενας Bücheler: στρατευσάμενας S, Wagner.

² ἔχων δὲ . . . μετὰ ταῦτα S: ἐξ ἧς [scil. Γλαύκης] ἔσχε παῖδα Ἴππόλυτον. τὴν πρότερον δὲ διαλυσάμενος ἔχθραν λαμβάνει E.

³ Φαίδρα δὲ γεννήσασα Θησεῖ δύο παιδία Ἀκάμαντα καὶ Δημοφῶντα ἐρᾷ S: ἐξ ἧς [scil. Φαίδρας] γεννᾷ δύο παῖδας Ἀκάμαντα καὶ Δημοφῶντα. Φαίδρα γοῦν ἐρᾷ E.

⁴ τοῦ ἐκ τῆς Ἀμαζόνος παιδὸς ἤγουν τοῦ Ἴππολύτου E: Ἴππολύτου S.

⁵ συνελθεῖν αὐτῇ E: συνελθεῖν S.

⁶ πάσας γυναῖκας E: πάσας τὰς γυναῖκας S.

⁷ κατασχίσασα S: κατασχούσα E.

⁸ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄρματος E: ἐπὶ ἄρματος S.

Wherefore the Amazons marched against Athens, and having taken up a position about the Areopagus¹ they were vanquished by the Athenians under Theseus. And though he had a son Hippolytus by the Amazon, Theseus afterwards received from Deucalion² in marriage Phaedra, daughter of Minos; and when her marriage was being celebrated, the Amazon that had before been married to him appeared in arms with her Amazons, and threatened to kill the assembled guests. But they hastily closed the doors and killed her. However, some say that she was slain in battle by Theseus. And Phaedra, after she had borne two children, Acamas and Demophon, to Theseus, fell in love with the son he had by the Amazon, to wit, Hippolytus, and besought him to lie with her. Howbeit, he fled from her embraces, because he hated all women. But Phaedra, fearing that he might accuse her to his father, cleft open the doors of her bedchamber, rent her garments, and falsely charged Hippolytus with an assault. Theseus believed her and prayed to Poseidon that Hippolytus might perish. So, when Hippolytus was riding in his chariot and driving beside the sea, Poseidon sent up a bull from the surf, and the horses were frightened, the chariot

¹ According to Diodorus Siculus (iv. 28. 2), the Amazons encamped at the place which was afterwards called the Amazonium. The topography of the battle seems to have been minutely described by the antiquarian Clidemus, according to whom the array of the Amazons extended from the Amazonium to the Pnyx, while the Athenians attacked them from the Museum Hill on one side and from Ardettus and the Lyceum on the other. See Plutarch, *Theseus*, 27.

² This Deucalion was a son of Minos and reigned after him; he was thus a brother of Phaedra. See above, iii. 1. 2; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 62. 1. He is not to be confounded with the more famous Deucalion in whose time the great flood took place. See above, i. 7. 2.

APOLLODORUS

ράχθη¹ τὸ ἄρμα. ἐμπλακεῖς δὲ <ταῖς ἡνίαις>²
 Ἴππόλυτος συρόμενος ἀπέθανε. γενομένου δὲ τοῦ
 ἔρωτος περιφανοῦς εαυτὴν ἀνήρτησε Φαῖδρα.

¹ κατηράχθη E: κατεάχθη S.

² ταῖς ἡνίαις inserted by Wagner (comparing Scholiast on Plato, *Laws*, xi. p. 931 B, ταῖς ἡνίαις ἐμπλακεῖς ἐλκόμενος θνήσκει; Euripides, *Hippolytus*, 1236, ἡνίαισιν ἐμπλακεῖς; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 62. 3; ἐμπλακὲν τοῖς ἱμάσιον ἐλκυσθῆναι).

¹ The guilty passion of Phaedra for her stepson Hippolytus and the tragic end of the innocent youth, done to death by the curses of his father Theseus, are the subject of two extant tragedies, the *Hippolytus* of Euripides, and the *Hippolytus* or *Phaedra* of Seneca. Compare also Diodorus Siculus, iv. 62; Pausanias, i. 22, 1 sq., ii. 32. 1-4; Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* xi. 321, citing Asclepiades as his authority; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 1329; *id. Chiliades*, vi. 504 sqq.; Scholiast on Plato, *Laws*, xi. p. 931 B; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xv. 497 sqq.; *id. Heroides*, iv.; Hyginus, *Fab.* 47; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 445, and vii. 761; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 17, 117 sq. (First Vatican Mythographer, 46; Second Vatican Mythographer, 128). Sophocles composed a tragedy *Phaedra*, of which some fragments remain, but little or nothing is known of the plot. See *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. ii. pp. 294 sqq. Euripides wrote two tragedies on the same subject, both under the title of *Hippolytus*: it is the second which has come down to us. In the first *Hippolytus* the poet, incensed at the misconduct of his wife, painted the character and behaviour of Phaedra in much darker colours than in the second, where he has softened the portrait, representing the unhappy woman as instigated by the revengeful Aphrodite, but resisting the impulse of her fatal passion to the last, refusing to tell her love to Hippolytus, and dying by her own hand rather than endure the shame of its betrayal by a blabbing nurse. This version of the story is evidently not the one here followed by Apollodorus, according to whom Phaedra made criminal advances to her stepson. On the other hand the version of Apollodorus agrees in this respect with that of the Scholiast on Homer (*l.c.*): both writers may have followed the first

dashed in pieces, and Hippolytus, entangled in the reins, was dragged to death. And when her passion was made public, Phaedra hanged herself.¹

Hippolytus of Euripides. As to that lost play, of which some fragments have come down to us, see the life of Euripides in Westermann's *Vitarum Scriptores Graeci Minores*, p. 137; the Greek argument to the extant *Hippolytus* of Euripides (vol. i. p. 163, ed. Paley); *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck², pp. 491 *sqq.* Apollodorus says nothing as to the scene of the tragedy. Euripides in his extant play lays it at Troezen, whither Theseus had gone with Phaedra to be purified for the slaughter of the sons of Pallas (*Hippolytus*, 34 *sqq.*). Pausanias agrees with this account, and tells us that the graves of the unhappy pair were to be seen beside each other at Troezen, near a myrtle-tree, of which the pierced leaves still bore the print of Phaedra's brooch. The natural beauty of the spot is in keeping with the charm which the genius of Euripides has thrown over the romantic story of unhappy love and death. Of Troezen itself only a few insignificant ruins remain, overgrown with weeds and dispersed amid a wilderness of bushes. But hard by are luxuriant groves of lemon and orange with here and there tall cypresses towering like dark spires above them, while behind this belt of verdure rise wooded hills, and across the blue waters of the nearly landlocked bay lies Calauria, the sacred island of Poseidon, its peaks veiled in the sombre green of the pines.

A different place and time were assigned by Seneca to the tragedy. According to him, the events took place at Athens, and Phaedra conceived her passion for Hippolytus and made advances to him during the absence of her husband, who had gone down to the nether world with Pirithous and was there detained for four years (*Hippolytus*, 835 *sqq.*). Diodorus Siculus agrees with Euripides in laying the scene of the tragedy at Troezen, and he agrees with Apollodorus in saying that at the time when Phaedra fell in love with Hippolytus she was the mother of two sons, Acamas and Demophon, by Theseus. In his usual rationalistic vein Diodorus omits all mention of Poseidon and the sea-bull, and ascribes the accident which befell Hippolytus to the mental agitation he felt at his stepmother's calumny.

APOLLODORUS

- E 20 | "Οτι ὁ Ἴξιων Ἡρας ἐρασθεὶς ἐπεχείρει βιάζεσθαι, καὶ προσαγγειλάσης τῆς Ἡρας γυνῶναι θέλων ὁ Ζεὺς, εἰ οὕτως ἔχει τὸ πρῶγμα, νεφέλην ἐξεικάσας Ἡρὰ παρέκλινεν αὐτῷ· καὶ καυχώμενον ὡς Ἡρὰ μιν γέντα ἐνέδησε τροχῷ, ὑφ' οὗ φερόμενος διὰ πνευμάτων ἐν αἰθέρι ταύτην τίνει δίκην. νεφέλη δὲ ἐξ Ἴξίου ἐγέννησε Κένταυρον.
- Z 21 <Συνεμάχησε δὲ¹ τῷ Πειρίθῳ Θησεύς, ὅτε κατὰ τῶν Κενταύρων συνεστήσατο πόλεμον.

¹ Συνεμάχησε δὲ . . . ὁ Θησεὺς αὐτῶν ἀνείλεν. This passage is inserted from Zenobius, *Cent.* v. 33, who probably borrowed it from Apollodorus.

¹ Compare Pindar, *Pyth.* ii. 21 (39)–48 (88), with the Scholiast on v. 21 (39); Diodorus Siculus, iv. 69. 4 sq.; Scholiast on Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 1185; Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* xxi. 303; Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iii. 62; Hyginus, *Fab.* 62; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 286 (who does not mention the punishment of the wheel); Lactantius Placidus on Statius, *Theb.* iv. 539; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 4, 110 sq. (First Vatican Mythographer, 14; Second Vatican Mythographer, 106). J. Tzetzes flatly contradicts Pindar and substitutes a dull rationalistic narrative for the poet's picturesque myth (*Chiliades*, vii. 30 sqq.). According to some, the wheel of Ixion was fiery (Scholiast on Euripides, *l.c.*); according to the Vatican Mythographer it was entwined with snakes. The fiery aspect of the wheel is supported by vase-paintings. From this and other evidence Mr. A. B. Cook argues that the flaming wheel launched through the air is a mythical expression for the Sun, and that Ixion himself "typifies a whole series of human Ixions who in bygone ages were done to death as effete embodiments of the sun-god." See his book *Zeus*, i. 198–211.

² This passage concerning the fight of Theseus with the centaurs at the marriage of Pirithous does not occur in our text

EPITOME, I. 20-21

Ixion fell in love with Hera and attempted to force her; and when Hera reported it, Zeus, wishing to know if the thing were so, made a cloud in the likeness of Hera and laid it beside him; and when Ixion boasted that he had enjoyed the favours of Hera, Zeus bound him to a wheel, on which he is whirled by winds through the air; such is the penalty he pays. And the cloud, impregnated by Ixion, gave birth to Centaurus.¹

And Theseus allied himself with Pirithous,² when he engaged in war against the centaurs. For when

of Apollodorus, but is conjecturally restored to it from Zeno-bius (*Cent.* v. 33), or rather from his interpolator, who frequently quotes passages of Apollodorus without acknowledgment. The restoration was first proposed by Professor C. Robert before the discovery of the *Epitome*; and it is adopted by R. Wagner in his edition of Apollodorus. See C. Robert, *De Apollodori Bibliotheca*, pp. 49 sq.; R. Wagner, *Epitoma Vaticana ex Apollodori Bibliotheca*, p. 147. As Pirithous was a son of Ixion (see above, i. 8. 2), the account of his marriage would follow naturally after the recital of his father's crime and punishment. As to the wedding of Pirithous, see further Diodorus Siculus, iv. 70. 3; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 30; Pausanias, v. 10. 8; Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* xxi. 295; Hyginus, *Fab.* 33; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xii. 210-535; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 304; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 51, 111 (First Vatican Mythographer, 162; Second Vatican Mythographer, 108). The wife of Pirithous is called Deidamia by Plutarch, but Hippodamia by Diodorus Siculus, Hyginus, and the Second Vatican Mythographer, as well as by Homer (*Il.* ii. 742). Ovid calls her Hippodame. The scene of the battle of the Lapiths with the centaurs at the wedding of Pirithous was sculptured in the western gable of the temple of Zeus at Olympia; all the sculptures were discovered, in a more or less fragmentary state, by the Germans in their excavations of the sanctuary, and they are now exhibited in the museum at Olympia. See Pausanias, v. 10. 8, with my commentary (vol. iii. pp. 516 sqq.).

APOLLODORUS

Πειρίθους γὰρ Ἴπποδάμειαν μνηστευόμενος εἰστία Κενταύρους ὡς συγγενεῖς ὄντας αὐτῇ. ἀσυνήθως δὲ ἔχοντες οἴνου ἀφειδῶς ἐμφορησάμενοι ἐμέθουν, καὶ εἰσαγομένην τὴν νύμφην ἐπεχείρουν βιάζεσθαι· ὁ δὲ Πειρίθους μετὰ Θησέως καθοπλισάμενος μάχην συνῆψε, καὶ πολλοὺς ὁ Θησεὺς αὐτῶν¹ ἀνείλεν.>

E 22 | "Ὅτι Καινεὺς πρότερον ἦν γυνή, συνελθόντος δὲ αὐτῇ Ποσειδῶνος ἠτήσατο ἀνὴρ γενέσθαι ἄτρωτος· διὸ καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Κενταύρους μάχῃ τραυματίων καταφρονῶν πολλοὺς τῶν Κενταύρων ἀπώλεσεν, οἱ δὲ λοιποί, περιστάντες αὐτῷ, ἐλάταις τύπτουτες ἔχωσαν εἰς γῆν.

¹ αὐτῶν Wagner : ἀπ' αὐτῶν MSS. of Zenobius.

¹ As to Caeneus, his change of sex and his invulnerability, see Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 57-64, with the Scholiast on v. 57; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* i. 264; Plutarch, *Stoic. absurd.* 1; *id. De profectibus in virtute*, 1; Lucian, *Gallus*, 19; *id. De saltatione*, 57; Apostolius, *Cent.* iv. 19; Palae-phatus, *De incredib.* 11; Antoninus Liberalis, *Transform.* 17; Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 448 sq.; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xii. 459-532; Hyginus, *Fab.* 14, pp. 39 sq., ed. Bunte; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 448; Lactantius Placidus on Statius, *Achill.* 264; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 49, 111 sq., 189 (First Vatican Mythographer, 154; Second Vatican Mythographer, 108; Third Vatican Mythographer, 6. 25). According to Servius and the Vatican Mythographers, after his death Caeneus was changed back into a woman, thus conforming to an observation of Plato or Aristotle that the sex of a person generally changes at each transmigration of his soul into a new body. Curiously enough, the Urabunna and Waramunga tribes of Central Australia agree with Plato or Aristotle on this point. They believe that the souls of the dead transmigrate sooner or later into new bodies, and that at each successive transmigration they change their sex. See (Sir) Baldwin Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia* (London, 1904), p. 148. According to

Pirithous wooed Hippodamia, he feasted the centaurs because they were her kinsmen. But being unaccustomed to wine, they made themselves drunk by swilling it greedily, and when the bride was brought in, they attempted to violate her. But Pirithous, fully armed, with Theseus, joined battle with them, and Theseus killed many of them.

Caeneus was formerly a woman, but after that Poseidon had intercourse with her, she asked to become an invulnerable man; wherefore in the battle with the centaurs he thought scorn of wounds and killed many of the centaurs; but the rest of them surrounded him and by striking him with fir-trees buried him in the earth.¹

Ovid (*Metamorph.* xii. 524 *sqq.*), a bird with yellow wings was seen to rise from the heap of logs under which Caeneus was overwhelmed; and the seer Mopsus explained the bird to be Caeneus transformed into that creature. Another tradition about Caeneus was that he set up his spear in the middle of the market-place and ordered people to regard it as a god and to swear by it. He himself prayed and sacrificed to none of the gods, but only to his spear. It was this impiety that drew down on him the wrath of Zeus, who instigated the centaurs to overwhelm him. See the Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* i. 264; Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 57. The whole story of the parentage of Caeneus, his impiety, his invulnerability, and the manner of his death, is told by the old prose-writer Acusilaus in a passage quoted by a Greek grammarian, of whose work some fragments, written on papyrus, were discovered some years ago at Oxyrhynchus in Egypt. See *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, part xiii. (London, 1919), pp. 133 *sq.* Apollodorus probably derived his account of Caeneus from Acusilaus, whom he often refers to (see Index). The fortunate discovery of this fragment of the ancient writer confirms our confidence in the excellence of the sources used by Apollodorus and in the fidelity with which he followed them. In his complete work he may have narrated the impiety of Caeneus in setting up his spear for worship, though the episode has been omitted in the *Epitome*.

APOLLODORUS

- 23 Ὅτι Θησεύς, Πειρίθῳ συνθέμενος Διὸς θυγατέρας γαμήσαι, ἑαυτῷ μὲν ἐκ Σπάρτης μετ' ἐκείνου ἤρπασεν Ἑλένην δωδεκαέτη οὖσαν, Πειρίθῳ δὲ μνηστευόμενος τὸν Περσεφόνης γάμον εἰς Ἄιδου κάτεισι. καὶ Διόσκουροι μὲν μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Ἀρκίδων εἶλον Ἀθήνας καὶ ἀπάγουσιν Ἑλένην καὶ μετὰ ταύτης Αἴθραν τὴν Πιτθέως αἰχμάλωτον· Δημοφῶν δὲ καὶ Ἀκάμας ἔφυγον. κατὰγουσι δὲ καὶ Μενεσθέα καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν
- 24 τῶν Ἀθηναίων διδῶσιν τούτῳ. Θησεύς δὲ μετὰ Πειρίθου παραγενόμενος εἰς Ἄιδου ἔξαπατᾶται, καὶ <ὄς> ὡς¹ ξενίων μεταληψομένους πρῶτον ἐν τῷ τῆς Λήθης εἶπε καθεσθῆναι θρόνῳ, ᾧ προσφυέντες σπείραις δρακόντων κατείχοντο. Πειρίθους μὲν οὖν εἰς αἶδιον² δεθεὶς ἔμεινε, Θησεῖα δὲ Ἡρακλῆς ἀναγαγὼν ἔπεμψεν εἰς Ἀθήνας. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ὑπὸ Μενεσθέως ἐξελθεὶς πρὸς Λυκο-

¹ ὄς ὡς Herwerden : ὡς E, Wagner.

² αἶδιον Herwerden : Ἀιδωνέα E, Wagner.

¹ See above, iii. 10. 7, with the note. Diodorus Siculus (iv. 63. 2) says that Helen was ten years old when she was carried off by Theseus and Pirithous.

² Compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 63. 3 and 5; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 32 and 34; Pausanias, i. 17. 5, ii. 22. 6. According to these writers, it was not Athens but Aphidna (Aphidnae) that was captured by the Dioscuri.

³ Menestheus was one of the royal family of Athens, being a son of Peteos, who was a son of Orneus, who was a son of Erechtheus. See Plutarch, *Theseus*, 32; Pausanias, ii. 25. 6. That he was restored and placed on the throne by Castor and Pollux during the absence of Theseus is mentioned also by Pausanias (i. 17. 6) and Aelian (*Var. Hist.* iv. 5). Compare Plutarch, *Theseus*, 32 sq.

⁴ As to Theseus and Pirithous in hell, and the rescue of Theseus by Hercules, see above, ii. 5. 12 with the note. The great painter Polygnotus painted the two heroes seated in

Having made a compact with Pirithous that they would marry daughters of Zeus, Theseus, with the help of Pirithous, carried off Helen from Sparta for himself, when she was twelve years old,¹ and in the endeavour to win Persephone as a bride for Pirithous he went down to Hades. And the Dioscuri, with the Lacedaemonians and Arcadians, captured Athens and carried away Helen, and with her Aethra, daughter of Pittheus, into captivity;² but Demophon and Acamas fled. And the Dioscuri also brought back Menestheus from exile, and gave him the sovereignty of Athens.³ But when Theseus arrived with Pirithous in Hades, he was beguiled; for, on the pretence that they were about to partake of good cheer, Hades bade them first be seated on the Chair of Forgetfulness, to which they grew and were held fast by coils of serpents. Pirithous, therefore, remained bound for ever, but Hercules brought Theseus up and sent him to Athens.⁴ Thence he was driven by

chairs, Theseus holding his friend's sword and his own, while Pirithous gazed wistfully at the now useless blades, that had done such good service in the world of light and life. See Pausanias, x. 29. 9. No ancient author, however, except Apollodorus in the present passage, expressly mentions the Chair of Forgetfulness, though Horace seems to allude to it (*Odes*, iv. 7. 27 *sq.*), where he speaks of "the Lethaeon bonds" which held fast Pirithous, and which his faithful friend was powerless to break. But when Apollodorus speaks of the heroes growing to their seats, he may be following the old poet Panyasis, who said that Theseus and Pirithous were not pinioned to their chairs, but that the rock growing to their flesh held them as in a vice (Pausanias *l.c.*). Indeed, Theseus stuck so fast that, on being wrenched away by Hercules, he left a piece of his person adhering to the rock, which, according to some people, was the reason why the Athenians ever afterwards were so remarkably spare in that part of their frame. See Suidas, *s.v.* *Αίστροι*; Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Knights*, 1368; compare Aulus Gellius, x. 16. 13.

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μήδην ἦλθεν, ὃς αὐτὸν βάλλει κατὰ βαράθρων¹ καὶ ἀποκτείνει.

II. "Ὅτι ὁ Τάνταλος ἐν "Αἰδου² κολάζεται, πέτρον ἔχων ὑπερθεῖν ἑαυτοῦ ἐπιφερόμενον, ἐν λίμνῃ τε διατελῶν καὶ περὶ τοὺς ὤμους ἑκατέρωσε δένδρα μετὰ καρπῶν ὄρων παρὰ τῇ λίμνῃ πεφυκότα· τὸ μὲν οὖν ὕδωρ ψαύει αὐτοῦ τῶν γενύων, καὶ ὅτε θέλοι σπάσασθαι τούτου ξηραίνεται, τῶν δὲ καρπῶν ὅποτε βούλοιο μεταλήψεσθαι μετεωρίζονται³ μέχρι νεφῶν ὑπ' ἀνέμων τὰ δένδρα σὺν τοῖς καρποῖς. κολάζεσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν οὕτως λέγουσί τινες, ὅτι τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐξελάλησεν ἀνθρώποις μυστήρια, καὶ ὅτι τῆς ἀμβροσίας τοῖς ἡλικιώταις μετείδου.

2 "Ὅτι Βροτέας κυνηγὸς ὦν τὴν "Αρτεμιν οὐκ

¹ βαράθρων Wagner : θάθρων E.

² "Αἰδου Wagner : ἄδη E.

³ μετεωρίζονται Wagner : μετεωρίζοντα E.

¹ Compare Plutarch, *Theseus*, 35; Pausanias, i. 17. 6; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 62. 4.

² As to the punishment of Tantalus, see Homer, *Od.* xi. 592-592, who describes only the torments of hunger and thirst, but says nothing about the overhanging stone. But the stone is often mentioned by later writers. See Archilochus, quoted by Plutarch, *Praecept. Ger. Reipub.* 6, and by the Scholiast on Pindar, *Olymp.* i. 60 (97); Pindar, *Olymp.* i. 55 (87) *sqq.*, with the Scholia on v. 60 (97); *id. Isthm.* viii. 10 (21); Euripides, *Orestes*, 4-10; Plato, *Cratylus*, p. 395 DE; Hyperides, *Frag.* 176, ed. Blass; Antipater, in *Anthologia Palatina, Appendix Planudea*, iv. 131. 9 *sq.*; Plutarch, *De superstitione*, 11; Lucian, *Dial. Mort.* 17; Pausanias, x. 31. 10; Philostratus, *Vit. Apollon.* iii. 25; Apostolius, *Cent.* vii. 60, xvi. 9; Nonnus, *Narrat.* in Westermann's *Mythographi Graeci, Appendix Narrationum*, 73, p. 386; Athenaeus, vii. 14, p. 281 BC; Lucretius, iii. 980 *sq.*; Cicero, *De finibus*, i.

Menestheus and went to Lycomedes, who threw him down an abyss and killed him.¹

II. Tantalus is punished in Hades by having a stone impending over him, by being perpetually in a lake and seeing at his shoulders on either side trees with fruit growing beside the lake. The water touches his jaws, but when he would take a draught of it, the water dries up; and when he would partake of the fruits, the trees with the fruits are lifted by winds as high as the clouds. Some say that he is thus punished because he blabbed to men the mysteries of the gods, and because he attempted to share ambrosia with his fellows.²

Broteas, a hunter, did not honour Artemis, and

18. 60; *id. Tuscul. Disput.* iv. 16. 35; Horace, *Epod.* 17, 65 *sq.* and *Sat.* i. 1. 68 *sq.*; Ovid, *Metamorph.* iv. 458 *sq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 82. Ovid notices only the torments of hunger and thirst, and Lucian only the torment of thirst. According to another account, Tantalus lay buried under Mount Sipylus in Lydia, which had been his home in life, and on which his grave was shown down to late times (Pausanias, ii. 22. 3, v. 13. 7). The story ran that Zeus owned a valuable watchdog, which guarded his sanctuary in Crete; but Pandareus, the Milesian, stole the animal and entrusted it for safekeeping to Tantalus. So Zeus sent Hermes to the resetter to reclaim his property, but Tantalus impudently denied on oath that the creature was in his house or that he knew anything about it. Accordingly, to punish the perjured knave, the indignant Zeus piled Mount Sipylus on the top of him. See the Scholiast on Pindar, *Olymp.* i. 60 (97); Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* xix. 518, xx. 66. In his lost play *Tantalus* Sophocles seems to have introduced the theft of the dog, the errand of Hermes to recover the animal, and perhaps the burial of the thief under the mountain. See *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. ii. pp. 209 *sqq.*

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ἔτιμα· ἔλεγε δέ, ὡς οὐδ' <ἄν>¹ ὑπὸ πυρός τι πάθοι· ἐμμανῆς οὖν γενόμενος ἔβαλεν εἰς πῦρ ἑαυτόν.

- 3 Ὅτι Πέλοψ σφαγεῖς ἐν τῷ τῶν θεῶν ἐράνῳ καὶ καθεψηθεῖς ὠραιότερος ἐν τῇ ἀναζώσει γέγονε, καὶ κάλλει διενεγκῶν Ποσειδῶνος ἐρώμενος γίνεται, ὃς αὐτῷ δίδωσιν ἄρμα ὑπόπτερον· τοῦτο καὶ διὰ θαλάσσης τρέχον τοὺς ἄξονας οὐχ ὑγραίνετο.
- 4 τοῦ δὲ βασιλεύοντος Πίσσης Οἰνομάου θυγατέρα ἔχοντος Ἴπποδάμειαν, καὶ εἶτε αὐτῆς

¹ οὐδ' ἄν Herwerden : οὐδ' E, Wagner.

¹ This Broteas, mentioned by Apollodorus between Tantalus and Pelops, is probably the Broteas, son of Tantalus, who was said to have carved the ancient rock-hewn image of the Mother of the Gods which is still to be seen on the side of Mount Sipylus, about three hundred feet above the plain. See Pausanias, iii. 22. 4, with my note on v. 13. 7 (vol. iii. pp. 553 sq.). Ovid mentions a certain Broteas, who from a desire of death burned himself on a pyre (*Ibis*, 517 sq.), and who is probably to be identified with the Broteas of Apollodorus, though the Scholiasts on Ovid describe him either as a son of Jupiter (Zeus), or as a son of Vulcan (Hephaestus) and Pallas (Athena), identical with Erichthonius. According to one of the Scholiasts, Broteas, son of Zeus, was a very wicked man, who was blinded by Zeus, and loathing his life threw himself on a burning pyre. According to another of the Scholiasts, Broteas, son of Hephaestus and Athena, was despised for his ugliness, and this so preyed on his mind that he preferred death by fire. See Ovid, *Ibis*, ed. R. Ellis, p. 89. It seems not improbable that this legend contains a reminiscence of a human sacrifice or suicide by fire, such as occurs not infrequently in the traditions of western Asia. See K. B. Stark, *Niobe und die Niobiden* (Leipsic, 1863), pp. 437 sq.; and for the Asiatic traditions of a human sacrifice or suicide by fire, see *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, Third Edition, vol. i. pp. 172 sqq.

² The story was that at a banquet of the gods, to which he

said that even fire could not hurt him. So he went mad and threw himself into fire.¹

Pelops, after being slaughtered and boiled at the banquet of the gods, was fairer than ever when he came to life again,² and on account of his surpassing beauty he became a minion of Poseidon, who gave him a winged chariot, such that even when it ran through the sea the axles were not wet.³ Now Oenomaus, the king of Pisa, had a daughter Hippodamia,⁴ and whether it was that he loved her, as some

had been invited, Tantalus served up the mangled limbs of his young son Pelops, which he had boiled in a kettle. But the murdered child was restored to life by being put back into the kettle and then drawn out of it, with an ivory shoulder to replace the shoulder of flesh which Demeter or, according to others, Thetis had unwittingly eaten. See Pindar, *Olymp.* i. 24 (37) *sqq.*, with the Scholia on v. 37; Lucian, *De saltatione*, 54; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 152; Nonnus, *Narr.*, in Westermann's *Mythographi Graeci, Appendix Narrationum*, 57, p. 380; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 603, and on *Georg.* iii. 7; Hyginus, *Fab.* 83; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 109, 186 (Second Vatican Mythographer, 102; Third Vatican Mythographer, vi. 21). The ivory shoulder of Pelops used afterwards to be exhibited at Elis (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxviii. 34); but it was no longer to be seen in the time of Pausanias (*Pausanias*, i. 13. 6).

³ Compare Pindar, *Olymp.* i. 37 (60) *sqq.*, 71 (114) *sqq.*; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 156. Pindar describes how Pelops went to the shore of the sea and prayed to Poseidon to give him a swift chariot, and how the god came forth and bestowed on him a golden chariot with winged steeds. On the chest of Cypselus at Olympia the horses of Pelops in the chariot race were represented with wings (*Pausanias*, v. 17. 7).

⁴ The following account of the wooing and winning of Hippodamia by Pelops is the fullest that has come down to us. Compare Pindar, *Olymp.* i. 67 (109) *sqq.*; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 73; *Pausanias*, v. 10. 6 *sq.*, v. 14. 6, v. 17. 7,

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ἐρῶντος, ὡς τινες λέγουσιν, εἴτε χρησμὸν ἔχοντος
τελευτήσαι ὑπὸ τοῦ γήμαντος αὐτῆν, οὐδεὶς αὐτῆν
ἐλάμβανεν εἰς γυναῖκα· ὁ μὲν γὰρ πατὴρ οὐκ
ἔπειθεν αὐτῷ¹ συνελθεῖν, οἱ δὲ μνηστευόμενοι

¹ αὐτῷ Frazer: αὐτῇ E, Wagner. ἐπέτρεπεν οὐδενὶ αὐτῇ
Herwerden.

vi. 20. 17, vi. 21. 6-11, viii. 14. 10 sq.; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* ii. 104; Scholiast on Pindar, *Olymp.* i. 71 (114); Scholiast on Sophocles, *Electra*, 504; Scholiast on Euripides, *Orestes*, 982 and 990; Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 752; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 156; Hyginus, *Fab.* 84; Servius, on Virgil, *Georg.* iii. 7, ed. Lion; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 7, 125 (First Vatican Mythographer, 21; Second Vatican Mythographer, 146). The story was told by Pherecydes, as we learn from the Scholiasts on Sophocles and Apollonius Rhodius. (*ll. cc*) It was also the theme of two plays called *Oenomaus*, one of them by Sophocles, and the other by Euripides. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck², pp. 233 sqq., 539 sqq.; *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. ii. pp. 121 sqq. The versions of the story given by Tzetzes and the Scholiast on Euripides (*Orestes*, 990) agree closely with each other and with that of Apollodorus, which they may have copied. They agree with him and with the Scholiast on Pindar in alleging an incestuous passion of Oenomaus for his daughter as the reason why he was reluctant to give her in marriage; indeed they affirm that this was the motive assigned for his conduct by the more accurate historians, though they also mention the oracle which warned him that he would perish at the hands of his son-in-law. The fear of this prediction being fulfilled is the motive generally alleged by the extant writers of antiquity. Diodorus Siculus mentions some particulars which are not noticed by other authors. According to him, the goal of the race was the altar of Poseidon at Corinth, and the suitor was allowed a start; for before mounting his chariot Oenomaus sacrificed a ram to Zeus, and while he was sacrificing the suitor drove off and made the best of his way along the road, until Oenomaus, having completed the sacrifice, was free to pursue and overtake him. The sacri-

say, or that he was warned by an oracle that he must die by the man that married her, no man got her to wife; for her father could not persuade her to cohabit with him, and her suitors were put by him to death.

fiice was offered at a particular altar at Olympia, which some people called the altar of Hephaestus, and others the altar of Warlike Zeus (Pausanias, v. 14. 6). In the eastern gable of the temple of Zeus at Olympia the competitors with their chariots and charioteers were represented preparing for the race in the presence of an image of Zeus; among them were Hippodamia and her mother Sterope. These sculptures were found, more or less mutilated, by the Germans in their excavation of Olympia and are now exhibited in the local museum. See Pausanias, v. 10. 6 *sq.* with my commentary (vol. iii. pp. 504 *sqq.*). Curiously enough, the scene of the story is transposed by the Scholiast on Euripides (*Orestes*, 990), who affirms that Oenomaus reigned in Lesbos, though at the same time he says, in accordance with the usual tradition, that the goal of the race was the Isthmus of Corinth. The connexion of Oenomaus with Lesbos is to a certain extent countenanced by a story for which the authority cited is Theopompus. He related that when Pelops was on his way to Pisa (Olympia) to woo Hippodamia, his charioteer Cillus died in Lesbos, and that his ghost appeared to Pelops in a dream, lamenting his sad fate and begging to be accorded funeral honours. So Pelops burned the dead man's body, buried his ashes under a barrow, and founded a sanctuary of Cillaeon Apollo close by. See the Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* i. 38 (where for *ἐξερυπάρου τὸ εἶδωλον διὰ πυρός* we should perhaps read *ἐξεπύρου τὸ εἶδωλον διὰ πυρός*, "he burned the body to ashes with fire," *εἶδωλον* being apparently used in the sense of "dead body"). Strabo describes the tomb of Cillus or Cillas, as he calls him, as a great mound beside the sanctuary of Cillaeon Apollo, but he places the grave and the sanctuary, not in Lesbos, but on the opposite mainland, in the territory of Adramyttium, though he says that there was a Cillaeum also in Lesbos. See Strabo, xiii. 1. 62 and 63, pp. 612, 613. Professor C. Robert holds that the original version of the legend of Oenomaus and Hippodamia belonged to Lesbos and not to Olympia. See his *Bild und Lied*, p. 187 note.

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- 5 ἀνηροῦντο ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. ἔχων γὰρ ὄπλα τε καὶ ἵππους παρὰ Ἄρεος ἄθλον ἐτίθει τοῖς μνηστῆρσι τὸν γάμον, καὶ τὸν μνηστευόμενον ἔδει ἀναλαβόντα τὴν Ἴπποδάμειαν εἰς τὸ οἰκεῖον ἄρμα φεύγειν ἄχρι τοῦ Κορινθίων ἰσθμοῦ, τὸν δὲ Οἰνόμαον εὐθέως διώκειν καθωπλισμένον καὶ καταλαβόντα κτείνειν· τὸν δὲ μὴ καταληφθέντα ἔχειν γυναῖκα τὴν Ἴπποδάμειαν. καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον πολλοὺς μνηστευομένους ἀπέκτεινεν, ὡς δὲ τινες λέγουσι δώδεκα· τὰς δὲ κεφαλὰς τῶν μνηστήρων ἐκτεμῶν¹ τῇ οἰκίᾳ προσεπαττάλευε.
- 6 Παραγίνεται τοίνυν καὶ Πέλοψ ἐπὶ τὴν μνηστείαν· οὐ τὸ κάλλος ἰδοῦσα ἡ Ἴπποδάμεια ἔρωτα ἔσχεν αὐτοῦ, καὶ πείθει Μυρτίλον τὸν Ἑρμοῦ παῖδα συλλαβέσθαι αὐτῷ· ἦν δὲ Μυρτίλος [παρασ
- 7 βύτης εἶτουν] ἠνίοχος Οἰνομάου. Μυρτίλος οὖν ἐρῶν αὐτῆς καὶ βουλόμενος αὐτῇ χαρίσασθαι, ταῖς χοινικίσι τῶν τροχῶν τοὺς ἤλους οὐκ ἐμβαλῶν ἐποίησε τὸν Οἰνόμαον ἐν τῷ τρέχειν ἠττηθῆναι καὶ ταῖς ἠνίαις συμπλακέντα συρόμενον ἀποθανεῖν, κατὰ δὲ τινὰς ἀναιρεθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ Πέλοπος· ὁ-

¹ ἐκτεμῶν Frazer : ἐκτέμων E, Wagner.

¹ The number of the slain suitors was twelve according to Tzetzes (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 156) and the Scholiast on Euripides (*Orestes*, 990); but it was thirteen according to Pindar and his Scholiasts. See Pindar, *Olymp.* i. 79 (127) *sq.*, with the Scholia on v. 79 (127), where the names of the suitors are given. A still longer list of their names is given by Pausanias (vi. 21. 7), who says that they were buried under a high mound of earth, and that Pelops afterwards sacrificed to them as to heroes every year.

² According to Hyginus (*Fab.* 84), when Pelops saw the heads of the unsuccessful suitors nailed over the door, he

For he had arms and horses given him by Ares, and he offered as a prize to the suitors the hand of his daughter, and each suitor was bound to take up Hippodamia on his own chariot and flee as far as the Isthmus of Corinth, and Oenomaus straightway pursued him, in full armour, and if he overtook him he slew him; but if the suitor were not overtaken, he was to have Hippodamia to wife. And in this way he slew many suitors, some say twelve;¹ and he cut off the heads of the suitors and nailed them to his house.²

So Pelops also came a-wooing; and when Hippodamia saw his beauty, she conceived a passion for him, and persuaded Myrtilus, son of Hermes, to help him; for Myrtilus was charioteer to Oenomaus. Accordingly Myrtilus, being in love with her and wishing to gratify her, did not insert the linchpins in the boxes of the wheels,³ and thus caused Oenomaus to lose the race and to be entangled in the reins and dragged to death; but according to some, he was killed by Pelops. And

began to repent of his temerity, and offered Myrtilus, the charioteer of Oenomaus, the half of the kingdom if he would help him in the race.

¹ According to another account, which had the support of Pherecydes, Myrtilus substituted linchpins of wax for linchpins of bronze. See Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 752; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 156; Scholiast on Euripides, *Orestes*, 998; Servius, on Virgil, *Georg.* iii. 7, ed. Lion, where for *aereis* we should read *cereis* (the text in Thilo and Hagen's edition of Servius is mutilated and omits the passage); *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 7, 125 (First Vatican Mythographer, 21; Second Vatican Mythographer, 146).

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- ἐν τῷ ἀποθνήσκειν κατηράσατο τῷ Μυρτίλῳ γνοῦς τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, ἵνα ὑπὸ Πέλοπος ἀπόληται.
- 8 Λαβὼν οὖν Πέλοψ τὴν Ἴπποδάμειαν καὶ διερχόμενος ἐν τόπῳ τινί, τὸν Μυρτίλον ἔχων μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ, μικρὸν ἀναχωρεῖ κομίσων ὕδωρ διψῶσῃ τῇ γυναικί. Μυρτίλος δὲ ἐν τούτῳ βιάζειν αὐτὴν ἐπεχειρεῖ. μαθὼν δὲ τοῦτο παρ' αὐτῆς¹ ὁ Πέλοψ ῥίπτει τὸν Μυρτίλον περὶ Γεραιστὸν ἀκρωτήριον εἰς τὸ ἀπ' ἐκείνου κληθὲν Μυρτώον πέλαγος. ὁ δὲ ῥιπτούμενος ἀρὰς ἔθετο κατὰ τοῦ Πέλοπος γένους.
- 9 παραγενόμενος δὲ Πέλοψ ἐπ' ὠκεανὸν καὶ ἀγνισθεὶς ὑπὸ Ἡφαίστου, ἐπανελθὼν εἰς Πίσαν τῆς Ἥλιδος τὴν Οἰνομάου βασιλείαν λαμβάνει, χειρωσάμενος τὴν πρότερον Ἀπίαν καὶ Πελασγιῶτιν λεγομένην, ἣν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ Πελοπόννησον ἐκάλεσεν.
- 10 Ὅτι υἱὸς Πέλοπος Πιτθεὺς Ἀτρεὺς Θυέστης καὶ ἕτεροι. γυνὴ δὲ Ἀτρέως Ἀερόπη τοῦ Κατ-

¹ αὐτῆς Wagner: αὐτὴν E.

¹ Compare Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 156; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* ii. 104. The latter writer says, somewhat absurdly, that the incident took place when Pelops and Hippodamia were crossing the Aegean Sea, and that, Hippodamia being athirst, Pelops dismounted from the chariot to look for water in the desert.

² Compare Euripides, *Orestes*, 989 *sqq.*

³ Compare Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 156; Scholiast on Euripides, *Orestes*, 990.

⁴ As to Apia, the old name of Peloponnese, see above, ii. 1. 1; Pausanias, ii. 5. 7; Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Ἀπία. The term Pelasgiotis seems not to occur elsewhere as a name for Peloponnese. However, Euripides uses Pelasgia apparently as equivalent to Argolis (*Orestes*, 960).

⁵ According to Pindar, Pelops had six sons by Hippodamia, and three different lists of their names are given by the Scholiasts on the passage. All the lists include the three

in dying he cursed Myrtilus, whose treachery he had discovered, praying that he might perish by the hand of Pelops.

Pelops, therefore, got Hippodamia; and on his journey, in which he was accompanied by Myrtilus, he came to a certain place, and withdrew a little to fetch water for his wife, who was athirst; and in the meantime Myrtilus tried to rape her.¹ But when Pelops learned that from her, he threw Myrtilus into the sea, called after him the Myrtoan Sea, at Cape Geraestus²; and Myrtilus, as he was being thrown, uttered curses against the house of Pelops. When Pelops had reached the Ocean and been cleansed by Hephaestus,³ he returned to Pisa in Elis and succeeded to the kingdom of Oenomaus, but not till he had subjugated what was formerly called Apia and Pelasgiotis, which he called Peloponnesus after himself.⁴

The sons of Pelops were Pittheus, Atreus, Thyestes, and others.⁵ Now the wife of Atreus was Aerope,

mentioned by Apollodorus. See Pindar, *Olymp.* i. 89 (144), with the Scholia. Three sons, Hippalcimus, Atreus, and Thyestes, are named by Hyginus (*Fab.* 84). Besides his legitimate sons Pelops is said to have had a bastard son Chrysippus, who was born to him before his marriage with Hippodamia. His fondness for this love-child excited the jealousy of his wife, and at her instigation Atreus and Thyestes murdered Chrysippus by throwing him down a well. For this crime Pelops cursed his two sons and banished them, and Hippodamia fled to Argolis, but her bones were afterwards brought back to Olympia. See Thucydides, i. 9; Pausanias, vi. 20. 7; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, i. 415 sqq; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* ii. 105; Hyginus, *Fab.* 85. Euripides wrote a tragedy *Chrysippus* on this subject. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck², pp. 632 sqq. The tragedy is alluded to by Cicero (*Tuscul. Disput.* iv. 33. 71). As to Chrysippus, see also above, iii. 5. 5.

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- ρέως,¹ ἥτις ἦρα Θυέστου. ὁ δὲ Ἄτρεὺς εὐξάμενός ποτε τῶν αὐτοῦ² ποιμνίων, ὅπερ ἂν κάλλιστον γένηται, τοῦτο θῦσαι Ἀρτέμιδι, λέγουσιν ἄρνός φανείσης χρυσῆς ὅτι κατημέλησε τῆς εὐχῆς·
- 11 πνίξας δὲ αὐτὴν εἰς λάρνακα κατέθετο κάκει ἐφύλασσε ταύτην· ἦν Ἀερόπη δίδωσι τῷ Θυέστη μοιχευθεῖσα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. χρησμοῦ γὰρ γεγονότος τοῖς Μυκηναίοις ἐλέσθαι βασιλέα Πελοπίδην, μετεπέμψαντο Ἀτρέα καὶ Θυέστην. λόγου δὲ γενομένου περὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐξείπε Θυέστης τῷ πλήθει τὴν βασιλείαν δεῖν ἔχειν τὸν ἔχοντα τὴν ἄρνα τὴν χρυσῆν· συνθεμένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀτρέως
- 12 δείξας ἐβασίλευσε. Ζεὺς δὲ Ἑρμῆν πέμπει πρὸς Ἀτρέα καὶ λέγει συνθέσθαι πρὸς Θυέστην περὶ τοῦ βασιλεῦσαι Ἀτρέα, εἰ τὴν ἐναντίαν ὀδεύσει ὁ Ἥλιος· Θυέστου δὲ συνθεμένου τὴν δύσιν εἰς ἀνατολὰς ὁ Ἥλιος ἐποίησατο· ὅθεν ἐκμαρτυρήσαντος τοῦ δαίμονος τὴν Θυέστου πλεονεξίαν, τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀτρεὺς παρέλαβε καὶ Θυέστην ἐφυ-
- 13 γάδευσεν. αἰσθόμενος δὲ τῆς μοιχείας ὕστερον

¹ Κατρέως Wagner: καστρέως E.

² αὐτοῦ Wagner: αὐτοῦ E.

¹ This story of the golden lamb, and of the appeal made to its possession by the two brothers in the contest for the kingdom, is told in substantially the same way by J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, i. 425 sqq.; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* ii. 106; Scholiast on Euripides, *Orestes*, 811, 998. Tzetzes records the vow of Atreus to sacrifice the best of his flock to Artemis, and he cites as his authority Apollonius, which is almost certainly a mistake for Apollodorus. Probably Tzetzes and the Scholiasts drew on the present passage of Apollodorus, or rather on the passage as it appeared in the unabridged text instead of in the *Epitome* which is all that we now possess of the last

daughter of Catreus, and she loved Thyestes. And Atreus once vowed to sacrifice to Artemis the finest of his flocks; but when a golden lamb appeared, they say that he neglected to perform his vow, and having choked the lamb, he deposited it in a box and kept it there, and Aerope gave it to Thyestes, by whom she had been debauched. For the Mycenæans had received an oracle which bade them choose a Pelopid for their king, and they had sent for Atreus and Thyestes. And when a discussion took place concerning the kingdom, Thyestes declared to the multitude that the kingdom ought to belong to him who owned the golden lamb, and when Atreus agreed, Thyestes produced the lamb and was made king. But Zeus sent Hermes to Atreus and told him to stipulate with Thyestes that Atreus should be king if the sun should go backward; and when Thyestes agreed, the sun set in the east; hence the deity having plainly attested the usurpation of Thyestes, Atreus got the kingdom and banished Thyestes.¹ But afterwards being apprized

part of the *Library*. Euripides told the story allusively in much the same way. See his *Electra*, 699 sq.; *Orestes*, 996 sq. Compare Plato, *Politicus*, 12, pp. 268 sq.; Pausanias, ii. 18. 1; Lucian, *De astrologia*, 12; Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* lxvi. vol. ii. p. 221, ed. L. Dindorf; Accius, quoted by Cicero, *De natura deorum*, iii. 27. 68; Seneca, *Thyestes*, 222-235; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* iv. 306; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 7, 125 sq. (First Vatican Mythographer, 22; Second Vatican Mythographer, 147). From these various accounts and allusions it would seem that in their dispute for the kingdom, which Atreus claimed in right of birth as the elder (J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, i. 426), it was agreed that he who could exhibit the greatest portent should be king. Atreus intended to produce the golden lamb, which had been born in

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κήρυκα πέμψας ἐπὶ διαλλαγὰς αὐτὸν ἐκάλει· καὶ ψευδάμενος εἶναι φίλος, παραγενομένου τοὺς παῖδας, οὗς εἶχεν ἐκ νηίδος νύμφης, Ἄγλαδον¹ καὶ Καλλιλέοντα καὶ Ὀρχομενόν, ἐπὶ τὸν Διὸς βωμὸν καθεσθέντας ἰκέτας ἔσφαξε, καὶ μελίσας καὶ καθεψήσας παρατίθησι Θυέστη χωρὶς τῶν ἄκρων, ἐμφορηθέντι² δὲ δείκνυσι τὰ ἄκρα καὶ τῆς χώρας 14 αὐτὸν ἐκβάλλει. Θυέστης δὲ κατὰ πάντα τρόπον

¹ Ἄγλαδον Wagner (comparing J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, i. 449, τὸν Ἄγλαδόν, Ὀρχομενόν, Κάλλαον): ἀγῶν E.

² ἐμφορηθέντι Frazer: ἐμφορηθέντα E, Wagner.

his flocks; but meanwhile the lamb had been given by his treacherous wife Aerope to her paramour Thyestes, who produced it in evidence of his claim and was accordingly awarded the crown. However, with the assistance of Zeus, the rightful claimant Atreus was able to exhibit a still greater portent, which was the sun and the Pleiades retracing their course in the sky and setting in the east instead of in the west. This mighty marvel, attesting the divine approbation of Atreus, clinched the dispute in his favour; he became king, and banished his rival Thyestes. According to a different account, which found favour with the Latin poets, the sun reversed his course in the sky, not in order to demonstrate the right of Atreus to the crown, but on the contrary to mark his disgust and horror at the king for murdering his nephews and dishing up their mangled limbs to their father Thyestes at table. See J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, i. 451; Statyllius Flaccus, in *Anthologia Palatina*, ix. 98. 2; Hyginus, *Fab.* 88 and 258; Ovid, *Tristia*, ii. 391 sq.; *id.* *Ars amat.* i. 327 sqq.; Seneca, *Thyestes*, 776 sqq.; Martial, iii. 45. 1 sq. From the verses of Statyllius Flaccus we may infer that this latter was the interpretation put on the backward motion of the sun by Sophocles in his tragedy *Atreus*. See *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. i. p. 93. In later times rationalists explained the old fable by saying that Atreus was an astronomer who first calculated an eclipse, and so threw his less scientific brother into the shade (Hyginus.

of the adultery, he sent a herald to Thyestes with a proposal of accommodation; and when he had lured Thyestes by a pretence of friendship, he slaughtered the sons, Aglaus, Callileon, and Orchomenus, whom Thyestes had by a Naiad nymph, though they had sat down as suppliants on the altar of Zeus. And having cut them limb from limb and boiled them, he served them up to Thyestes without the extremities; and when Thyestes had eaten heartily of them, he showed him the extremities, and cast him out of the country.¹ But seeking by all means to pay Atreus

Fab. 158; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* i. 568), or who first pointed out that the sun appears to revolve in a direction contrary to the motion of the stars. See Strabo, i. 2. 15, p. 23; Lucian, *De astrologia*, 12. A fragment of Euripides appears to show that he put in the mouth of Atreus this claim to astronomical discovery. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck², p. 639 (frag. 861). A still more grandiose explanation of the myth was given by Plato (*l.c.*), who adduced it, with grave irony, as evidence that in alternate cycles of vast duration the universe revolves in opposite directions, the reversal of its motion at the end of each cycle being accompanied by a great destruction of animal life. This magnificent theory was perhaps suggested to the philosopher by the speculations of Empedocles, and it bears a resemblance not only to the ancient Indian doctrine of successive epochs of creation and destruction, but also to Herbert Spencer's view of the great cosmic process as moving eternally in alternate and measureless cycles of evolution and dissolution. See Sir Charles Lyell, *Principles of Geology*, Twelfth Edition (London, 1875), i. 7, quoting the *Laws of Manu*; Herbert Spencer, *First Principles*, Third Edition (London, 1875), pp. 536 sq. Compare *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, ii. 303 sqq.

¹ As to the famous, or infamous, Thyestean banquet, see Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, 1590 sqq.; Pausanias, ii. 18. 1; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, i. 447 sqq.; Hyginus, *Fab.* 88; Seneca, *Thyestes*, 682 sqq.; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* i. 568, xi. 262; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* iv. 306; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 7, 126,

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ζητῶν Ἀτρεία μετελθεῖν ἐχρηστηριάζετο περὶ τοῦ-
του καὶ λαμβάνει χρησμόν, ὡς εἰ παῖδα γεννήσει
τῇ θυγατρὶ συνελθών. ποιεῖ οὖν¹ οὕτω καὶ γεννᾷ
ἐκ τῆς θυγατρὸς Αἴγισθον,² ὃς ἀνδρωθεὶς καὶ
μαθὼν, ὅτι Θυέστου παῖς ἐστὶ, κτείννας Ἀτρεία
Θυέστη τὴν βασιλείαν ἀποκατέστησεν.

* * * * *

ΤΖ 15 <Τὸν δ' Ἀγαμέμνονα³ τροφὸς μετὰ τοῦ Μενελάου

¹ οὖν Frazer: γοῦν E, Wagner.

² Wagner marks a lacuna between *θυγατρὸς* and *Αἴγισθον*. There seems to be none in the MS.

³ τὸν δ' Ἀγαμέμνονα . . . Μενέλαος Ἑλένην. These verses are inserted from J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, i. 456-465, who may have borrowed the substance of them from Apollodorus.

209 (First Vatican Mythographer, 22; Second Vatican Mythographer, 147; Third Vatican Mythographer, viii. 16). Sophocles wrote at least two tragedies on the fatal feud between the brothers, one of them being called *Atræus* and the other *Thyestes*. The plots of the plays are not certainly known, but it is thought probable that in the former he dealt with the cannibal banquet, and in the latter with the subsequent adventures and crimes of Thyestes. See *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. i. pp. 91 *sqq.*, 185 *sqq.* Euripides also wrote a tragedy called *Thyestes*. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck², pp. 480 *sqq.* Tzetzes agrees with Apollodorus as to the names of the three murdered sons of Thyestes, except that he calls one of them Callanus instead of Callileon. Only two, Tantalus and Plisthenes, are named by Seneca and Hyginus.

¹ The later history of Thyestes, including his incest with his daughter Pelopia, is narrated much more fully by Hyginus (*Fab.* 87 and 88), who is believed to have derived the story from the *Thyestes* of Sophocles. See *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. i. pp. 185 *sqq.* The incest and the birth of Aegisthus, who is said to have received his

out, Thyestes inquired of the oracle on the subject, and received an answer that it could be done if he were to beget a son by intercourse with his own daughter. He did so accordingly, and begot Aegisthus by his daughter. And Aegisthus, when he was grown to manhood and had learned that he was a son of Thyestes, killed Atreus, and restored the kingdom to Thyestes.¹

* * * * *

But² the nurse took Agamemnon and Menelaus

name because he was suckled by a goat, are told more briefly by Lactantius Placidus (on Statius, *Theb.* iv. 306) and the First and Second Vatican Mythographers (*Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 7 sq., 126). The incest is said to have been committed at Sicyon, where the father and daughter met by night without recognizing each other; the recognition occurred at a later time by means of a sword which Pelopia had wrested from her ravisher, and with which, on coming to a knowledge of her relationship to him, she stabbed herself to death.

² The passage translated in this paragraph does not occur in our present text of Apollodorus, which is here defective. It is found in the *Chiliades* of J. Tzetzes (i. 456-465), who probably borrowed it from Apollodorus; for in the preceding lines Tzetzes narrates the crimes of Atreus and Thyestes in agreement with Apollodorus and actually cites him as his authority, if, as seems nearly certain, we should read Apollodorus for Apollonius in his text (see above p. 164). The restoration of the passage to its present place in the text of Apollodorus is due to the German editor R. Wagner. Here after describing how Aegisthus had murdered Atreus and placed his own father Thyestes on the throne of Mycenae, Apollodorus tells us how the nurse of Atreus's two children, Agamemnon and Menelaus, saved the lives of her youthful charges by conveying them to Sicyon. The implied youthfulness of Agamemnon and Menelaus at the time of the death of their father Atreus is inconsistent with the narrative of Hyginus (*Fab.* 88), who tells how Atreus had sent his two sons abroad to find and arrest Thyestes.

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ἀγει πρὸς Πολυφείδεα, κρατοῦντα Σικυῶνος,
 δς πάλιν τούτους πέπομφε πρὸς Αἰτωλὸν Οἰνέα.
 μετ' οὐ πολὺ Τυνδάρως τούτους κατάγει πάλιν,
 οἱ τὸν Θυέστην μὲν αὐτὸν Ἔρας βωμῶ φυγόντα
 ὀρκώσαντες διώκουσιν οἰκεῖν τὴν Κυθηρίαν.
 οἱ δὲ Τυνδάρω γαμβροὶ γίνονται θυγατράσιν,
 ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων μὲν λαβὼν σύνευνον Κλυταιμνή-
 στραν,
 κτείνας αὐτῆς τὸν σύζυγον Τάνταλον τὸν Θυέστου
 σὺν τέκνῳ πάνυ νεογνῶ, Μενέλαος Ἑλένην.>

S 16 | Ἀγαμέμνων δὲ βασιλεύει Μυκηναίων καὶ γαμεῖ
 Τυνδάρω θυγατέρα Κλυταιμνήστραν, τὸν πρό-
 τερον αὐτῆς ἄνδρα Τάνταλον Θυέστου σὺν τῷ
 παιδί κτείνας,¹ καὶ γίνεται αὐτῷ παῖς μὲν Ὀρέσ-
 της, θυγατέρες δὲ Χρυσόθεμις Ἡλέκτρα Ἴφιγένεια.
 Μενέλαος δὲ Ἑλένην γαμεῖ καὶ βασιλεύει Σπάρ-
 τῆς, Τυνδάρω τὴν βασιλείαν δόντος αὐτῷ.

III. Αὐθις δὲ Ἑλένην Ἀλέξανδρος ἀρπάζει, ὡς
 τινες λέγουσι κατὰ βούλησιν Διός, ἵνα Εὐρώπῃς
 καὶ Ἀσίας εἰς πόλεμον ἐλθούσης² ἢ θυγάτηρ
 αὐτοῦ ἔνδοξος γένηται, ἣ καθάπερ εἶπον ἄλλοι
 2 ὅπως τὸ τῶν ἡμιθέων γένος ἀρθῆ. διὰ δὲ τούτων

¹ κτείνας Frazer (compare Euripides, *Iphigenia in Aulis*, 1150; Pausanias, ii. 18. 2, ii. 22. 2 sq.; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, i. 464, quoted above): κτείαντος S, Wagner.

² ἐλθούσης S. Perhaps we should read ἐλθουσῶν.

¹ Polyphides is said to have been the twenty-fourth king of Sicyon and to have reigned at the time when Troy was taken. See Eusebius, *Chronic.* vol. i. coll. 175, 176, ed. A. Schoene.

² As to Tantalus, the first husband of Clytaemnestra, and his murder by Agamemnon, see Euripides, *Iphigenia in*

to Polyphides, lord of Sicyon,¹ who again sent them to Oeneus, the Aetolian. Not long afterwards Tyndareus brought them back again, and they drove away Thyestes to dwell in Cytheria, after that they had taken an oath of him at the altar of Hera, to which he had fled. And they became the sons-in-law of Tyndareus by marrying his daughters, Agamemnon getting Clytaemnestra to wife, after he had slain her spouse Tantalus, the son of Thyestes, together with his newborn babe, while Menelaus got Helen.

And Agamemnon reigned over the Mycenaeans and married Clytaemnestra, daughter of Tyndareus, after slaying her former husband Tantalus, son of Thyestes, with his child.² And there were born to Agamemnon a son Orestes, and daughters, Chrysothemis, Electra, and Iphigenia.³ And Menelaus married Helen and reigned over Sparta, Tyndareus having ceded the kingdom to him.⁴

III. But afterwards Alexander carried off Helen, as some say, because such was the will of Zeus, in order that his daughter might be famous for having embroiled Europe and Asia; or, as others have said, that the race of the demigods might be exalted. For

Aulis, 1148 *sqq.*; Pausanias, ii. 18. 2, ii. 22. 2 *sq.* According to Pausanias, he was a son of Thyestes or of Broteas, and his bones were deposited in a large bronze vessel at Argos.

³ In Homer (*Il.* ix. 142 *sqq.*) Agamemnon says that he has a son Orestes and three daughters, Chrysothemis, Laodice, and Iphianassa (Iphigenia), and he offers to give any one of his daughters in marriage to Achilles without a dowry, if only that doughty hero will forgive him and fight again for the Greeks against Troy. Electra, the daughter of Agamemnon, who figures so prominently in Greek tragedy, is unknown to Homer, and so is the sacrifice of Agamemnon's third daughter, Iphigenia.

⁴ See above, iii. 11. 2.

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ES μίαν αἰτίαν | μῆλον περὶ κάλλους Ἔρις ἐμβάλλει
 "Ἡρα καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ Ἀφροδίτη, καὶ κελεύει Ζεὺς ¹
 Ἐρμῆν εἰς Ἴδην πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἄγειν, ἵνα ὑπ
 ἐκείνου διακριθῶσι. αἱ δὲ ἐπαγγέλλονται δῶρα
 δώσειν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ," Ἡρα μὲν πασῶν προκριθεῖσα
 βασιλείαν πάντων,² Ἀθηνᾶ δὲ πολέμου νίκην,
 Ἀφροδίτη δὲ γάμον Ἑλένης. ὁ δὲ ³ Ἀφροδίτην
 προκρίνει καὶ πηξαμένου Φερέκλου ναῦς⁴ εἰς Σπάρ-
 3 ττην ἐκπλέει. ἐφ' ἡμέρας δ' ἑννέα ξενισθεῖς παρὰ
 Μενελάῳ, τῇ δεκάτῃ πορευθέντος εἰς Κρήτην ἐκεί-
 νου κηδεῦσαι τὸν μητροπάτορα Κατρέα, πείθει
 τὴν Ἑλένην ἀπαγαγεῖν σὺν ἑαυτῷ. ἡ δὲ ἑνναετή

¹ Zeus E, omitted in S.

² "Ἡρα μὲν πασῶν προκριθεῖσα βασιλείαν πάντων E: "Ἡρα μὲν
 οὖν ἔφη προκριθεῖσα δώσειν αὐτῷ πάντων βασιλείαν S.

³ ὁ δὲ Ἀφροδίτην . . . τῇ δεκάτῃ E: Ἀφροδίτην δὲ προκρίνας
 πηξαμένου ναῦς Φερέκλου πλεύσας εἰς Σπάρτην ἐπὶ ἑννέα ἡμέρας
 ξενίζεται παρὰ Μενελάου. τῇ δεκάτῃ δὲ S.

⁴ ναῦς S: νῆας E. For the form ναῦς compare ii. 8. 2,
Epirotome, iii. 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 17, 31, iv. 4, v. 13, 22, vi. 29,
 vii. 3, 4.

¹ As to the judgment of Paris (Alexander), see Homer, *Il.*
 xxiv. 25 sqq.; *Cypria*, in Proclus, *Chrestom.* i. (*Epicorum
 Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, pp. 16 sq.; *Hesiod*,
etc., ed. H. G. Evelyn-White, pp. 488, 490, in *Loeb Classical
 Library*); Euripides, *Troades*, 924 sqq., *Iphigenia in Aulis*,
 1290 sqq., *Helen*, 23 sqq., *Andromache*, 274 sqq.; Isocrates,
Helene, 41; Lucian, *Dial. deorum*, 20, *Dial. marin.* 5;
 Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 93; Hyginus, *Fab.* 92; Ser-
 vius, on Virgil, *Aen.* i. 27; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum
 Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 65 sq., 142 sq. (First
 Vatican Mythographer, 208; Second Vatican Mythographer,
 205). The story ran that all the gods and goddesses, except
 Strife, were invited to attend the marriage of Peleus and
 Thetis, and that Strife, out of spite at being overlooked,
 threw among the wedding guests a golden apple inscribed

one of these reasons Strife threw an apple as a prize of beauty to be contended for by Hera, Athena, and Aphrodite; and Zeus commanded Hermes to lead them to Alexander on Ida in order to be judged by him. And they promised to give Alexander gifts. Hera said that if she were preferred to all women, she would give him the kingdom over all men; and Athena promised victory in war, and Aphrodite the hand of Helen. And he decided in favour of Aphrodite¹; and sailed away to Sparta with ships built by Phereclus.² For nine days he was entertained by Menelaus; but on the tenth day, Menelaus having gone on a journey to Crete to perform the obsequies of his mother's father Catreus, Alexander persuaded Helen to go off³ with him. And she

with the words, "Let the fair one take it," or "The apple for the fair." Three goddesses, Hera, Athena, and Aphrodite, contended for this prize of beauty, and Zeus referred the disputants to the judgment of Paris. The intervention of Strife was mentioned in the *Cypria* according to Proclus, but without mention of the golden apple, which first appears in late writers, such as Lucian and Hyginus. The offers made by the three divine competitors to Paris are recorded with substantial agreement by Euripides (*Troades*, 924 *sqq.*), Isocrates, Lucian, and Apollodorus. Hyginus is also in harmony with them, if in his text we read *fortissimum* for the *formissimum* of the MSS., for which some editors wrongly read *formosissimum*. The scene of the judgment of Paris was represented on the throne of Apollo at Amyclae and on the chest of Cypselus at Olympia (Pausanias, iii. 18. 12, v. 19. 5).

² Compare Homer, *Il.* v. 59 *sqq.*, from which we learn that the shipbuilder was a son of Tecton, who was a son of Harmon. The names of his father and grandfather indicate, as Dr. Leaf observes, that the business had been carried on in the family for three generations. Compare Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 97.

³ The Greek for "to go off" is *ἀπαγαγεῖν*, a rare use of *ἀπάγειν*, which, however, occurs in the common phrase, *ἀπάγει*, "Be off with you!"

Ἐρμιόνην καταλιπούσα, ἐνθεμένη τὰ πλείστα τῶν
 4 χρημάτων, ἀνάγεται τῆς νυκτὸς σὺν αὐτῷ. Ἥρα
 δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐπιπέμπει χειμῶνα πολὺν, ὑφ' οὗ βια-
 σθέντες προσίσχουσι Σιδῶνι. εὐλαβούμενος δὲ
 Ἀλέξανδρος μὴ διωχθῆ, πολὺν διέτριψε χρόνον
 ἐν Φοινίκῃ καὶ Κύπρῳ. ὥς δὲ ἀπήλπισε τὴν
 5 δίωξιν, ἦκεν εἰς Τροίαν μετὰ Ἑλένης. ἔνιοι δὲ
 φασιν Ἑλένην μὲν ὑπὸ Ἑρμοῦ κατὰ βούλησιν
 Διὸς κομισθῆναι κλαπεῖσαν¹ εἰς Αἴγυπτον καὶ
 δοθεῖσαν Πρωτεῖ τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων
 φυλάττειν, Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ παραγενέσθαι εἰς Τροίαν
 πεποιημένον ἐκ νεφῶν εἰδῶλον Ἑλένης ἔχοντα.

¹ κλαπεῖσαν E: κατὰ πείσαν S.

¹ With this account of the hospitable reception of Paris in Sparta, the departure of Menelaus for Crete, and the flight of the guilty pair, compare Proclus, *Chrestom.* i., in *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 17; J. Tzetzes, *Antehomerica*, 96-134. As to the death of Catreus, the maternal grandfather of Menelaus, see above, iii. 2. 1 sq.

² The voyage of Paris and Helen to Sidon was known to Homer (*Il.* vi. 289 sqq., with the Scholia on v. 291). It was also recorded in the epic *Cypria*, according to Proclus, who says that Paris captured the city (*Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 18). Yet according to Herodotus (ii. 117), the author of the *Cypria* described how Paris and Helen sailed in three days from Sparta to Ilium with a fair wind and a smooth sea. It seems therefore that Herodotus and Proclus had different texts of the *Cypria* before them. Dictys Cretensis tells how, driven by the winds to Cyprus, Paris sailed with some ships to Sidon, where he was hospitably entertained by the king, but basely requited his hospitality by treacherously murdering his host and plundering the palace. In embarking with his booty on his ships, he was attacked by the Sidonians, but, after a bloody fight and the loss of two ships, he succeeded in beating off his assailants and putting to sea with the rest of his vessels. See Dictys Cretensis, *Bellum Trojanum*, i. 5.

abandoned Hermione, then nine years old, and putting most of the property on board, she set sail with him by night.¹ But Hera sent them a heavy storm which forced them to put in at Sidon. And fearing lest he should be pursued, Alexander spent much time in Phoenicia and Cyprus.² But when he thought that all chance of pursuit was over, he came to Troy with Helen. But some say that Hermes, in obedience to the will of Zeus, stole Helen and carried her to Egypt, and gave her to Proteus, king of the Egyptians, to guard, and that Alexander repaired to Troy with a phantom of Helen fashioned out of clouds.³

* Compare Euripides, *Helene*, 31-51, 582 *sqq.*, 669 *sqq.*, *Electra*, 1280 *sqq.* In the *Helene* the dramatist says that Hera, angry with Paris for preferring Aphrodite to her, fashioned a phantom Helen which he wedded, while the real Helen was transported by Hermes to Egypt and committed to the care of Proteus. In the *Electra* the poet says that it was Zeus who sent a phantom Helen to Troy, in order to stir up strife and provoke bloodshed among men. A different account is given by Herodotus (ii. 112-120). According to him, Paris carried the real Helen to Egypt, but there king Proteus, indignant at the crime of which Paris had been guilty, banished him from Egypt and detained Helen in safekeeping until her true husband, Menelaus, came and fetched her away. Compare Philostratus, *Vit. Apollon.* iv. 16; J. Tzetzes, *Antehomerica*, 147 *sqq.* Later writers accepted this view, adding that instead of the real Helen, whom he kept, Proteus conjured up by magic art a phantom Helen, which he gave to Paris to carry away with him to Troy. See Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 113; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* i. 651, ii. 592. So far as we know, the poet Stesichorus in the sixth century before our era was the first to broach the theory that Helen at Troy, for whom the Greeks and Trojans fought and died, was a mere wraith, while her true self was far away, whether at home in Sparta or with Proteus in Egypt; for there is nothing to show whether Stesichorus shared the opinion that Paris had spirited her away to the East before he returned, with or without her, to Troy. This view the

- S 6 | Μενέλαος δὲ αἰσθόμενος τὴν ἄρπαγὴν ἤκεν εἰς Μυκῆνας πρὸς Ἀγαμέμνονα, καὶ δεῖται στρατείαν ἐπὶ Τροίαν ἀθροίζειν καὶ στρατολογεῖν τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ὁ δὲ πέμπων κήρυκα πρὸς ἕκαστον τῶν βασιλέων τῶν ὄρκων ὑπεμίμησκει ὧν ὤμοσαν, καὶ περὶ τῆς ἰδίας γυναικὸς ἕκαστον ἀσφαλίζεσθαι παρήνει, ἴσῃν λέγων γεγενῆσθαι τὴν τῆς Ἑλλάδος καταφρόνησιν καὶ κοινήν. ὄντων δὲ πολλῶν προθύμων στρατεύεσθαι, παραγίνονται καὶ πρὸς ES 7 Ὀδυσσεά εἰς Ἰθάκην. | ὁ δὲ οὐ βουλόμενος¹ στρατεύεσθαι προσποιεῖται μανίαν. Παλαμῆδης δὲ ὁ Ναυπλίου ἠλεγξε τὴν μανίαν ψευδῆ, καὶ προσποιησαμένω² μεμηνέναι παρηκολούθει· ἀρπάσας δὲ Τηλέμαχον ἐκ τοῦ κόλπου τῆς Πηνελόπης³ ὡς κτενῶν ἐξιφούλκει. Ὀδυσσεὺς δὲ περὶ τοῦ παιδὸς εὐλαβηθεὶς ὠμολόγησε τὴν προσποιήτον μανίαν καὶ στρατεύεται.

¹ ὁ δὲ οὐ βουλόμενος S : ὅτι Ὀδυσσεὺς μὴ βουλόμενος E.

² προσποιησαμένω E : προσποιησαμένου S.

³ ἐκ τοῦ κόλπου τῆς Πηνελόπης E : ἐκ τοῦ Πηνελόπης κόλπου S.

poet propounded by way of an apology to Helen for the evil he had spoken of her in a former poem ; for having lost the sight of his eyes he ascribed the loss to the vengeance of the heroine, and sought to propitiate her by formally retracting all the scandals he had bruited about concerning her. See Plato, *Phaedrus*, p. 243 A B, *Republic*, ix. p. 586 C ; Isocrates, *Helene*, 64 ; Pausanias, iii. 19. 13 ; *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*, ed. Th. Bergk³, iii. 980 sqq.

¹ As to these oaths, see above, iii. 10. 9.

² As to the madness which Ulysses feigned in order to escape going to the Trojan war, see Proclus, in *Epícorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 18 ; Lucian, *De domo*, 30 ; Philostratus, *Heroica*, xi. 2 ; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 818 ; Cicero, *De officiis*, iii. 26. 97 ; Hyginus,

When Menelaus was aware of the rape, he came to Agamemnon at Mycenae, and begged him to muster an army against Troy and to raise levies in Greece. And he, sending a herald to each of the kings, reminded them of the oaths which they had sworn,¹ and warned them to look to the safety each of his own wife, saying that the affront had been offered equally to the whole of Greece. And while many were eager to join in the expedition, some repaired also to Ulysses in Ithaca. But he, not wishing to go to the war, feigned madness. However, Palamedes, son of Nauplius, proved his madness to be fictitious; and when Ulysses pretended to rave, Palamedes followed him, and snatching Telemachus from Penelope's bosom, drew his sword as if he would kill him. And in his fear for the child Ulysses confessed that his madness was pretended, and he went to the war.²

Fab. 95; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 81; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Achill.* i. 93; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 12, 140 *sq.* (First Vatican Mythographer, 35; Second Vatican Mythographer, 200). The usual story seems to have been that to support his pretence of insanity Ulysses yoked an ox and a horse or an ass to the plough and sowed salt. While he was busy fertilizing the fields in this fashion, the Greek envoys arrived, and Palamedes, seeing through the deception, laid the infant son of Ulysses in front of the plough, whereupon the father at once checked the plough and betrayed his sanity. However, Lucian agrees with Apollodorus in saying that Palamedes threatened the child with his sword, though at the same time, by mentioning the unlike animals yoked together, he shows that he had the scene of the ploughing in his mind. His description purports to be based on a picture, probably a famous picture of the scene which was still exhibited at Ephesus in the time of Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* xxxv. 129). Sophocles wrote a play on the subject, called *The Mad Ulysses*. See *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. ii. pp. 115 *sqq.*

- E 8 | "Ὅτι Ὀδυσσεὺς λαβὼν αἰχμάλωτον Φρύγα ἠνάγκασε γράφαι περὶ προδοσίας ὡς παρὰ Πριάμου πρὸς Πάλαμῆδην· καὶ χῶσας ἐν ταῖς σκηναῖς¹ αὐτοῦ χρυσὸν τὴν δέλτον ἔρριψεν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. Ἀγαμέμνων δὲ ἀναγνοὺς καὶ εὐρῶν τὸν χρυσόν, τοῖς συμμάχοις αὐτὸν ὡς προδότην παρέδωκε καταλεῦσαι.
- 9 "Ὅτι Μενέλαος σὺν Ὀδυσσεῖ καὶ Ταλθυβίῳ πρὸς <Κινύραν εἰς>² Κύπρον ἐλθόντες συμμαχεῖν ἔπειθον· ὁ δὲ Ἀγαμέμνωνι μὲν οὐ παρόντι θώρακας ἐδωρήσατο, ὁμόσας δὲ πέμψειν πεντήκοντα ναῦς, μίαν πέμψας, ἧς ἦρχεν³ . . . ὁ Μυγδαλίωνος, καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς ἐκ γῆς πλάσας μεθῆκεν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος.
- 10 "Ὅτι θυγατέρες Ἀνίου τοῦ⁴ Ἀπόλλωνος Ἐλαῖς

¹ We should perhaps read ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ.

² πρὸς <Κινύραν εἰς> Κύπρον Wagner: πρὸς Κύπρον E.

³ The personal name of the captain of the ship seems to have dropped out.

⁴ Ἀνίου τοῦ Wagner: Ἀνιούτου τοῦ E.

¹ The Machiavellian device by which the crafty Ulysses revenged himself on Palamedes for forcing him to go to the war is related more fully by a Scholiast on Euripides (*Orestes*, 432) and Hyginus (*Fab.* 105). According to the Scholiast, a servant of Palamedes was bribed to secrete the forged letter and the gold under his master's bed, where they were discovered and treated as damning evidence of treason. According to Hyginus, Ulysses had recourse to a still more elaborate stratagem in order to bury the gold in the earth under the tent of Palamedes. Compare Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 81; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Achill.* i. 93; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 12, 140 sq. (First Vatican Mythographer, 35; Second Vatican Mythographer, 200). An entirely different account of the plot against Palamedes is told by Dictys Cretensis (*Bellum*

Having taken a Phrygian prisoner, Ulysses compelled him to write a letter of treasonable purport ostensibly sent by Priam to Palamedes; and having buried gold in the quarters of Palamedes, he dropped the letter in the camp. Agamemnon read the letter, found the gold, and delivered up Palamedes to the allies to be stoned as a traitor.¹

Menelaus went with Ulysses and Talthybius to Cinyras in Cyprus and tried to persuade him to join the allies. He made a present of breastplates to the absent Agamemnon,² and swore he would send fifty ships, but he sent only one, commanded by the son of Mygdalion, and the rest he moulded out of earth and launched them in the sea.³

The daughters of Anius, the son of Apollo, to wit,

Trojanum, ii. 15). He says that Ulysses and Diomedes induced him to descend into a well, and then buried him under rocks which they hurled down on the top of him.

² Compare Homer, *Il.* xi. 19 *sqq.*, who describes only one richly decorated breastplate.

³ Compare Eustathius on Homer, *Il.* xi. 20, p. 827, who says that, according to some people, Cinyras "swore to Menelaus at Paphos that he would send fifty ships, but he despatched only one, and the rest he fashioned of earth and sent them with earthen men in them; thus he cunningly evaded his oath by keeping it with an earthenware fleet." Compare the Townley Scholia on Homer, *Il.* xi. 20, ed. E. Maass (Oxford, 1887), vol. i. p. 378. Wagner may be right in supposing that this ruse of the Cyprian king was recorded in the epic *Cypria*, though it is not mentioned in the brief summary of the poem compiled by Proclus. See R. Wagner, *Epitoma Vaticana ex Apollodori Bibliotheca*, pp. 181 *sq.* A different account of the Greek embassy to Cinyras is given by Alcidas (*Odys.* 20 *sq.*, pp. 181 *sq.*, ed. Blass). He says that Cinyras bribed the Greek envoy Palamedes to relieve him from military service, and that, though he promised to send a hundred ships, he sent none at all.

APOLLODORUS

Σπερμῶ Οἰνῶ, αἱ Οἰνότροφοι¹ λεγόμεναι· αἷς
ἐχαρίσατο Διόνυσος ποιεῖν ἐκ γῆς ἔλαιον σῖτον
οἶνον.

S 11 | Συνηθροίζετο δὲ ὁ στρατὸς ἐν Αὐλίδι. οἱ δὲ
στρατεύσαντες ἐπὶ Τροίαν ἦσαν οἶδε. Βοιωτῶν

¹ Οἰνότροφοι: E: Οἰνότροποι Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 570 (but according to the editor, Müller, the MSS. have φ written over the π).

¹ As to these three women, the Wine-growers (*Oinotrophoi* or *Oinotropoi*) see *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, pp. 29 sq.; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 570, 581; Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* vi. 164; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xiii. 632-674; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 80; Dictys Cretensis, *Bellum Trojanum*, i. 23. Each of the Wine-growers received from Dionysus the power of producing the thing from which she derived her name; thus Elais, who took her name from *elaiia*, "an olive," could produce olive oil; Spermo, who took her name from *sperma*, "seed," could produce corn; and Oeno, who took her name from *oinos*, "wine," could produce wine. According to Apollodorus, the women elicited these products from the ground; but according to Ovid and Servius, whatever they touched was turned into olive-oil, corn, or wine, as the case might be. Possessing these valuable powers, the daughters of Anius were naturally much sought after. Their father, a son of Apollo, was king of Delos and at the same time priest of his father Apollo (Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 80), and when Aeneas visited the island on his way from Troy, the king, with pardonable pride, dwelt on his daughters' accomplishments and on the income they had brought him in (Ovid, *Metam.* xiii. 650 sqq.). It is said by Tzetzes that when the Greeks sailed for Troy and landed in Delos, the king, who had received the gift of prophecy from his divine sire (Diodorus Siculus, v. 62. 2), foretold that Troy would not be taken for ten years, and invited them to stay with him for nine years, promising that his daughters would find them in food all the time. This hospitable offer was apparently not accepted at the moment; but afterwards, when the Greeks were encamped before Troy, Agamemnon sent for the young women and

Elais, Spermio, and Oeno, are called the Wine-growers: Dionysus granted them the power of producing oil, corn, and wine from the earth.¹

The armament mustered in Aulis. The men who went to the Trojan war were as follows²:—Of the

ordered them peremptorily to feed his army. This they did successfully, if we may believe Tzetzes; but, to judge by Ovid's account, they found the work of the commissariat too exacting, for he says that they took to flight. Being overtaken by their pursuers, they prayed to Dionysus, who turned them into white doves. And that, says Servius, is why down to this day it is deemed a sin to harm a dove in Delos. From Tzetzes we learn that the story of these prolific damsels was told by Pherecydes and by the author of the epic *Cypria*, from whom Pherecydes may have borrowed it. Stesichorus related how Menelaus and Ulysses went to Delos to fetch the daughters of Anius (Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* vi. 164). If we may judge from the place which the brief mention of these women occupies in the *Epitome* of Apollodorus, we may conjecture that in his full text he described how their services were requisitioned to victual the fleet and army assembling at Aulis. The conjecture is confirmed by the statement of Dictys Cretensis, that before the Greek army set sail from Aulis, it had received a supply of corn, wine, and other provisions from Anius and his daughters. It may have been in order to ensure these supplies that Menelaus and Ulysses repaired to Delos for the purpose of securing the persons of the women.

² As to list of the Greek forces which mustered at Aulis, see Homer, *Il.* ii. 494-759; Euripides, *Iphigenia in Aulis*, 253 sqq.; Hyginus, *Fab.* 97; Dictys Cretensis, *Bellum Trojanum*, i. 17. The numbers of the ships and leaders recorded by Apollodorus do not always tally with those of Homer. For example, he gives the Boeotians forty ships, while Homer (*v.* 509) gives them fifty; and he says that the Phocians had four leaders, whereas Homer (*v.* 517) mentions only two. The question of the catalogue of the Greek forces, and its relation to Homer and history, are fully discussed by Dr. Walter Leaf in his *Homer and History* (London, 1915). He concludes that the catalogue forms no part of the original

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μὲν ἡγεμόνες δέκα· ἦγον ναῦς μ'. Ὀρχομενίων
 δ'. ἦγον ναῦς λ'. Φωκέων ἡγεμόνες δ'. ἦγον ναῦς
 μ'. Λοκρῶν Αἴας Ὀιλέως¹ ἦγε ναῦς μ'. Εὐβοέων
 Ἐλεφῆνωρ Χαλκῳδοντος καὶ Ἀλκυόνης· ἦγε ναῦς
 μ'. Ἀθηναίων Μενεσθεύς· ἦγε ναῦς ν'. Σαλα-
 12 μινίων² Αἴας ὁ Τελαμώνιος· ἦγε ναῦς ιβ'. Ἀργείων
 Διομήδης Τυδέως καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ· ἦγον ναῦς π'.
 Μυκηναίων Ἀγαμέμνων Ἀτρέως καὶ Ἀερόπης
 ναῦς ρ'. Λακεδαιμονίων Μενέλαος Ἀτρέως καὶ
 Ἀερόπης ξ'. Πυλίων³ Νέστωρ Νηλέως καὶ Χλω-
 ρίδος ναῦς μ'. Ἀρκάδων Ἀγαπήνωρ ναῦς ζ'.
 Ἡλείων Ἀμφίμαχος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ ναῦς μ'.
 Δουλιχίων Μέγης Φυλέως ναῦς μ'. Κεφαλλήνων
 Ὀδυσσεὺς Λαέρτου καὶ Ἀντικλείας⁴ ναῦς ιβ'.
 Αἰτωλῶν Θόας Ἀνδραίμονος καὶ Γόργης· ἦγε
 13 ναῦς μ'. Κρητῶν Ἴδομενεὺς Δευκαλίωνος μ'.
 Ῥοδίων Τληπόλεμος⁵ Ἡρακλέους καὶ Ἀστυόχης
 ναῦς θ'. Συμαίων Νιρεὺς Χαρόπου⁶ ναῦς γ'.

¹ Ὀιλέως Kerameus : ὀιλέως S.

² Σαλαμινίων Kerameus : Σαλμινίων S.

³ Πυλίων Kerameus : Πηλίων S.

⁴ Ἀντικλείας Kerameus : Αὐτικλείας S.

⁵ Τληπόλεμος Kerameus : τλιπόλεβος S.

⁶ Συμαίων Νιρεὺς Χαρόπου Kerameus : κυμαίων νηρεὺς χαρο-
 ποῦ S.

Iliad, but was added to it at a later time by a patriotic Boeotian for the purpose of glorifying his people by claiming that they played a very important part in the Trojan war, although this claim is inconsistent with the statement of Thucydides (i. 12) that the Boeotians did not migrate into the country henceforth known as Boeotia until sixty years

Boeotians, ten leaders : they brought forty ships. Of the Orchomenians, four : they brought thirty ships. Of the Phocians, four leaders : they brought forty ships. Of the Locrians, Ajax, son of Oeleus : he brought forty ships. Of the Euboeans, Elephenor, son of Chalcodon and Alcyone : he brought forty ships. Of the Athenians, Menestheus : he brought fifty ships. Of the Salaminians, Telamonian Ajax : he brought twelve ships. Of the Argives, Diomedes, son of Tydeus, and his company : they brought eighty ships. Of the Mycenaeans, Agamemnon, son of Atreus and Aerope : a hundred ships. Of the Lacedaemonians, Menelaus, son of Atreus and Aerope : sixty ships. Of the Pylians, Nestor, son of Neleus and Chloris : forty ships. Of the Arcadians, Agapenor : seven ships. Of the Eleans, Amphimachus and his company : forty ships. Of the Dulichians, Meges, son of Phyleus : forty ships. Of the Cephallenians, Ulysses, son of Laertes and Anticlia : twelve ships. Of the Aetolians, Thoas, son of Andraemon and Gorge : he brought forty ships. Of the Cretans, Idomeneus, son of Deucalion : forty ships. Of the Rhodians, Tlepolemus, son of Hercules and Astyoche : nine ships. Of the Symaeans,

after the capture of Troy. I agree with Dr. Leaf in the belief, which he energetically maintains in this book, that the Trojan war was not a myth, but a real war, "fought out in the place, and at least generally in the manner, described in Homer," and that the principal heroes and heroines recorded by Homer were not "faded gods" but men and women of flesh and blood, of whose families and fortunes the memory survived in Greek tradition, though no doubt in course of time many mythical traits and incidents gathered round them, as they have gathered round the memories of the Hebrew patriarchs, of Alexander the Great, of Virgil, and of Charlemagne.

Κῶων Φεΐδιππος καὶ Ἄντιφος οἱ Θεσσαλοῦ λ'.
 14 Μυρμιδόνων Ἀχιλλεὺς Πηλέως καὶ Θέτιδος ν'.
 ἐκ Φυλάκης Πρωτεσίλαος Ἰφίκλου μ'. Φεραίων
 Εὐμηλος Ἀδμήτου ια'. Ὀλιζώνων Φιλοκτήτης
 Ποίαντος ζ'. Αἰνιάνων Γουνεὺς Ὠκύτου κβ'.
 Τρικκαίων Ποδαλείριος¹ . . . λ'. Ὀρμενίων Εὐρύ-
 πυλος² . . . ναῦς μ'. Γυρτωνίων³ Πολυποίτης
 Πειρίθου λ'. Μαγνήτων Πρόθοος Τενθρήδονος⁴ μ'.
 νῆες μὲν οὖν αἰ πᾶσαι αἰγ', ἠγεμόνες δὲ μγ', ἠγε-
 μονεῖαι δὲ λ'.

ES. 15 | Ὅτι ὄντος ἐν Αὐλίδι τοῦ στρατεύματος, θυσίας
 γενομένης Ἀπόλλωνι,⁵ ὄρμησας δράκων ἐκ τοῦ
 βωμοῦ παρὰ τὴν πλησίον πλάτανον, οὔσης ἐν
 αὐτῇ νεοττιᾶς,⁶ τοὺς ἐν⁷ αὐτῇ καταναλώσας στρου-
 θοὺς ὀκτῶ σὺν τῇ μητρὶ ἐνάτῃ λίθος ἐγένετο.
 Κάλχας δὲ εἰπὼν κατὰ Διὸς βούλησιν γεγρονέαι
 αὐτοῖς τὸ σημεῖον τοῦτο, τεκμηράμενος ἐκ τῶν
 γεγονότων ἔφη δεκαετῆ χρόνῳ δεῖν Τροίαν ἀλῶναι.
 16 καὶ πλεῖν παρεσκευάζοντο ἐπὶ Τροίαν.⁸ Ἀγαμέ-
 μνων οὖν αὐτὸς ἠγεμὼν⁹ τοῦ σύμπαντος στρατοῦ

¹ The blank is doubtless to be supplied thus: Ποδαλείριος <καὶ Μαχάων Ἀσκληπιοῦ>, "Podalirius <and Machaon, sons of Aesculapius>," as Wagner observes, comparing Homer, *Il.* ii. 731 *sq.*

² Εὐρύπυλος. Add <Ευαίμονος>, "Eurypylus, <son of Euaemon>," as Wagner observes, comparing Homer, *Il.* ii. 736.

³ Γυρτωνίων Kerameus: γοργυτίων S.

⁴ Τενθρηδόνος Kerameus: Πενθρηδόνος S.

⁵ Ὅτι ὄντος ἐν Αὐλίδι τοῦ στρατεύματος, θυσίας γενομένης Ἀπόλλωνι E: θυσίας δὲ γενομένης ἐν Αὐλίδι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι, ὄντος ἐκεῖ τοῦ στρατεύματος S.

Nireus, son of Charopus : three ships. Of the Coans, Phidippus and Antiphus, the sons of Thessalus : thirty ships. Of the Myrmidons, Achilles, son of Peleus and Thetis : fifty ships. From Phylace, Protesilaus, son of Iphiclus : forty ships. Of the Pheraeans, Eumelus, son of Admetus : eleven ships. Of the Olizonians, Philoctetes, son of Poeas : seven ships. Of the Aeanians, Guneus, son of Ocytus : twenty-two ships. Of the Triccaean, Podalirius : thirty ships. Of the Ormenians, Eurypylos : forty ships. Of the Gyrtionians, Polypoetes, son of Piri-thous : thirty ships. Of the Magnesians, Prothous, son of Tenthredon : forty ships. The total of ships was one thousand and thirteen ; of leaders, forty-three ; of leaderships, thirty.

When the armament was in Aulis, after a sacrifice to Apollo, a serpent darted from the altar beside the neighbouring plane-tree, in which there was a nest ; and having consumed the eight sparrows in the nest, together with the mother-bird, which made the ninth, it was turned to stone. Calchas said that this sign was given them by the will of Zeus, and he inferred from what had happened that Troy was destined to be taken in a period of ten years.¹ And they made ready to sail against Troy. So Agamemnon in person was in command of the whole

¹ Compare Homer, *Il.* ii. 299-330 ; Proclus, in *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 18 ; Cicero, *De divinatione*, ii. 30. 63-65 ; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xii. 11-23.

⁶ νεοττιᾶς E : νεοττειάς S. ⁷ ἐν S : ἐφ' E.

⁸ καὶ πλείων παρεσκευάζοντο ἐπὶ Τροίαν. These words are wanting in E.

⁹ Ἀγαμέμνων οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ἡγεμὼν S : Ὅτι Ἀγαμέμνων ἡγεμὼν E.

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ἦν, ἐναυάρχει¹ δ' Ἀχιλλεύς πεντεκαϊδεκαέτης
 τυγχάνων.

- E 17 | Ἄγνοοῦντες δὲ τὸν ἐπὶ Τροίαν πλοῦν Μυσία
 προσίσχουσι καὶ ταύτην ἐπόρθουν, Τροίαν νομί-
 ζοντες εἶναι. βασιλεύων δὲ Τήλεφος Μυσῶν,
 Ἡρακλέους παῖς, ἰδὼν τὴν χώραν λεηλατουμένην,
 τοὺς Μυσοὺς καθοπλίσας ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς συνεδίωκε
 τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ πολλοὺς ἀπέκτεινεν, ἐν οἷς καὶ
 Θέρσανδρον τὸν Πολυνείκους ὑποστάντα. ὀρμή-
 σαντος δὲ Ἀχιλλέως ἐπ' αὐτὸν οὐ μείνας ἐδιώκετο
 καὶ διωκόμενος ἐμπλακεῖς εἰς ἀμπέλου κλῆμα²
 18 τὸν μῆρὸν τιτρώσκεται δόρατι. τῆς δὲ Μυσίας
 ἐξελθόντες Ἕλληνες ἀνάγονται, καὶ χειμῶνος
 ἐπιγενομένου σφοδροῦ διαζευχθέντες ἀλλήλων εἰς
 τὰς πατρίδας καταντῶσιν. ὑποστρεψάντων οὖν
 τῶν Ἑλλήνων τότε λέγεται τὸν πόλεμον εἰκοσαετῆ
 γενέσθαι· μετὰ γὰρ τὴν Ἑλένης ἀρπαγὴν ἔτει

¹ ἐναυάρχει E: ἐναυάρχη S.

² ἐμπλακεῖς εἰς ἀμπέλου κλῆμα E. Perhaps we should read
 ἐμπλακεῖς ἀμπέλου κλήματι. Compare *Epitome*, i. 19, ii. 7.
 But the construction with εἰς and the accusative occurs in
 Aeschylus, *Prometheus*, 1078 sq.

¹ No other ancient writer mentions that Achilles was high
 admiral of the fleet, though as son of a sea-goddess he was
 obviously fitted for the post. Dictys Cretensis, however,
 tells us (*Bellum Trojanum*, i. 16) that Achilles shared the
 command of the ships with Ajax and Phoenix, while that of
 the land forces was divided between Palamedes, Diomedes,
 and Ulysses.

² With the following account of the landing of the Greeks
 in Mysia and their encounter with Telephus, compare Proclus,
 in *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, pp.
 18 sq.; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* i. 59. The accounts of both
 these writers agree, to some extent verbally, with that of
 Apollodorus and are probably drawn from the same source,
 which may have been the epic *Cypria* summarized by Proclus.

army, and Achilles was admiral,¹ being fifteen years old.

But not knowing the course to steer for Troy, they put in to Mysia and ravaged it, supposing it to be Troy.² Now Telephus son of Hercules, was king of the Mysians, and seeing the country pillaged, he armed the Mysians, chased the Greeks in a crowd to the ships, and killed many, among them Thersander, son of Polynices, who had made a stand. But when Achilles rushed at him, Telephus did not abide the onset and was pursued, and in the pursuit he was entangled in a vine-branch and wounded with a spear in the thigh. Departing from Mysia, the Greeks put to sea, and a violent storm coming on, they were separated from each other and landed in their own countries.³ So the Greeks returned at that time, and it is said that the war lasted twenty years.⁴ For it was in the second year after the rape of Helen that the Greeks,

The Scholiast tells us that it was Dionysus who caused Telephus to trip over a vine-branch, because Telephus had robbed the god of the honours that were his due. The incident is alluded to by Pindar; see *Isthm.* viii. 48 (106) *sqq.* The war in Mysia is narrated in more detail by Philostratus (*Heroica*, iii. 28-36) and Dictys Cretensis (*Bellum Trojanum*, ii. 1-7). Philostratus says (§ 35) that the wounded were washed in the waters of the hot Ionian springs, which the people of Smyrna called the springs of Agamemnon.

³ Compare Proclus, in *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 19, according to whom Achilles, on this return voyage, landed in Scyros and married his youthful love Deidamia, daughter of Lycomedes. See above, iii. 13. 8.

⁴ Compare Homer, *Il.* xxiv. 765 *sq.*, where Helen at Troy says that it was now the twentieth year since she had quitted her native land. The words have puzzled the Scholiasts and commentators, but are explained by the present passage of Apollodorus.

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δευτέρῳ τοὺς Ἕλληνας παρασκευασαμένους στρατεύεσθαι, ἀναχωρήσαντας¹ δὲ ἀπὸ Μυσίας εἰς Ἑλλάδα μετὰ ἔτη ὀκτὼ πάλιν εἰς Ἄργος μεταστραφέντας² ἐλθεῖν εἰς Αὐλίδα.

- 19 Συνελθόντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐν Ἄργει αὐθις μετὰ τὴν ῥηθεῖσαν ὀκταετίαν, ἐν ἀπορίᾳ τοῦ πλοῦ πολλῇ καθεστήκεσαν, καθηγεμόνα μὴ ἔχοντες, ὃς ἦν
20 δυνατὸς δεῖξαι τὴν εἰς Τροίαν. Τήλεφος δὲ ἐκ τῆς Μυσίας, ἀνίατον τὸ τραῦμα ἔχων, εἰπόντος αὐτῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τότε τεύξεσθαι θεραπείας, ὅταν ὁ τρώσας ἰατρὸς γένηται, τρύχεσιν ἠμφιεσμένος εἰς Ἄργος ἀφίκετο, καὶ δεηθεὶς Ἀχιλλέως καὶ ὑπεσχημένος τὸν εἰς Τροίαν πλοῦν δεῖξαι θεραπεύεται ἀποξύσαντος Ἀχιλλέως τῆς Πηλιάδος μελίας τὸν ἰόν. θεραπευθεὶς οὖν ἔδειξε τὸν

¹ ἀναχωρήσαντας Wagner: ἀναχωρήσαντες E.

² μεταστραφέντας Wagner: μεταστραφέντες E.

¹ This account of how Telephus steered the Greek fleet to Troy after being healed of his grievous wound by Achilles, is probably derived from the epic *Cypria*; since it agrees on these points with the brief summary of Proclus. See *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 19. Compare Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* i. 59; Dictys Cretensis, *Bellum Trojanum*, ii. 10. As to the cure of Telephus's wound by means of the rust of the spear, see also Hyginus, *Fab.* 101; Propertius, ii. 1. 63 sq.; Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, ii. 2. 6. Pliny describes a painting in which Achilles was represented scraping the rust from the blade of his spear with a sword into the wound of Telephus (*Nat. Hist.* xxv. 42, xxxiv. 152). The spear was the famous one which Chiron had bestowed on Peleus, the father of Achilles; the shaft was cut from an ash-tree on Mount Pelion, and none of the Greeks at Troy, except Achilles, could wield it. See Homer, *Il.* xvi. 140-144, xix. 387-391, xxii. 133 sq. The healing of Telephus's wound by Achilles is also reported, though without mention of the spear, by Dictys Cretensis

having completed their preparations, set out on the expedition and after their retirement from Mysia to Greece eight years elapsed before they again returned to Argos and came to Aulis.

Having again assembled at Aulis after the aforesaid interval of eight years, they were in great perplexity about the voyage, because they had no leader who could show them the way to Troy. But Telephus, because his wound was unhealed, and Apollo had told him that he would be cured when the one who wounded him should turn physician, came from Mysia to Argos, clad in rags, and begged the help of Achilles, promising to show the course to steer for Troy. So Achilles healed him by scraping off the rust of his Pelian spear. Accordingly, on being healed, Telephus showed the course to steer,¹ and

(*l.c.*), a Scholiast on Homer (*Il.* i. 59) and a Scholiast on Aristophanes (*Clouds*, 919). The subject was treated by Sophocles in a play called *The Assembly of the Achaeans*, and by Euripides in a play called *Telephus*. See *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, i. 94 *sqq.*; *Griechische Dichterfragmente*, ii. *Lyrische und dramatische Fragmente*, ed. W. Schubart und U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (Berlin, 1907), pp. 64 *sqq.*; *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck², pp. 161 *sqq.*, 579 *sqq.* Aristophanes ridiculed the rags and tatters in which Telephus appeared on the stage in Euripides's play (*Acharn.* 430 *sqq.*). Apollodorus may have had the passage of Euripides or the parody of Aristophanes in mind when he describes Telephus as clad in rags.

The cure of a wound by an application to it of rust from the weapon which inflicted the hurt is not to be explained, as Pliny supposed, by any medicinal property inherent in rust as such, else the rust from any weapon would serve the purpose. It is clearly a folk-lore remedy based on the principle of sympathetic magic. Similarly Iphiclus was cured of impotence by the rust of the same knife which had caused the infirmity. See Apollodorus, i. 9. 12. The

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πλοῦν, τὸ τῆς δείξεως ἀσφαλὲς πιστουμένου τοῦ
Κάλχαιτος διὰ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ μαντικῆς.

- 21 'Αναχθέντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἀπ' Ἄργους καὶ παραγε-
ES νομένων τὸ δεύτερον εἰς Αὐλίδα, | τὸν στόλον ἄπλοια
κατεῖχε.¹ Κάλχας δὲ ἔφη οὐκ² ἄλλως δύνασθαι
πλεῖν αὐτούς, εἰ μὴ τῶν Ἀγαμέμνονος θυγατέρων
ἢ κρατιστεύουσα κάλλει σφάγιον Ἀρτέμιδι³ πα-
ραστῆ, διὰ τὸ μνηεῖν⁴ τὴν θεὸν τῷ Ἀγαμέμνονι,
ὅτι τε βαλὼν ἔλαφον εἶπεν· οὐδὲ ἦ Ἄρτεμις, καὶ ὅτι
22 Ἀτρεὺς οὐκ ἔθυσεν αὐτῇ τὴν χρυσοῦν ἄρνα. τοῦ δὲ
χρησμοῦ τούτου γενομένου, πέμψας Ἀγαμέμνων⁵
πρὸς Κλυταιμνήστραν Ὀδυσσεά καὶ Ταλθύβιον
Ἰφιγένειαν ἦτει, λέγων⁶ ὑπεσχῆσθαι δώσειν αὐτὴν
S Ἀχιλλεΐ γυναικα μισθὸν τῆς στρατείας.⁷ | πεμφά-
σης δὲ ἐκείνης Ἀγαμέμνων τῷ βωμῷ παραστήσας
ES ἔμελλε σφάζειν, | Ἄρτεμις δὲ αὐτὴν ἀρπάσασα

¹ τὸν στόλον ἄπλοια κατεῖχε E: ἄπλοια οὖν κατεῖχε τὸν
στόλον S.

² οὐκ S: μὴ E.

³ Ἀρτέμιδι E: Ἀρτέμιδος S.

⁴ διὰ τὸ μνηεῖν . . . τὴν χρυσοῦν ἄρνα E: ἔλεγε γὰρ μνηεῖν
Ἀγαμέμνονι τὴν θεόν, κατὰ μὲν τινὰς ἐπεὶ κατὰ θήραν ἐν Ἰκαρίῳ
βαλὼν ἔλαφον εἶπεν οὐ δύνασθαι σωτηρίας αὐτὴν τυχεῖν οὐδ'
Ἀρτέμιδος θελοῦσης, κατὰ δὲ τινὰς ὅτι τὴν χρυσοῦν ἄρνα οὐκ ἔθυσεν
αὐτῇ Ἀτρεὺς S.

⁵ τοῦ δὲ χρησμοῦ . . . Ἀγαμέμνων S: πέμψας οὖν Ἀγαμέμνων E.

⁶ Ἰφιγένειαν ἦτει, λέγων S: ἄγει τὴν Ἰφιγένειαν, εἰπὼν E.

⁷ τῆς στρατείας S: τῆς στρατείας αὐτοῦ E.

proverbial remedy for the bite of a dog "the hair of the dog
that bit you," is strictly analogous in principle; for it is not
the hair of any dog that will work the cure, but only the
hair of the particular dog that inflicted the bite. Thus we
read of a beggar who was bitten by a dog, at the vicarage of
Heversham, in Westmoreland, and went back to the house
to ask for some of the animal's hair to put on the wound.
See W. Henderson, *Notes on the Folk-lore of the Northern*

the accuracy of his information was confirmed by Calchas by means of his own art of divination.

But when they had put to sea from Argos and arrived for the second time at Aulis, the fleet was wind-bound, and Calchas said that they could not sail unless the fairest of Agamemnon's daughters were presented as a sacrifice to Artemis; for the goddess was angry with Agamemnon, both because, on shooting a deer, he had said, "Artemis herself could not (do it better),"¹ and because Atreus had not sacrificed to her the golden lamb. On receipt of this oracle, Agamemnon sent Ulysses and Talthybius to Clytaemnestra and asked for Iphigenia, alleging a promise of his to give her to Achilles to wife in reward for his military service. So Clytaemnestra sent her, and Agamemnon set her beside the altar, and was about to slaughter her, when Artemis carried her off to the Taurians

Counties of England (London, 1879), p. 160, note¹. A precisely similar remedy for similar hurts appears to be popular in China; for we hear of a missionary who travelled about the province of Canton accompanied by a powerful dog, which bit children in the villages through which his master passed; and when a child was bitten, its mother used to run after the missionary and beg for a hair from the dog's tail to lay on the child's wound as a remedy. See N. B. Dennys, *The Folk-lore of China* (London and Hongkong, 1876), p. 52. For more examples of supposed cures based on the principle of sympathy between the animal who bites and the person who is bitten, see W. Henderson, *l.c.*; W. G. Black, *Folk-Medicine* (London, 1883), pp. 50 *sqq.*; W. Gregor, *Notes on the Folk-lore of the North-East of Scotland* (London, 1881), p. 127.

¹ Compare Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 183. The full expression is reported by the Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* i. 108, οὐδὲ ἢ Ἀρτεμις οὕτως ἀν' ἐτόξευσε, "Not even Artemis could have shot like that." The elliptical phrase is wrongly interpreted by the Sabbaitic scribe. See the Critical Note.

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- S
E 23
24
25
 εἰς Ταύρους ἰέρειαν ἑαυτῆς¹ κατέστησεν, ἔλαφον
 ἀντ' αὐτῆς παραστήσασα τῷ βωμῷ.² | ὡς δὲ ἔνιοι
 λέγουσιν, ἀθάνατον αὐτὴν ἐποίησεν.
 | Οἱ δὲ ἀναχθέντες ἐξ Αὐλίδος προσέσχον Τενέδῳ.
 ταύτης ἐβασίλευε Τένης ὁ Κύκνου καὶ Προκλείας,
 ὡς δέ τινες Ἀπόλλωνος· οὗτος ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς
 φυγαδευθεὶς ἐνταῦθα³ κατώκει. Κύκνος γὰρ ἔχων
 ἐκ Προκλείας τῆς Λαομέδοντος παῖδα μὲν Τένην,
 θυγατέρα δὲ Ἡμιθέαν, ἐπέγημε τὴν Τραγάσου⁴
 Φιλονόμην· ἥτις Τένου ἐρασθεῖσα καὶ μὴ πεί-
 θουσα καταφεύδεται πρὸς Κύκνον αὐτοῦ φθοράν,
 καὶ τούτου μάρτυρα παρῆρχεν ἀύλητὴν Εὐμολπον
 ὄνομα. Κύκνος δὲ πιστεύσας, ἐνθέμενος αὐτὸν
 μετὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς εἰς λάρνακα μεθῆκεν εἰς τὸ

¹ Ἄρτεμις δὲ αὐτὴν ἀρπάσασα εἰς Ταύρους ἰέρειαν αὐτῆς S : ἀλλὰ ταύτην μὲν Ἄρτεμις ἀρπάσασα ἰέρειαν ἑαυτῆς εἰς Σκυθοταύρους E.

² παραστήσασα τῷ βωμῷ S : τῷ βωμῷ παραστήσασα E.

³ ἐνταῦθα Frazer : ἐνταυθοῖ E.

⁴ Τραγάσου E : Τραγάσου or Τραγανάσου (the MSS. seem to vary) Tzetzēs, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 232 : Κραγάσου Pausanias, x. 14. 2.

¹ This account of the attempted sacrifice of Iphigenia at Aulis and the substitution of a doe agrees with the narrative of the same events in the epic *Cypria* as summarized by Proclus (*Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 19). It is also in harmony with the tragedy of Euripides on the same subject. See Euripides, *Iphigenia in Aulis*, especially vv. 87 sqq., 358 sqq., 1541 sqq. Compare Tzetzēs, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 183; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* i. 108; Hyginus, *Fab.* 98; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xii. 24-38; Dictys Cretensis, *Bellum Trojanum*, i. 19-22; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 6 sq., 141 (First Vatican Mythographer, 20; Second Vatican Mythographer, 202). Some said that Iphigenia was turned by the goddess into a bear or a bull (Tzetzēs, *l.c.*). Dictys Cretensis dispenses with the intervention of

and appointed her to be her priestess, substituting a deer for her at the altar; but some say that Artemis made her immortal.¹

After putting to sea from Aulis they touched at Tenedos. It was ruled by Tenes, son of Cynus and Proclia, but according to some, he was a son of Apollo. He dwelt there because he had been banished by his father.² For Cynus had a son Tenes and a daughter Hemithea by Proclia, daughter of Laomedon, but he afterwards married Philonome, daughter of Tragasus; and she fell in love with Tenes, and, failing to seduce him, falsely accused him to Cynus of attempting to debauch her, and in witness of it she produced a fluteplayer, by name Eumolpus. Cynus believed her, and putting him and his sister in a chest he set them adrift on the sea. The chest was washed

Artemis to save Iphigenia; according to him it was Achilles who rescued the maiden from the altar and conveyed her away to the Scythian king.

² The following story of Tenes, his stepmother's calumny, his banishment, and his elevation to the throne of Tenedos, is similarly told by Pausanias, x. 14. 2-4; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 232; Scholiast on Homer, *Il. i.* 38; Eustathius on Homer, *Il. i.* 38, p. 33. Eustathius and the Scholiast on Homer call Tenes's sister Leucothea, and give Polyboea as an alternative name of their stepmother. According to Pausanias, the first wife of Cynus was a daughter of Clytius, not of Laomedon. As to the names, Tzetzes agrees with Apollodorus, whom he probably copied. A rationalized version of the story is told by Diodorus Siculus (V. 83). According to him, Tenes was worshipped after his death as a god by the people of Tenedos, who made a precinct for him and offered sacrifices to him down to late times. No fluteplayer was allowed to enter the precinct, because a fluteplayer had borne false witness against Tenes; and the name of Achilles might not be mentioned within it, because Achilles had killed Tenes. Compare Plutarch, *Quaestiones Graecae*, 28.

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πέλαγος· προσσχούσης δὲ αὐτῆς Λευκόφρου νήσῳ ἐκβὰς ὁ Τένης κατώκησε ταύτην καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Τένεδου ἐκάλεσε. Κύννος δὲ ὕστερον ἐπιγυνοῦς τὴν ἀλήθειαν τὸν μὲν αὐλητὴν κατέλευσε, τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα ζῶσαν εἰς γῆν κατέχωσε.

- 26 Προσπλέοντας οὖν Τενέδῳ τοὺς Ἑλληνας ὁρῶν Τένης ἀπείργε βάλλων πέτρους, καὶ ὑπὸ Ἀχιλλέως ξίφει πληγεῖς κατὰ τὸ στήθος θνήσκει, καίτοι Θέτιδος προειπούσης Ἀχιλλεῖ μὴ κτείνειν Τένην· τεθυήξασθαι γὰρ ὑπὸ Ἀπόλλωνος αὐτόν,
- 27 ἂν κτείνῃ Τένην. τελούντων δὲ αὐτῶν Ἀπόλλωνι θυσίαν, ἐκ τοῦ βωμοῦ προσελθὼν ὕδρος δάκνει Φιλοκτήτην· ἀθεραπεύτου δὲ τοῦ ἔλκους καὶ δυσώδους γενομένου τῆς τε ὀδμῆς οὐκ ἀνεχομένου τοῦ στρατοῦ, Ὀδυσσεὺς αὐτὸν εἰς Λῆμνον μεθ' ὧν εἶχε τόξων Ἡρακλείων ἐκτίθησι κελεύσαντος Ἀγαμέμνονος. ὁ δὲ ἐκεῖ τὰ πτηνὰ τοξεύων ἐπὶ τῆς ἐρημίας τροφὴν εἶχεν.

¹ Compare Plutarch, *Quaestiones Graecae*, 28. Plutarch mentions the warning given by Thetis to Achilles not to kill Tenes, and says that the goddess specially charged one of Achilles's servants to remind her son of the warning. But in scouring the island Achilles fell in with the beautiful sister of Tenes and made love to her; Tenes defended his sister against her seducer, and in the brawl was slain by Achilles. When the slayer discovered whom he had slain, he killed the servant who ought to have warned him in time, and he buried Tenes on the spot where the sanctuary was afterwards dedicated to his worship. This version of the story clearly differs from the one followed by Apollodorus.

² This story of the exposure and desertion of Philoctetes in Lemnos appears to have been told in the epic *Cypria*, as we may judge by the brief summary of Proclus. See *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 19. According to Proclus, the Greeks were feasting in Tenedos when

up on the island of Leucophrys, and Tenes landed and settled in the island, and called it Tenedos after himself. But Cynus afterwards learning the truth, stoned the fluteplayer to death and buried his wife alive in the earth.

So when the Greeks were standing in for Tenedos, Tenes saw them and tried to keep them off by throwing stones, but was killed by Achilles with a sword-cut in the breast, though Thetis had forewarned Achilles not to kill Tenes, because he himself would die by the hand of Apollo if he slew Tenes.¹ And as they were offering a sacrifice to Apollo, a water-snake approached from the altar and bit Philoctetes; and as the sore did not heal and grew noisome, the army could not endure the stench, and Ulysses, by the orders of Agamemnon, put him ashore on the island of Lemnos, with the bow of Hercules which he had in his possession; and there, by shooting birds with the bow, he subsisted in the wilderness.²

Philoctetes was bitten by a water-snake. This is not necessarily inconsistent with the statement of Apollodorus that the accident happened while the Greeks were sacrificing to Apollo, for the feast mentioned by Proclus may have been sacrificial. According to another version of the story, which Sophocles followed in his *Philoctetes*, the accident to Philoctetes happened, not in Tenedos, but in the small island of Chryse, where a goddess of that name was worshipped, and the serpent which bit Philoctetes was the guardian of her shrine. See Sophocles, *Philoctetes*, 263-270, 1326-1328. Later writers identified Chryse with Athena, and said that Philoctetes was stung while he was cleansing her altar or clearing it of the soil under which it was buried, as Tzetzes has it. See Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* ii. 722; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 911; Eustathius on Homer, *Il.* ii. 724, p. 330. But this identification is not supported by Sophocles nor by the evidence of a vase painting, which represents the shrine of Chryse with her name attached to her image. See Jebb's

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ES 28 | Ἄναρθέντες δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Τενέδου¹ προσέπλεον
 Τροία, καὶ πέμπουσιν Ὀδυσσεά καὶ Μενέλαον
 τὴν Ἑλένην καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἀπαιτοῦντας.² συνα-
 θροισθείσης δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Τρωσὶν ἐκκλησίας, οὐ
 μόνον τὴν Ἑλένην οὐκ ἀπεδίδουν ἀλλὰ καὶ τού-
 29 τους κτείνειν ἤθελον. ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν³ ἔσωσεν

¹ ἀπὸ τῆς Τενέδου. These words are wanting in S.

² ἀπαιτοῦντας E: αἰτοῦντες S.

³ ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν E: τούτους μὲν οὖν S.

edition of Sophocles, *Philoctetes*, p. xxxviii. § 21; A. Baum-
 meister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, iii. 1326, fig.
 1325. The island of Chryse is no doubt the "desert island
 near Lemnos" in which down to the first century B.C. were to
 be seen "an altar of Philoctetes, a bronze serpent, a bow, and
 a breastplate bound with fillets, the memorial of his sufferings"
 (Appian, *Mithridat.* 77). The island had sunk in the sea
 before the time of Pausanias in the second century of our era
 (Pausanias, viii. 33. 4). According to a different account, the
 unfortunate encounter of Philoctetes with the snake took
 place in Lemnos itself, the island where he was abandoned
 by his comrades. See Scholiast on Homer and Eustathius,
Il. cc.; Scholiast on Sophocles, *Philoctetes*, 270; Hyginus, *Fab.*
 102. Philoctetes was commonly supposed to have received
 the bow and arrows of Hercules from that hero as a reward
 for his service in kindling the pyre on Mount Oeta. See
 Sophocles, *Philoctetes*, 801-803; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 38. 4;
 Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* ii. 724; Hyginus, *Fab.* 102; Ovid,
Metamorph. ix. 229-234. According to one account, which
 Servius has preserved, it was from these arrows, envenomed
 with the poison of the hydra, and not from a serpent, that
 Philoctetes received his grievous hurt. It is said that Her-
 cules on the pyre solemnly charged his friend never to reveal
 the spot where his ashes should repose. Philoctetes promised
 with an oath to observe the wish of his dying friend, but after-
 wards he betrayed the secret by stamping with his foot on the
 grave. Hence on his way to the war one of the poisoned
 arrows fell upon and wounded the traitor foot. See Servius,
 on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 402; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum*
Latini, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 21, 132 (First Vatican

Putting to sea from Tenedos they made sail for Troy, and sent Ulysses and Menelaus to demand the restoration of Helen and the property. But the Trojans, having summoned an assembly, not only refused to restore Helen, but threatened to kill the envoys. These were, however, saved by Antenor; ¹

Mythographer, 59; Second Vatican Mythographer, 165). Homer speaks of Philoctetes marooned by the Greeks in Lemnos and suffering agonies from the bite of the deadly water-snake (*Il.* ii. 721-725), but he does not say how or where the sufferer was bitten. Sophocles represents Lemnos as a desert island (*Philoctetes*, 1 sq.). The fate of the forlorn hero, the ancient Robinson Crusoe, dwelling for ten years in utter solitude on his lonely isle, was a favourite theme of tragedy. Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides all composed plays on the subject under the title of *Philoctetes*. See Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* lii; Jebb's Introduction to Sophocles, *Philoctetes*, pp. xiii. sqq.; *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck², pp. 79 sqq., 613 sqq.

¹ As to the embassy of Ulysses and Menelaus to Troy to demand the surrender of Helen, see Homer, *Il.* iii. 205 sqq., xi. 138 sqq.; Proclus, in *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 19; Bacchylides, xiv. [xv.]; Herodotus, ii. 118; J. Tzetzes, *Antehomerica*, 154 sqq.; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* iii. 206. According to the author of the epic *Cypria*, as reported by Proclus (*l.c.*), the embassy was sent before the first battle, in which Protesilaus fell (see below); according to Tzetzes, it was sent before the Greek army assembled at Aulis; according to the Scholiast on Homer (*l.c.*), it was despatched from Tenedos. Herodotus says that the envoys were sent after the landing of the army in the Troad. Sophocles wrote a play on the subject of the embassy, called *The demand for the surrender of Helen*. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck², pp. 171 sq.; *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. i. pp. 121 sqq. Libanius has bequeathed to us two imaginary speeches, which are supposed to have been delivered by the Greek ambassadors, Menelaus and Ulysses, to the Trojan assembly before the opening of hostilities, while the Greek army was encamped within sight of the walls of Troy. See Libanius, *Declamationes*, iii. and iv. (vol. v. pp. 199 sqq., ed. R. Foerster).

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'Αυτήνωρ, οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες, ἀχθόμενοι ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν
 βαρβάρων καταφρονήσει,¹ ἀναλαβόντες τὴν πανο-
 πλίαν ἔπλεον ἐπ' αὐτούς. Ἀχιλλεῖ δὲ ἐπιστέλλει
 Θέτις πρῶτον² μὴ ἀποβῆναι τῶν νεῶν· τὸν γὰρ
 ἀποβάντα πρῶτον πρῶτον³ μέλλειν τελευτήσειν.⁴
 S | πυθόμενοι δὲ οἱ βάρβαροι τὸν στόλον ἐπιπλεῖν,⁵
 ἐσ 30 σὺν ὄπλοις ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ὤρμησαν καὶ
 βάλλοντες πέτραις ἀποβῆναι ἐκώλυον. | τῶν δὲ
 Ἑλλήνων πρῶτος⁶ ἀπέβη τῆς νεῆς⁷ Πρωτεσί-
 λαος, καὶ κτείνας οὐκ ὀλίγους τῶν βαρβάρων⁸
 ὑφ' Ἐκτορος θνήσκει. τούτου <ἦ>⁹ γυνὴ Λαο-
 δάμεια καὶ μετὰ θάνατον ἦρα, καὶ ποιήσασα
 εἶδωλον Πρωτεσιλάῳ παραπλήσιον τούτῳ προσω-
 μίλει. | Ἐρμῆς δὲ ἐλεησάντων θεῶν ἀνήγαγε
 E Πρωτεσίλαον ἐξ Ἄιδου. Λαοδάμεια δὲ ἰδοῦσα

¹ ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν βαρβάρων καταφρονήσει E: τῶν βαρβάρων τὴν καταφρόνησιν S.

² πρῶτον E: πρῶτῳ S.

³ πρῶτον πρῶτον E: πρῶτον S.

⁴ τελευτήσειν E: καὶ τελευτᾶν S.

⁵ ἐπιπλεῖν Bücheler: πλεῖν S.

⁶ τῶν δὲ Ἑλλήνων πρῶτος S: πρῶτος τοῖνον E.

⁷ νεῆς E: νηὶς S.

⁸ οὐκ ὀλίγους τῶν βαρβάρων E: οὐκ ὀλίγους S.

⁹ ἦ inserted by Bücheler.

¹ Compare Homer, *Il.* ii. 698-702; Proclus, in *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 19; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 245; *id. Chiliades*, ii. 759 *sqq.*; *id. Antehomerica*, 221 *sqq.*; Eustathius on Homer, *Il.* ii. 701, p. 325, and on *Od.* xi. 521, p. 1697; Pausanias, iv. 2. 5; Hyginus, *Fab.* 103; Dictys Cretensis, *Bellum Trojanum*, ii. 11. The common tradition, followed by Apollodorus, was that Protesilaus fell by the hand of Hector; but according to others, his slayer was Aeneas, or Achates, or Euphorbus. See Eustathius, *U.c.*; J. Tzetzes, *Antehomerica*, 230 *sq.* The Greeks had received an oracle that the first of their number to leap from

but the Greeks, exasperated at the insolence of the barbarians, stood to arms and made sail against them. Now Thetis charged Achilles not to be the first to land from the ships, because the first to land would be the first to die. Being apprized of the hostile approach of the fleet, the barbarians marched in arms to the sea, and endeavoured by throwing stones to prevent the landing. Of the Greeks the first to land from his ship was Protesilaus, and having slain not a few of the barbarians, he fell by the hand of Hector.¹ His wife Laodamia loved him even after his death, and she made an image of him and consorted with it. The gods had pity on her, and Hermes brought up Protesilaus from Hades. On seeing him, Laodamia

the ships would be the first to perish. See Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 245; Hyginus, *Fab.* 113; Ovid, *Heroid.* xiii. 93 sq. Protesilaus was reckoned by Pausanias (i. 34. 2) among the men who after death received divine honours from the Greeks. He was buried in the Thracian Chersonese, opposite the Troad, and was there worshipped as a god (Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 532). His grave at Elaeus, or Eleus, in the peninsula was enclosed in a sacred precinct, and his worshippers testified their devotion by dedicating to him many vessels of gold and silver and bronze, together with raiment and other offerings; but when Xerxes invaded Greece, these treasures were carried off by the Persians, who desecrated the holy ground by sowing it with corn and turning cattle loose on it to graze (Herodotus, ix. 116). Tall elms grew within the sacred precinct and overshadowed the grave; and it is said that the leaves of the trees that looked across the narrow sea to Troy, where Protesilaus perished, burgeoned early but soon faded and fell, like the hero himself, while the trees that looked away from Troy still kept their foliage fresh and fair. See Philostratus, *Heroica*, iii. 1. Others said that when the elms had shot up so high that Troy could be seen from them away across the water, the topmost boughs immediately withered. See Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, vii. 408 sqq.; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xvi. 238.

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καὶ νομίσασα αὐτὸν ἐκ Τροίας παρῆναι τότε μὲν ἐχάρη, πάλιν δὲ ἐπαναχθέντος εἰς "Αἶδου ἑαυτὴν ἐφόνευσεν.

- S 31 | Πρωτεσιλάου δὲ τελευτήσαντος, ἐκβαίνει μετὰ Μυρμιδόνων Ἀχιλλεὺς καὶ λίθον <βα>λῶν εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν Κύκνου κτείνει. ὡς δὲ τοῦτον νεκρὸν εἶδον οἱ βάρβαροι, φεύγουσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δὲ "Ελληνες ἐκπηδήσαντες τῶν νεῶν ἐνέπλησαν σωμαίων τὸ πεδίου. καὶ κατακλείσαντες¹ τοὺς
- 32 Τρῶας ἐπολιόρκουν· ἀνέλκουσι δὲ τὰς ναῦς. μὴ θαρρούντων δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων, Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐνεδρεύσας Τρωῖλον ἐν τῷ τοῦ Θυμβραίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἰεοῦ φονεύει, καὶ νυκτὸς ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν

¹ κατακλείσαντες Bücheler : καταλείσαντες S.

¹ According to the author of the epic *Cypria* the name of Protesilaus's wife was Polydora, daughter of Meleager (Pausanias, iv. 2. 7). Later writers, like Apollodorus, called her Laodamia. As to her tragic tale, see Lucian, *Dial. Mort.* xxiii. (who does not name her); Eustathius, on Homer, *Il.* ii. 701, p. 325; Scholiast on Aristides, vol. iii. pp. 671 sq., ed. Dindorf; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 763 sq.; Propertius, i. 19. 7-10; Hyginus, *Fab.* 103, 104; Ovid, *Heroid.* xiii.; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 447; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 51, 147 (First Vatican Mythographer, 158; Second Vatican Mythographer, 215). According to Hyginus (*Fab.* 103), Laodamia had prayed that Protesilaus might be restored to her for only three hours; her prayer was granted, but she could not bear the grief of parting with him, and died in his arms (Servius, *l.c.*). A rationalistic version of the story ran that Laodamia had made a waxen image of her dead husband and secretly embraced it, till her father ordered it to be burned, when she threw herself into the fire and perished with the image (Hyginus, *Fab.* 104). According to Ovid, Laodamia made the waxen image of her absent lord and fondled it even in his lifetime. Her sad story was the theme of a tragedy of Euripides (*Tragicorum Graecorum*

thought it was himself returned from Troy, and she was glad; but when he was carried back to Hades, she stabbed herself to death.¹

On the death of Protesilaus, Achilles landed with the Myrmidons, and throwing a stone at the head of Cygnus, killed him.² When the barbarians saw him dead, they fled to the city, and the Greeks, leaping from their ships, filled the plain with bodies. And having shut up the Trojans, they besieged them; and they drew up the ships. The barbarians showing no courage, Achilles waylaid Troilus and slaughtered him in the sanctuary of Thymbraean Apollo,³ and coming

Fragments, ed. Nauck², pp. 563 *sqq.*), as it is of a well-known poem of Wordsworth (*Laodameia*).

² Compare Proclus, in *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 19; Pindar, *Olymp.* ii. 82 (147); Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, ii. 22, p. 1396 b 16-18, ed. Bekker; Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, iv. 468 *sqq.*; J. Tzetzes, *Antehomerica*, 257 *sqq.*; Scholiast on Theocritus, xvi. 49; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xii. 70-140; Dictys Cretensis, *Bellum Trojanum*, ii. 12. Cygnus was said to be invulnerable (Aristotle, *l.c.*): hence neither the spear nor the sword of Achilles could make any impression on his body, and the hero was reduced to the necessity of throttling him with the thongs of his own helmet. So Ovid tells the tale, adding that the sea-god, his father Poseidon, changed the dead Cygnus into a swan, whose name (Cygnus, κύκνος) he had borne in life.

³ Compare Proclus, in *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 20; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xxiv. 257 (where for δχευθῆναι it has been proposed to read λοχηθῆναι or λογχευθῆναι); Eustathius, on Homer, *Il.* xxiv. 251, p. 1348; Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* xi. vol. i. p. 189, ed. L. Dindorf; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 307-313; Virgil, *Aen.* i. 474 *sqq.*; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* i. 474; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 66 (First Vatican Mythographer, 210). Troilus is represented as a youth, but the stories concerning his death are various. According to Eustathius, the lad was exercising his horses in

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Λυκάονα λαμβάνει. παραλαβὸν δὲ Ἀχιλλεύς
 τινὰς τῶν ἀριστέων τὴν χώραν ἐπόρθει, καὶ παρα-
 γίνεται εἰς Ἴδην ἐπὶ τὰς Αἰνείου [τοῦ Πριάμου] ¹
 βόας. φυγόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ, τοὺς βουκόλους κτείνας
 καὶ Μήστορα ² τὸν Πριάμον τὰς βόας ἐλαύνει.
 33 αἰρεῖ δὲ καὶ Λέσβον καὶ Φώκαιαν, ³ εἶτα Κολο-
 φῶνα καὶ Σμύρναν καὶ Κλαζομενὰς καὶ Κύμην,
 μεθ' ἧς Αἰγιαλὸν καὶ Τήνον, ⁴ [τὰς ἑκατὸν καλου-
 μένας πόλεις]. εἶτα ἐξῆς Ἀδραμύτιον καὶ Σίδην, ⁵
 εἶτα Ἐνδιον καὶ Λιναῖον ⁶ καὶ Κολώνην. ⁷ αἰρεῖ
 δὲ καὶ Θήβας τὰς Ἰποπλακίας ⁸ καὶ Λυρνησσόν,
 ἔτι δὲ καὶ <Ἄντ>ανδρον ⁹ καὶ ἄλλας πολλὰς.
 34 Ἐνναετοῦς δὲ χρόνου διελθόντος παραγίνονται
 τοῖς Τρωσὶ σύμμαχοι· ἐκ τῶν περιοίκων πόλεων

¹ τοῦ Πριάμου S: καὶ Πριάμου Wagner.

² καὶ Μήστορα Kerameus: καμηστορα S.

³ Φώκαιαν Kerameus: φωκέας S.

⁴ Τήνον S. Kerameus conjectured Τήμον: Wagner pro-
 posed Τίειον.

⁵ Σίδην S. Kerameus conjectured Ἴδην or Σιδήνην: Wag-
 ner proposed Σίγην, comparing Stephanus Byzantius, s.v.
 Σίγη, πόλις Τρωάδος, ὡς Ἐκαταῖος Ἀσίq.

⁶ Λιναῖον S. Kerameus conjectured Κίλλαιον: Wagner
 proposed Αἰνείαν, comparing Strabo, xiii. i. 45, p. 603, where,
 however, Meineke reads Νέας for Αἰνέας.

⁷ Κολώνην S. Kerameus conjectured Καλλικολώνην; but
 Wagner compares Diodorus Siculus, v. 83. 1, Κολώνης τῆς ἐν
 τῇ Τρωάδι, and Strabo, xiii. i. 46, p. 604, βασιλεία δὲ Κολωνῶν.

⁸ Ἰποπλακίας Kerameus: ὑπὸ πλακείας S.

⁹ <Ἄντ>ανδρον Kerameus: ἄνδρον S.

the Thymbraeum or sanctuary of the Thymbraean Apollo, when Achilles killed him with his spear. Tzetzes says that he was a son of Hecuba by Apollo, though nominally by Priam, that he fled from his assailant to the temple of Apollo, and was cut down by Achilles at the altar. There is a prophecy that Troy could not be taken if Troilus should be of the age of twenty (so the First Vatican Mythographer).

by night to the city he captured Lycaon.¹ Moreover, taking some of the chiefs with him, Achilles laid waste the country, and made his way to Ida to lift the kine of Aeneas. But Aeneas fled, and Achilles killed the neatherds and Mestor, son of Priam, and drove away the kine.² He also took Lesbos³ and Phocaea, then Colophon, and Smyrna, and Clazomenae, and Cyme; and afterwards Aegialus and Tenos, the so-called Hundred Cities; then, in order, Adramytium and Side; then Endium, and Linaeum, and Colone. He took also Hypoplacian Thebes⁴ and Lyrnessus,⁵ and further Antandrus, and many other cities.

A period of nine years having elapsed, allies came to join the Trojans:⁶ from the surrounding cities,

This may have been the motive of Achilles for slaying the lad. According to Dictys Cretensis (*Bellum Trojanum*, iv. 9), Troilus was taken prisoner and publicly slaughtered in cold blood by order of Achilles. The indefatigable Sophocles, as usual, wrote a tragedy on the subject. See *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. ii. pp. 253 sqq.

¹ Compare Homer, *Il.* xxi. 34 sqq., xxiii. 746 sq. Lycaon was captured by Achilles when he was cutting sticks in the orchard of his father Priam. After being sold by his captor into slavery in Lemnos he was ransomed and returned to Troy, but meeting Achilles in battle a few days later, he was ruthlessly slain by him. The story seems to have been told also in the epic *Cypria*. See Proclus, in *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 20.

² Compare Homer, *Il.* xx. 90 sqq., 188 sqq.; Proclus, in *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 20.

³ Compare Homer, *Il.* ix. 129; Dictys Cretensis, *Bellum Trojanum*, ii. 16.

⁴ Compare Homer, *Il.* ii. 691, vi. 397.

⁵ It was at the sack of Lyrnessus that Achilles captured his concubine Briseis after slaying her husband. See Homer, *Il.* ii. 688 sqq., xix. 60, 291 sqq., xx. 92, 191 sqq. Compare Dictys Cretensis, *Bellum Trojanum*, ii. 17.

⁶ With the following list of the Trojans and their allies, compare Homer, *Il.* ii. 816-877.

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Αἰνείας Ἀγχίσου καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Ἀρχέλοχος¹ καὶ
 Ἀκάμας Ἀντήνορος² καὶ Θεανοῦς, Δαρδανίων
 ἡγούμενοι, Θρακῶν Ἀκάμας Εὐσώρου, Κικόνων
 Εὐφήμος Τροϊζήνου,³ Παιόνων Πυραίχμης,⁴ Πα-
 35 φλαγόνων Πυλαιμένης Βιλσάτου,⁵ ἐκ Ζελίας
 Πάνδαρος Λυκάονος, ἐξ Ἀδραστείας Ἀδραστος⁶
 καὶ Ἀμφίος Μέροπος,⁷ ἐκ δ' Ἀρίσβης Ἀσιος
 Ἐρτάκου, ἐκ Λαρίσσης Ἰππόθοος Πελασγοῦ,⁸ ἐκ
 Μυσίας Χρόμιος καὶ Ἐννομος⁹ Ἀρσινόου, Ἀλι-
 ζώνων Ὀδῖος¹⁰ καὶ Ἐπίστροφος Μηκιστέως,¹¹
 Φρυγῶν Φόρκυς καὶ Ἀσκάνιος Ἀρετάονος, Μαιό-
 νων Μέσθλης καὶ Ἀντιφός Ταλαιμένους, Καρῶν¹²
 Νάσσης καὶ Ἀμφίμαχος Νομίονος,¹³ Λυκίων Σαρ-
 πηδῶν Διὸς καὶ Γλαῦκος¹⁴ Ἴππολόχου.

IV. Ἀχιλλεὺς δὲ μηνίων ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον οὐκ
 ἐξήει διὰ Βρισηίδα . . . τῆς θυγατρὸς Χρύσου τοῦ
 ἱερέως. διὸ θαρσήσαντες οἱ βάρβαροι ἐκ τῆς

¹ Ἀρχέλοχος Wagner (comparing Homer, *Il.* ii. 823): ἀρχέλαος S.

² Ἀντήνορος Kerameus (compare Homer, *Il.* ii. 822 sq): Αὐτήνορος S.

³ Τροϊζήνου Wagner (comparing Homer, *Il.* ii. 847): Τροϊζήνος S.

⁴ Πυραίχμης Kerameus (compare Homer, *Il.* ii. 848): πυραιχάγης S.

⁵ Βιλσάτου S. Wagner conjectures Βισάλτου.

⁶ Ἀδραστος Kerameus (compare Homer, *Il.* ii. 830): ἄδρας S.

⁷ Μέροπος Kerameus (compare Homer, *Il.* ii. 831): Μερόπης S.

⁸ Ἰππόθοος Πελασγοῦ S. Compare Homer, *Il.* ii. 842 sq.: Ἰππόθοός τε Πύλαιός τ', ἔξος Ἄρηος, || νῆε δὲ Λήθειο Πελασγῶν Τευταμίδαο, which Apollodorus has misunderstood. See the exegetical note.

⁹ Ἐννομος Kerameus (compare Homer, *Il.* ii. 858): ἐννόμιος S.

Aeneas, son of Anchises, and with him Archelochus and Acamas, sons of Antenor, and Theanus, leaders of the Dardanians; of the Thracians, Acamas, son of Eusorus; of the Cicones, Euphemus, son of Troezenus; of the Paeonians, Pyraechmes; of the Paphlagonians, Pylaemenes, son of Bilsates; from Zelia, Pandarus, son of Lycaon; from Ádrastia, Adrastus and Amphius, sons of Merops; from Arisbe, Asius, son of Hyrtacus; from Larissa, Hippothous, son of Pelasgus;¹ from Mysia, Chromius² and Ennomus, sons of Arsinous; of the Alizones, Odius and Epistrophus, sons of Mecisteus; of the Phrygians, Phorcys and Ascanius, sons of Aretaon; of the Maeonians, Mesthles and Antiphus, sons of Talaemenes; of the Carians, Nastes and Amphimachus, sons of Nomion; of the Lycians, Sarpedon, son of Zeus, and Glaucus, son of Hippolochus.

IV. Achilles did not go forth to the war, because he was angry on account of Briseis, the daughter of Chryses the priest.³ Therefore the barbarians

¹ Compare Homer, *Il.* ii. 842 *sq.*, where the poet describes Hippothous as the son of the Pelasgian Lethus. Apollodorus, misunderstanding the passage, has converted the adjective Pelasgian into a noun Pelasgus.

² Homer calls him Chromis (*Il.* ii, 858).

³ Compare Homer, *Il.* i. 1 *sqq.* From this point Apollodorus follows the incidents of the Trojan war as related by Homer.

¹⁰ Ἀλιζώνων Ὀδῖος Kerameus (compare Homer, *Il.* ii. 858) : ἀλιζόνων ὁ δῖος S.

¹¹ Μηκιστέως Kerameus : μηκιστεύς S.

¹² Ἀντιφος Ταλαιμένους, Καρῶν Kerameus (compare Homer, *Il.* ii. 864-867) : Ἄντυφος Πυλαιμένου, σκάρων S.

¹³ Ἀμφίμαχος Νομίονος Kerameus (compare Homer, *Il.* ii. 870 *sq.*) : ἀμφίμαχος νομίωνος S.

¹⁴ Γλαῦκος Kerameus : γλαῦχος S.

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πόλεως προήλθον. καὶ μονομαχεῖ Ἀλέξανδρος πρὸς Μενέλαον, Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ ἠττώμενον ἀρπάζει Ἀφροδίτη. Πάνδαρος δὲ τοξεύσας Μενέλαον τοὺς ὄρκους ἔλυσεν.

E 2 | “Ὅτι Διομήδης ἀριστεύων Ἀφροδίτην Αἰνεΐα βοηθοῦσαν τιτρώσκει, καὶ Γλαύκῳ συστάς, ὑπομνησθεὶς πατρώας φιλίας, ἀλάσσει τὰ ὄπλα.
ES | προκαλουμένου δὲ¹ Ἐκτορος τὸν ἄριστον εἰς μονομαχίαν, πολλῶν ἐλθόντων² Αἴας κληρωσάμενος ἀριστεύει³ νυκτὸς δὲ ἐπιγενομένης κήρυκες διαλύουσιν αὐτούς.

S 3 | Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες πρὸς τοῦ ναυστάθμου τεῖχος ποιοῦνται καὶ τάφρον, καὶ γενομένης μάχης ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ οἱ Τρῶες τοὺς Ἕλληνας εἰς τὸ τεῖχος διώκουσιν· οἱ δὲ πέμπουσι πρὸς Ἀχιλλεῖα πρέσβεις Ὀδυσσεά καὶ Φοῖνικα καὶ Αἴαντα, συμμαχεῖν ἀξιούντες καὶ Βρισηίδα καὶ ἄλλα δῶρα ὑπισχνόμενοι.
4 νυκτὸς δὲ ἐπιγενομένης κατασκόπους πέμπουσιν Ὀδυσσεά καὶ Διομήδην· οἱ δὲ ἀναιροῦσι Δόλωνα τὸν Εὐμήλου καὶ Ῥῆσον τὸν Θρᾶκα (ὃς πρὸ μιᾶς ἡμέρας παραγεγόμενος Τρωσὶ σύμμαχος οὐ συμβαλὼν ἀπωτέρω⁴ τῆς Τρωικῆς δυνάμεως χωρὶς Ἐκτορος ἐστρατοπέδευσε) τοὺς τε περὶ αὐτὸν δώδεκα κοιμωμένους κτείνουσι καὶ τοὺς

¹ προκαλουμένου δὲ E : προκαλουμένου S.

² ἐλθόντων. We should perhaps read θελόντων.

³ ἀριστεύει Frazer (compare a few lines above Διομήδης ἀριστεύων, and τὸν ἄριστον; below, iv. 7, Αἴας ἀριστεύσας, v. 12, τοῦτον ἀριστεύσαντα) : πυκτεύει ES, Wagner : πρωτεύει Herwerden (*Mnemosyne*, N.S. xx. (1892), p. 199).

⁴ ἀπωτέρω Kerameus : ἀποτέρω S.

¹ Compare Homer, *Il.* iii. 15–382.

² Compare Homer, *Il.* iv. 85 sqq.

EPITOME, IV. 1-4

took heart of grace and sallied out of the city. And Alexander fought a single combat with Menelaus; and when Alexander got the worst of it, Aphrodite carried him off.¹ And Pandarus, by shooting an arrow at Menelaus, broke the truce.²

Diomedes, doing doughty deeds, wounded Aphrodite when she came to the help of Aeneas;³ and encountering Glaucus, he recalled the friendship of their fathers and exchanged arms.⁴ And Hector having challenged the bravest to single combat, many came forward, but the lot fell on Ajax, and he did doughty deeds; but night coming on, the heralds parted them.⁵

The Greeks made a wall and a ditch to protect the roadstead,⁶ and a battle taking place in the plain, the Trojans chased the Greeks within the wall.⁷ But the Greeks sent Ulysses, Phoenix, and Ajax as ambassadors to Achilles, begging him to fight for them, and promising Briseis and other gifts.⁸ And night coming on, they sent Ulysses and Diomedes as spies; and these killed Dolon, son of Eumelus, and Rhesus, the Thracian (who had arrived the day before as an ally of the Trojans, and having not yet engaged in the battle was encamped at some distance from the Trojan force and apart from Hector); they also slew the twelve men that were sleeping around him, and

¹ Compare Homer, *Il.* v. 1-417.

² Compare Homer, *Il.* vi. 119-236.

³ Compare Homer, *Il.* vii. 66-312.

⁴ Compare Homer, *Il.* vii. 436-441.

⁵ Compare Homer, *Il.* viii. 53-565.

⁶ The embassy of Ulysses, Phoenix, and Ajax to Achilles is the subject of the ninth book of the *Iliad*. Libanius composed an imaginary reply to the speech of Ulysses (*Declam.* v., vol. v. pp. 303-360, ed. R. Foerster).

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- 5 ἵππους ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς ἄγουσι. μεθ' ἡμέραν δὲ ἰσχυρᾶς μάχης γενομένης, τρωθέντων Ἀγαμέμνονος καὶ Διομήδους Ὀδυσσέως Εὐρύπυλου Μαχάονος καὶ τροπῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων γενομένης, Ἐκτωρ ῥήξας τὸ τεῖχος εἰσέρχεται καὶ ἀναχωρήσαντος Αἴαντος πῦρ ἐμβάλλει ταῖς ναυσίν.
- 6 Ὡς δὲ εἶδεν Ἀχιλλεὺς τὴν Πρωτεσιλάου ναῦν καιομένην, ἐκπέμπει Πάτροκλον καθοπλίσας τοῖς ἰδίοις ὄπλοις μετὰ τῶν Μυρμιδόνων, δούς αὐτῷ τοὺς ἵππους. ἰδόντες δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ Τρῶες καὶ νομίσαντες Ἀχιλλέα εἶναι εἰς φυγὴν τρέπονται. καταδιώξας δὲ αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ τεῖχος πολλοὺς ἀναιρεῖ, ἐν οἷς καὶ Σαρπηδόνα τὸν Διός, καὶ ὑφ' Ἐκτορος ἀναιρεῖται, τρωθεὶς πρότερον ὑπὸ Εὐφύρο-
- 7 βου. μάχης δὲ ἰσχυρᾶς γενομένης περὶ τοῦ νεκροῦ, μόλις Αἴας ἀριστεύσας σώζει τὸ σῶμα. Ἀχιλλεὺς δὲ τὴν ὄργην ἀποθέμενος καὶ τὴν Βρισηίδα κομίζεται. καὶ πανοπλίας αὐτῷ κομισθείσης παρὰ Ἡφαίστου, καθοπλισάμενος ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐξέρχεται, καὶ συνδιώκει τοὺς Τρῶας ἐπὶ τὸν Σκάμανδρον, κακεῖ πολλοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἀναιρεῖ, κτείνει δὲ καὶ Ἀστεροπαῖον τὸν Πηλεγόνος¹ τοῦ Ἀξιοῦ ποταμοῦ· καὶ αὐτῷ λάβρος ὁ ποταμὸς ἐφορμᾷ. καὶ τούτου μὲν ὁ Ἡφαιστος τὰ ρέιθρα ἀναξηραίνει πολλῇ φλογὶ διώξας, ὁ δ' Ἀχιλλεὺς Ἐκτορα ἐκ

¹ Πηλεγόνος Kerameus : τηλεγόνου S.

¹ These events are narrated in the tenth book of the *Iliad*. They form the subject of Euripides's tragedy *Rhesus*, the only extant Greek drama of which the plot is derived from the action of the *Iliad*.

² These events are told in the eleventh book of the *Iliad*.

³ Compare Homer, *Il.* xii. 436 *sqq.*

drove the horses to the ships.¹ But by day a fierce fight took place; Agamemnon and Diomedes, Ulysses, Eurypylos, and Machaon were wounded, the Greeks were put to flight,² Hector made a breach in the wall and entered³ and, Ajax having retreated, he set fire to the ships.⁴

But when Achilles saw the ship of Protesilaus burning, he sent out Patroclus with the Myrmidons, after arming him with his own arms and giving him the horses. Seeing him the Trojans thought that he was Achilles and turned to flee. And having chased them within the wall, he killed many, amongst them Sarpedon, son of Zeus, and was himself killed by Hector, after being first wounded by Euphorbus.⁵ And a fierce fight taking place for the corpse, Ajax with difficulty, by performing feats of valour, rescued the body.⁶ And Achilles laid aside his anger and recovered Briseis. And a suit of armour having been brought him from Hephaestus, he donned the armour⁷ and went forth to the war, and chased the Trojans in a crowd to the Scamander, and there killed many, and amongst them Asteropæus, son of Pelegon, son of the river Axius; and the river rushed at him in fury. But Hephaestus dried up the streams of the river, after chasing them with a mighty flame.⁸ And Achilles

¹ Compare Homer, *Il.* xv. 716 *sqq.*

² These events are narrated in the sixteenth book of the *Iliad.*

³ These events are the subject of the seventeenth book of the *Iliad.*

⁴ These events are narrated in the eighteenth and nineteenth books of the *Iliad.*

⁵ These events are related in the twentieth and twenty-first books of the *Iliad.* As to the slaying of Asteropæus by Achilles, see *Il.* xxi. 139-204. As to the combat of Achilles with the river Scamander, and the drying up of the streams

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μονομαχίας ἀναιρεῖ καὶ ἐξάψας αὐτοῦ τὰ σφυρὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἄρματος σύρων ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς παραγίνεται. καὶ θάψας Πάτροκλον ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἀγῶνα τίθησιν, ἐν ᾧ νικᾷ Ἴπποις Διομήδης, Ἐπειὸς πυγμῇ, Αἴας καὶ Ὀδυσσεὺς πάλῃ. μετὰ δὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα παραγενόμενος Πριάμος πρὸς Ἀχιλλέα λυτροῦται τὸ Ἐκτορος σῶμα καὶ θάπτει.

E V. | "Ὅτι Πενθεσίλεια, Ὀτρηρῆς καὶ Ἄρεος, ἀκουσίως Ἴππολύτην κτείνασα καὶ ὑπὸ Πριάμου καθαρθεῖσα, μάχης γενομένης πολλοὺς κτείνει, ἐν οἷς καὶ Μαχάονα· εἰθ' ὕστερον θνήσκει ὑπὸ Ἀχιλλέως,¹ ὅστις μετὰ θάνατον ἔρασθεις τῆς Ἀμαζόνος κτείνει Θερσίτην λαιδοροῦντα αὐτόν.

¹ This and the following paragraph are from E. The death of Penthesilia seems also to have been told in S, but the passage is incomplete. It runs thus: καὶ μάχης γενομένης πολλοὺς κτείνει, θνήσκει δ' ὁ τρι||ης ὑπὸ Ἀχιλλέως, where for the corrupt δ' ὁ τρι||ης we should perhaps, following E, read δὲ ὕστερον. Bücheler thought that in ὁ τρι||ης there lurks Ὀτροήρη, the name of Penthesilia's mother. Perhaps the whole passage in S originally ran thus: καὶ μάχης γενομένης <Πενθεσίλεια, Ὀτρηρῆς καὶ Ἄρεος,> πολλοὺς κτείνει, θνήσκει δ' ὕστερον ὑπὸ Ἀχιλλέως, "and a battle taking place, Penthesilia, daughter of Otrere and Ares, slays many and is afterwards slain by Achilles." Wagner prints in the text θνήσκει δ' Ὀτρηρῆς ὑπὸ Ἀχιλλέως, apparently taking Ὀτρηρῆς for the name of a man.

of the river by the fire-god Hephaestus, see *Il.* xxi. 211-382. The whole passage affords a striking example of the way in which the Greeks conceived rivers as personal beings, endowed with human shape, human voice, and human passions. Incidentally (*vv.* 130-132) we hear of sacrifices of bulls and horses to a river, the horses being thrown alive into the stream.

¹ The combat of Achilles with Hector, and the death of Hector, form the subject of the twenty-second book of the *Iliad*.

EPITOME, IV. 7-V. 1

slew Hector in single combat, and fastening his ankles to his chariot dragged him to the ships.¹ And having buried Patroclus, he celebrated games in his honour, at which Diomedes was victorious in the chariot race, Epeus in boxing, and Ajax and Ulysses in wrestling.² And after the games Priam came to Achilles and ransomed the body of Hector, and buried it.³

V. Penthesilia, daughter of Otrere and Ares, accidentally killed Hippolyte and was purified by Priam. In battle she slew many, and amongst them Machaon, and was afterwards herself killed by Achilles, who fell in love with the Amazon after her death and slew Thersites for jeering at him.⁴

¹ The burial of Patroclus and the funeral games celebrated in his honour, are described in the twenty-third book of the *Iliad*.

² These events are narrated in the twenty-fourth book of the *Iliad*.

³ These events were narrated in the *Aethiopsis* of Arctinus, as we learn from the summary of that poem drawn up by Proclus. See *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 33. Compare Diodorus Siculus, ii. 46. 5; Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, i. 18 *sqq.*, 227 *sqq.*, 538 *sqq.*; J. Tzetzes, *Posthomerica*, 6 *sqq.*, 100 *sqq.*, 136 *sqq.*; *id.* *Schol. on Lycophron*, 999; Dictys Cretensis, *Bellum Trojanum*, iv. 2 *sq.* Quintus Smyrnaeus explains more fully than Apollodorus the reason why Penthesilia came to Troy (*Posthomerica*, i. 18 *sqq.*). Aiming at a deer in the chase, she had accidentally killed her sister Hippolyte with her spear, and, haunted by the Furies of the slain woman, she came to Troy to be purified from her guilt. The same story is told more briefly by Diodorus Siculus. According to Tzetzes (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 999), Thersites excited the wrath of Achilles, not only by his foul accusations, but by gouging out the eyes of the beautiful Amazon. In the *Aethiopsis* it was related how, after killing the base churl, Achilles sailed to Lesbos and was there purified from the guilt of murder by Ulysses, but not until he had offered sacrifice to Apollo, Artemis, and Latona. See Proclus, in *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*,

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2 Ἦν δὲ Ἴππολύτη ἡ τοῦ Ἴππολύτου μήτηρ, ἡ καὶ Γλαύκη καὶ Μελανίππη. αὕτη γάρ,¹ ἐπιτελουμένων τῶν γάμων Φαίδρας, ἐπιστάσα σὺν ὄπλοις ἅμα ταῖς μεθ' ἑαυτῆς Ἀμαζόσιν ἔλεγε κτείνειν τοὺς συνανακειμένους Θησεῖ. μάχης οὖν γενομένης ἀπέθανεν, εἴτε ὑπὸ τῆς συμμάχου Πενθεσιλείας ἀκούσης, εἴτε ὑπὸ Θησεώς, εἴτε ὅτι οἱ περὶ Θησεά, τὴν τῶν Ἀμαζόνων ἑωρακότες ἐπιστάσιαν, κλείσαντες διὰ τάχους τὰς θύρας καὶ ταύτην ἀπολαβόντες ἐντὸς ἀπέκτειναν.

ES 3 | Ὅτι Μέμνονα² τὸν Τιθωνοῦ καὶ Ἡοῦς μετὰ πολλῆς Αἰθιοπῶν δυνάμεως παραγενόμενον ἐν Τροίᾳ καθ' Ἑλλήνων καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων κτείναντα καὶ Ἀντίλοχον κτείνει ὁ Ἀχιλλεύς. διώξας δὲ καὶ τοὺς³ Τρῶας πρὸς ταῖς Σκαιαῖς

¹ With what follows compare *Epitome*, i. 17, which is from S, while the present passage is from E.

² Ὅτι Μέμνονα . . . κτείνει ὁ Ἀχιλλεύς E: Μέμνων δὲ ὁ Τιθωνοῦ καὶ Ἡοῦς πολλὴν Αἰθιοπῶν δύναμιν ἀθροίσας παράγινεται καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὐκ ὀλίγους ἀναιρεῖ, κτείνει καὶ Ἀντίλοχον καὶ αὐτὸς θνήσκει ὑπὸ Ἀχιλλέως S. ³ δὲ καὶ τοὺς E: δὲ τοὺς S.

p. 33. The mother of Penthesilia is named Otrere (Otrera) by Tzetzes (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 997) and Hyginus (*Fab.* 112), in agreement with Apollodorus. Machaon is usually said to have been killed by Eurypylus, and not, as Apollodorus says, by Penthesilia. See Pausanias, iii. 26. 9; Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, vi. 390 sqq.; J. Tzetzes, *Posthomerica*, 520 sqq.; Hyginus, *Fab.* 113. From Pausanias (*l.c.*) we learn that Eurypylus, not Penthesilia, was represented as the slayer in the *Little Iliad* of Lesches.

¹ See above, *Epitome*, i. 17. The two passages are practically duplicates of each other. The former occurs in the Sabbaitic, the latter in the Vatican *Epitome* of Apollodorus. The author of the one compendium preferred to relate the incident in the history of Theseus, the other in the history of Troy.

Hippolyte was the mother of Hippolytus; she also goes by the names of Glauce and Melanippe. For when the marriage of Phaedra was being celebrated, Hippolyte appeared in arms with her Amazons, and said that she would slay the guests of Theseus. So a battle took place, and she was killed, whether involuntarily by her ally Penthesilia, or by Theseus, or because his men, seeing the threatening attitude of the Amazons, hastily closed the doors and so intercepted and slew her.¹

Memnon, the son of Tithonus and the Dawn, came with a great force of Ethiopians to Troy against the Greeks, and having slain many of the Greeks, including Antilochus, he was himself slain by Achilles.² Having chased the Trojans also, Achilles

² These events were narrated in the *Aethiopsis* of Arctinus, as we learn from the summary of Proclus. See *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 33. Compare Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, ii. 100 *sqq.*, 235 *sqq.*, 452 *sqq.*; J. Tzetzes, *Posthomerica*, 234 *sqq.*; Dictys Cretensis, *Bellum Trojanum*, iv. 6. The fight between Memnon and Achilles was represented on the throne of Apollo at Amyclae, and on the chest of Cypselus at Olympia (Pausanias, iii. 18. 12, v. 19. 1). It was also the subject of a group of statuary, which was set up beside the Hippodamium at Olympia (Pausanias, v. 22. 2). Some fragments of the pedestal which supported the group have been discovered: one of them bears the name MEMNON inscribed in archaic letters. See *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 662; and my commentary on Pausanias, vol. iii. pp. 629 *sq.* Aeschylus wrote a tragedy on the subject called *Psychostasia*, in which he described Zeus weighing the souls of the rival heroes in scales. See Plutarch, *De audiendis poetis*, 2; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* viii. 70; *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck², pp. 88 *sq.* A play of Sophocles, called *The Ethiopians*, probably dealt with the same theme. See *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. i. pp. 22 *sqq.* The slaying of Antilochus by Memnon is mentioned by Homer (*Od.* iv. 187 *sq.*).

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πύλαις τοξεύεται¹ ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Ἀπόλ-
 4 λωνος εἰς τὸ σφυρόν. γενομένης δὲ μάχης περὶ
 τοῦ νεκροῦ,² Αἴας Γλαῦκον ἀναιρεῖ, καὶ τὰ ὄπλα
 δίδωσιν ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς κομίζειν, τὸ δὲ σῶμα βαστά-
 σασ Αἴας βαλλόμενος βέλεσι μέσον τῶν πολεμίων
 διήνεγκεν, Ὀδυσσέως πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιφερομένους
 S 5 μαχομένου. | Ἀχιλλέως δὲ ἀποθανόντος συμφορᾶς

¹ τοξεύεται E : ἐτοξεύθη S.

² μάχης περὶ τοῦ νεκροῦ E : περὶ τοῦ νεκροῦ μάχης S.

¹ The death of Achilles was similarly related in the *Aethi-
 opis* of Arctinus. See Proclus, in *Epicorum Graecorum
 Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, pp. 33 sq. Compare Quintus
 Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, iii. 26-387; Hyginus, *Fab.* 107.
 All these writers agree with Apollodorus in saying that the
 fatal wound was inflicted on the heel of Achilles. The story
 ran that at his birth his mother Thetis made Achilles in-
 vulnerable by dipping him in the water of Styx; but his
 heel, by which she held him, was not wetted by the water
 and so remained vulnerable. See Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.*
 vi. 57; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Achill.* i. 134; *id.*
Narrat. fabul. xii. 6; Fulgentius, *Mytholog.* iii. 7. Tradition
 varied as to the agent of Achilles's death. Some writers, like
 Arctinus and Apollodorus, say that the hero was killed by
 Apollo and Paris jointly. Thus in Homer (*Il.* xxii. 359 sq.)
 the dying Hector prophesies that Achilles will be slain by
 Paris and Apollo at the Scaean gate; and the same prophecy
 is put by Homer more darkly into the mouth of the talking
 horse Xanthus, who, like Balaam's ass, warns his master of
 the danger that beets his path (*Il.* xix. 404 sqq.). According
 to Virgil and Ovid, it was the hand of Paris that discharged
 the fatal arrow, but the hand of Apollo that directed it to
 the mark. See Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 56-58; Ovid, *Metamorph.*
 xii. 597-609. According to Hyginus, it was Apollo in the
 guise of Paris who transfixed the mortal heel of Achilles with
 an arrow (*Fab.* 107). But in one passage (*Il.* xxi. 277 sq.)
 Homer speaks of the death of Achilles as wrought by the
 shafts of Apollo alone; and this version was followed by

was shot with an arrow in the ankle by Alexander and Apollo at the Scaean gate. A fight taking place for the corpse, Ajax killed Glaucus, and gave the arms to be conveyed to the ships, but the body he carried, in a shower of darts, through the midst of the enemy, while Ulysses fought his assailants.¹ The death

Quintus Smyrnaeus (iii. 60 *sqq.*) and apparently by Aeschylus, Sophocles and Horace. See Plato, *Republic*, ii. 21, p. 383 A B; Sophocles, *Philoctetes*, 334 *sq.*; Horace, *Odes*, iv. 6. 1 *sqq.* Other writers, on the contrary, speak of Paris alone as the slayer of Achilles. See Euripides, *Andromache*, 655; *id.* *Hecuba*, 387 *sq.*; Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.* ix. 13. 2; *id.* *Comparison of Lysander and Sulla*, 4. A very different version of the story connected the death of Achilles with a romantic passion he had conceived for Polyxena, daughter of Priam. It is said that Priam offered her hand in marriage to Achilles on condition that the siege of Troy was raised. In the negotiations which were carried on for this purpose Achilles went alone and unarmed to the temple of Thymbraean Apollo and was there treacherously assassinated, Deiphobus clasping him to his breast in a pretended embrace of friendship while Paris stabbed him with a sword. See J. Tzetzes, *Posthomerica*, 385-423; Philostratus, *Heroica*, xx. 16 *sq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 110; Dictys Cretensis, *Bellum Trojanum*, iv. 10 *sq.*; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 57; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Achill.* i. 134; Dares Phrygius, *De excidio Trojae*, 34; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 13, 143 (First Vatican Mythographer, 36; Second Vatican Mythographer, 205). Of these writers, the Second Vatican Mythographer tells us that Achilles first saw Polyxena, Hector's sister, when she stood on a tower in the act of throwing down bracelets and earrings with which to ransom Hector's body, and that when Achilles came to the temple of the Thymbraean Apollo to ratify the treaty of marriage and peace, Paris lurked behind the image of the god and shot the confiding hero with an arrow. This seems to be the account of the death which Servius and Lactantius Placidus (*ll. cc.*) followed in their briefer narrative. Compare Nonnus, in Westermann's *Mythographi Graeci, Appendix Narrationum*, p. 382, No. 62.

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ES ἐπληρώθη τὸ στράτευμα. | θάπτουσι δὲ αὐτὸν¹
 [ἐν Λευκῇ νήσῳ]² μετὰ Πατρόκλου, τὰ ἐκατέρων
 ὀστᾶ συμμίξαντες. λέγεται δὲ³ μετὰ θάνατον
 Ἀχιλλεύς ἐν Μακάρων νήσοις Μηδεῖα συνοικεῖν.⁴
 S | τιθέασι δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἀγῶνα, ἐν ᾧ νικᾷ Εὐμηλος
 ἵπποις, Διομήδης σταδίῳ, Αἴας δίσκῳ, Τεῦκρος
 ES 6 τόξῳ. | ἡ δὲ πανοπλία αὐτοῦ τῷ ἀρίστῳ νικητῆ-

¹ θάπτουσι δὲ αὐτὸν S: "Ὅτι θάπτουσι τὸν Ἀχιλλεῖα E.

² ἐν Λευκῇ νήσῳ . . . συμμίξαντες E: τοῖς Πατρόκλου μίξαντες ὀστοῖς ἐν Λευκῇ νήσῳ S. ³ λέγεται δὲ E: καὶ λέγεται S.

⁴ Ἀχιλλεύς ἐν Μακάρων νήσοις Μηδεῖα συνοικεῖν E: ἐν Μακάρων νήσοις αὐτῷ Μηδεῖαν συνοικεῖν S.

¹ According to Arctinus in the *Aethiopsis*, when the body of Achilles was lying in state, his mother Thetis came with the Muses and her sisters and mourned over her dead son; then she snatched it away from the pyre and conveyed it to the White Isle; but the Greeks raised a sepulchral mound and held games in honour of the departed hero. See Proclus, in *Epícorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 34. Compare Homer, *Od.* xxiv. 43-92; Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, iii. 525-787 (the laying-out of the body, the lamentation of Thetis, the Nereids, and the Muses, and the burning of the corpse); J. Tzetzes, *Posthomerica*, 431-467; Dictys Cretensis, *Bellum Trojanum*, iv. 13 and 15. Homer tells how the bones of Achilles, after his body had been burnt on the pyre, were laid with the bones of his friend Patroclus in a golden urn, made by Hephaestus, which Thetis had received from Dionysus. The urn was buried at the headland of Sigeum, according to Tzetzes and Dictys Cretensis. In Quintus Smyrnaeus (iii. 766-780) we read how Poseidon comforted Thetis by assuring her that Achilles, her sorrow, was not dead, for he himself would bestow on the departed hero an island in the Euxine Sea where he should be a god for evermore, worshipped with sacrifices by the neighbouring tribes. The promised land was the White Isle mentioned by Apollodorus. It is described as a wooded island off the mouth of the Danube. In it there was a temple of Achilles with an image of him; and there the hero was said to dwell immortal with Helen for his wife and

of Achilles filled the army with dismay, and they buried him with Patroclus in the White Isle, mixing the bones of the two together.¹ It is said that after death Achilles consorts with Medea in the Isles of the Blest.² And they held games in his honour, at which Eumelus won the chariot-race, Diomedes the foot-race, Ajax the quoit-match, and Teucer the competition in archery.³ Also his arms were offered

his friends Patroclus and Antilochus for his companions. There he chanted the verses of Homer, and mariners who sailed near the island could hear the song wafted clearly across the water; while such as put in to the shore or anchored off the coast, heard the trampling of horses, the shouts of warriors, and the clash of arms. See Pausanias, iii. 19. 11-13; Philostratus, *Heroica*, xx. 32-40. As the mortal remains of Achilles were buried in the Troad, and only his immortal spirit was said to dwell in the White Isle, the statement of Apollodorus that the Greeks interred him in the White Isle must be regarded as erroneous, whether the error is due to Apollodorus himself, or, as is more probable, either to his abbreviator or to a copyist. Perhaps in the original form of his work Apollodorus followed Arctinus in describing how Thetis snatched the body of Achilles from the pyre and transported it to the White Isle.

² Compare Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 810 *sqq.*; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 174. According to the Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius (*Argon.* iv. 815), the first to affirm that Achilles married Medea in the Elysian Fields was the poet Ibycus, and the tale was afterwards repeated by Simonides. The story is unknown to Homer, who describes the shade of Achilles repining at his lot and striding alone in the Asphodel Meadow (*Od.* xi. 471-540).

³ The funeral games in honour of Achilles are described at full length, in the orthodox manner, by Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, iv. 88-595. He agrees with Apollodorus in representing Teucer and Ajax as victorious in the contests of archery and quoit-throwing respectively (*Posthomerica*, iv. 405 *sqq.*, 436 *sqq.*); and he seems to have described Eumelus as the winner of the chariot-race (iv. 500 *sqq.*), but the conclusion of the race is lost through a gap in the text.

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S ριον τίθεται,¹ καὶ καταβαίνουσιν εἰς ἄμιλλαι
 ES Αἴας καὶ Ὀδυσσεύς. | καὶ κρινάντων τῶν Τρώων,
 ὡς δέ τινες τῶν συμμάχων, | Ὀδυσσεύς προκρί-
 νεται.² Αἴας δὲ ὑπὸ λύπης ταραχθεὶς ἐπιβου-
 λεύεται νύκτωρ τῷ στρατεύματι, καὶ αὐτῷ μανίαν
 ἐμβαλοῦσα Ἀθηνᾶ εἰς τὰ βοσκήματα ἐκτρέπει
 7 ξιφήρη· ὁ δὲ ἐκμανεὶς σὺν τοῖς νέμουσι τὰ βοσκή-
 ματα ὡς Ἀχαιοὺς φονεύει. ὕστερον δὲ σωφρονήσας
 κτείνει καὶ ἑαυτόν.³ Ἀγαμέμνων δὲ κωλύει τὸ
 σῶμα αὐτοῦ καῆναι, καὶ μόνος οὗτος τῶν ἐν Ἰλίῳ
 ἀποθανόντων ἐν σορῷ κεῖται· ὁ δὲ τάφος ἐστὶν
 ἐν Ῥοιτείῳ.

¹ ἢ δὲ πανοπλία αὐτοῦ τῷ ἀρίστῳ νικητήριον τίθεται E: τὴν δὲ Ἀχιλλέως πανοπλίαν τίθεισι (sic) τῷ ἀρίστῳ νικητήριον S.

² Ὀδυσσεὺς προκρίνεται . . . ὡς Ἀχαιοὺς φονεύει S: προκρί-
 θέντος δὲ Ὀδυσσεὺς Αἴας ὑπὸ λύπης ταραττεται καὶ νύκτωρ ἐπι-
 βουλεύεται τῷ στρατεύματι· καὶ ὑπὸ Ἀθηνᾶς μανεὶς εἰς τὰ βοσκή-
 ματα ξιφήρης ἐκτρέπεται καὶ ταῦτα κτείνει σὺν τοῖς νέμουσιν ὡς
 Ἀχαιοὺς E.

³ ὕστερον δὲ σωφρονήσας κτείνει καὶ ἑαυτόν E: καὶ σωφρο-
 νήσας ὕστερον ἑαυτὸν κτείνει S.

¹ These events were narrated in the *Little Iliad* of Lesches. See Proclus, in *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 36; compare Aristotle, *Poetics*, 23, p. 1459 b 4 sq. The contest between Ajax and Ulysses for the arms of Achilles was also related in the *Aethiopsis* of Arctinus. See *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 34. It was known to Homer (*Od.* xi. 542 sqq.), who tells us that the Trojans and Pallas Athena acted as judges and awarded the arms to Ulysses. A Scholiast on this passage of Homer (*v.* 547) informs us that Agamemnon, unwilling to undertake the invidious duty of deciding between the two competitors, referred the dispute to the decision of the Trojan prisoners, inquiring of them which of the two heroes had done most harm to the Trojans. The prisoners decided that Ulysses was the man, and the arms were therefore awarded to him. According to another account, which was adopted by the author of the

as a prize to the bravest, and Ajax and Ulysses came forward as competitors. The judges were the Trojans or, according to some, the allies, and Ulysses was preferred. Disordered by chagrin, Ajax planned a nocturnal attack on the army. And Athena drove him mad, and turned him, sword in hand, among the cattle, and in his frenzy he slaughtered the cattle with the herdsmen, taking them for the Achaeans. But afterwards he came to his senses and slew also himself.¹ And Agamemnon forbade his body to be burnt; and he alone of all who fell at Ilium is buried in a coffin.² His grave is at Rhoeteum.

Little Iliad, the Greeks on the advice of Nestor sent spies to the walls of Troy to overhear the Trojans discussing the respective merits of the two champions. They heard two girls debating the question, and thinking that she who gave the preference to Ulysses reasoned the better, they decided accordingly. See Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Knights*, 1056. According to Pindar (*Nem.* viii. 26 (45) *sq.*), it was the Greeks who by secret votes decided in favour of Ulysses. The subject was treated by Aeschylus in a lost play called *The Decision of the Arms*. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck², pp. 57 *sq.* The madness and suicide of Ajax, consequent on his disappointment at not being awarded the arms, are the theme of Sophocles's extant tragedy *Ajax*. As to the contest for the arms, see further Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, v. 121 *sqq.*; J. Tzetzes, *Posthomerica*, 481 *sqq.*; Zenobius, *Cent.* i. 43; Hyginus, *Fab.* 107; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xii. 620-628, xiii. 1-398. Quintus Smyrnaeus and Tzetzes agree in representing the Trojan captives as the judges in the dispute, while Ovid speaks of the Greek chiefs sitting in judgment and deciding in favour of Ulysses. According to Zenobius (*l.c.*), Ajax in his frenzy scourged two rams, believing that he was scourging Agamemnon and Menelaus. This account is based on the description of the frenzy of Ajax in Sophocles (*Ajax*, 97-110, 237-244).

² Similarly the author of the *Little Iliad* said that the body of Ajax was not burned, but placed in a coffin "on account of

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E 8 | "Ἦδη δὲ ὄντος τοῦ πολέμου δεκαετοῦς ἀθυμοῦσι
 ES τοῖς Ἑλλησι | Κάλχας θεσπίζει, οὐκ¹ ἄλλως ἀλῶ-
 ναι δύνασθαι Ἴτροίαν, ἀν μὴ² τὰ Ἡρακλέους ἔχουσι³

¹ οὐκ S: μὴ F. ² ἀν μὴ S: ἦ E.

³ ἔχουσι S: ἔχουσι E.

the wrath of the king." See Eustathius on Homer, *Il.* ii. 557, p. 285. Philostratus tells us that the body was laid in the earth by direction of the seer Calchas, "because suicides may not lawfully receive the burial by fire" (*Heroica*, xiii. 7). This was probably the true reason for the tradition that the corpse was not cremated in the usual way. For the ghosts of suicides appear to be commonly dreaded; hence unusual modes of disposing of their bodies are adopted in order to render their spirits powerless for mischief. For example, the Baganda of Central Africa, who commonly bury their dead in the earth, burn the bodies of suicides on waste land or at cross-roads in order to destroy the ghosts; for they believe that if the ghost of a suicide is not thus destroyed, it will tempt other people to imitate its example. As an additional precaution everyone who passed the place where the body of a suicide had been burnt threw some grass or a few sticks on the spot, "so as to prevent the ghost from catching him, in case it had not been destroyed." For the same reason, if a man took his life by hanging himself on a tree, the tree was torn up by the roots and burned with the body; if he had killed himself in a house, the house was pulled down and the materials consumed with fire; for "people feared to live in a house in which a suicide had taken place, lest they too should be tempted to commit the same crime." See J. Roscoe, *The Baganda* (London, 1911), pp. 20 sq., 289. Similar customs prevailed among the Banyoro, a neighbouring nation of Central Africa. "It was said to be necessary to destroy a tree upon which a person had hanged himself and to burn down a house in which a person had committed suicide, otherwise they would be a danger to people in general and would influence them to commit suicide." See J. Roscoe, *The Northern Bantu* (Cambridge, 1915), pp. 24 sq. (where, however, the burning of the body is not expressly mentioned). In like manner the Hos of Togoland, in West Africa,

When the war had already lasted ten years, and the Greeks were despondent, Calchas prophesied to them that Troy could not be taken unless they had the bow

are much afraid of the ghost of a suicide. They believe that the ghost of a man who has hanged himself will torment the first person who sees the body. Hence when the relations of such a man approach the corpse they protect themselves against the ghost by wearing magical cords and smearing their faces with a magical powder. The tree on which a man hanged himself is cut down, and the branch on which he tied the fatal noose is lopped off. To this branch the corpse is then tied and dragged ruthlessly through the woods, over stones and through thorny bushes, to the place where "men of blood," that is, all who die a violent death, are buried. There they dig a shallow grave in great haste and throw the body in. Having done so they run home; for they say that the ghosts of "men of blood" fling stones at such as do not retreat fast enough, and that he who is struck by one of these stones must die. The houses of such men are broken down and burnt. A suicide is believed to defile the land and to prevent rain from falling. Hence the district where a man has killed himself must be purified by a sacrifice offered to the Earth-god. See J. Spieth, *Die Ewe-Stämme* (Berlin, 1906), pp. 272, 274, 276 sq. 756, 758. As to the special treatment of the bodies of suicides, see R. Lasch, "Die Behandlung der Leiche des Selbstmörders," *Globus*, lxxvi. (Brunswick, 1899, pp. 63-66.) In the *Ajax* of Sophocles the rites of burial are at first refused, but afterwards conceded, to the dead body of Ajax; and though these ceremonies are not described, we may assume that they included the burning of the corpse on a pyre. This variation from what appears to be the usual tradition may have been introduced by Sophocles out of deference to the religious feelings of the Athenians, who worshipped Ajax as a hero, and who would have been shocked to think of his remains being denied the ordinary funeral honours. See Jebb's Introduction to his edition of the *Ajax* (Cambridge, 1896), pp. xxix. sqq. As to the worship of Ajax at Athens, see Pausanias, i. 35. 3; *Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum*, ii. Nos. 467-471; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*³, No. 717, vol. ii. p. 370. From these inscriptions we learn that the Athenian youths used to sail across every year to Salamis and there sacrifice to Ajax.

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τόξα συμμαχοῦντα.¹ τοῦτο² ἀκούσας Ὀδυσσεὺς
 μετὰ Διομήδους εἰς Λῆμνον ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς Φιλο-
 κτήτην, καὶ δόλω ἐγκρατῆς γενόμενος τῶν τόξων
 πείθει πλεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ Τροίαν. ὁ δὲ παραγενό-
 μενος καὶ θεραπευθεὶς ὑπὸ Ποδαλειρίου Ἀλέξ-
 9 ανδρον τοξεύει. τούτου δὲ ἀποθανόντος εἰς ἔριν
 ἔρχονται Ἐλενος καὶ Δηϊφόβος ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλένης
 γάμων· προκριθέντος δὲ τοῦ Δηϊφόβου Ἐλενος
 ἀπολιπὼν Τροίαν ἐν Ἴδῃ διετέλει. εἰπόντος δὲ
 Κάλχαντος Ἐλενον εἰδέναι τοὺς ῥυομένους τὴν
 10 πόλιν χρησμούς, ἐνεδρεύσας αὐτὸν Ὀδυσσεὺς καὶ
 χειρωσάμενος ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἤγαγε· καὶ
 ἀναγκαζόμενος ὁ Ἐλενος λέγει πῶς ἂν αἰρεθείη ἢ

¹ τόξα συμμαχοῦντα E: συμμαχοῦντα τόξα S.

² τοῦτο E: ταῦτα S.

¹ These events are related in precisely the same way, though with many poetic embellishments, by Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, ix. 325-479 (the fetching of Philoctetes from Lemnos and the healing of him by Podalirius), x. 206 *sqq.* (Paris wounded to death by the arrows of Philoctetes). The story was told somewhat differently by Lesches in the *Little Iliad*. According to him, the prophecy that Troy could not be taken without the help of Philoctetes was uttered, not by Calchas, but by the Trojan seer Helenus, whom Ulysses had captured; Philoctetes was brought from Lemnos by Diomedes alone, and he was healed, not by Podalirius, but by Machaon. The account of Tzetzes (*Posthomerica*, 571-595) agrees with that of Lesches in respect of the prophecy of Helenus and the cure by Machaon. Sophocles also followed the *Little Iliad* in putting the prophecy in the mouth of the captured Trojan seer Helenus (*Philoctetes*, 604-613). Compare Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 911. In their plays on the subject (see above, note on *Epitome*, iii. 27) Euripides and Sophocles differed as to the envoys whom the Greeks sent to bring the wounded Philoctetes from Lemnos to Troy. According to Euripides, with whom Apollodorus, Quintus Smyrnaeus, and

and arrows of Hercules fighting on their side. On hearing that, Ulysses went with Diomedes to Philoctetes in Lemnos, and having by craft got possession of the bow and arrows he persuaded him to sail to Troy. So he went, and after being cured by Podalirius, he shot Alexander.¹ After the death of Alexander, Helenus and Deiphobus quarrelled as to which of them should marry Helen; and as Deiphobus was preferred, Helenus left Troy and abode in Ida.² But as Chalcas said that Helenus knew the oracles that protected the city, Ulysses waylaid and captured him and brought him to the camp; and Helenus was forced to tell how Ilium could be

Hyginus (*Fab.* 103) agree, the envoys were Ulysses and Diomedes; according to Sophocles, they were Ulysses and Neoptolemus, son of Achilles. See Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* lii. vol. ii. p. 161, ed. L. Dindorf; Jebb's Introduction to his edition of Sophocles, *Philoctetes* (Cambridge, 1898), pp. xv. *sqq.*; *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck², pp. 613 *sqq.* However, while Sophocles diverges from what seems to have been the usual story by representing Neoptolemus instead of Diomedes as the companion of Ulysses on this errand, he implicitly recognizes the other version by putting it in the mouth of the merchant (*Philoctetes*, 570-597). A painting at the entrance to the acropolis of Athens represented Ulysses or Diomedes (it is uncertain which) in the act of carrying off the bow of Philoctetes. See Pausanias, i. 22. 6, with my commentary (vol. ii. pp. 263 *sq.*). The combat between Philoctetes and Paris is described by John Malalas, *Chronogr.* v. pp. 110 *sq.*, ed. L. Dindorf.

² Compare Conon, *Narrat.* 34; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 166. The marriage of Deiphobus to Helen after the death of Paris was related in the *Little Iliad*. See Proclus, in *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 36. Compare J. Tzetzes, *Posthomerica*, 600 *sq.*; *id.* *Schol. on Lycophron*, 143, 168; Euripides, *Troades*, 959 *sq.*; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xxiv. 251, and on *Od.* iv. 276; Dictys Cretensis, *Bellum Trojanum*, iv. 22. The marriage was seemingly known to Homer (*Od.* iv. 276).

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Ἴλιος,¹ πρῶτον² μὲν εἰ τὰ Πέλοπος ὄστᾶ κομισθῆιη παρ' αὐτούς,³ ἔπειτα εἰ Νεοπτόλεμος συμμαχοίη, τρίτον εἰ τὸ διπτερές παλλάδιον ἐκκλαπέιη· τούτου γὰρ ἔνδον ὄντος οὐ δύνασθαι τὴν πόλιν ἀλῶναι.

- 11 Ταῦτα⁴ ἀκούσαντες Ἕλληνες⁵ τὰ μὲν Πέλοπος ὄστᾶ μετακομίζουσιν, Ὀδυσσεᾶ δὲ καὶ Φοίνικα πρὸς Λυκομήδην πέμπουσιν εἰς Σκύρον, οἱ δὲ πείθουσι <αὐ>τὸν Νεοπτόλεμον⁶ προέσθαι. παραγενόμενος δὲ οὗτος εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ λαβὼν παρ' ἐκόντος Ὀδυσσεῶς τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς πανο-

¹ ἢ Ἴλιος E: τὸ Ἴλιος S. ² πρῶτον S: καὶ πρῶτον E.

³ αὐτούς Bücheler: αὐτοῖς E: αὐταῖς S.

⁴ ταῦτα S: τούτων E. ⁵ Ἕλληνες wanting in S.

⁶ κείθουσι <αὐ>τὸν Νεοπτόλεμον Wagner (conjecture): κείθουσι τὸν Νεοπτόλεμον S: κείθουσι Νεοπτόλεμον E.

¹ As to the capture of Helenus and his prophecy, see Sophocles, *Philoctetes*, 604 *sqq.*, 1337 *sqq.*; Conon, *Narrat.* 34; J. Tzetzes, *Posthomerica*, 571–579; *id.* *Chiliades*, vi. 508–515; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 166; Dictys Cretensis, *Bellum Trojanum*, ii. 18. The mode of his capture and the substance of his prophecies were variously related. The need of fetching the bones of Pelops is mentioned by Tzetzes among the predictions of Helenus; and the necessity of obtaining the Palladium is recorded by Conon and Servius. According to Pausanias (v. 13. 4), it was a shoulder-blade of Pelops that was brought from Pisa to Troy; on the return from Troy the bone was lost in a shipwreck, but afterwards recovered by a fisherman.

² As to the Palladium, see above, iii. 12. 3.

³ As to the fetching of Neoptolemus from Scyros, see Homer, *Od.* xi. 506 *sqq.*; the *Little Iliad* of Lesches, summarized by Proclus, in *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, pp. 36 *sq.*; Pindar, *Paean*, vi. 98 *sqq.*, ed. Sandys; Sophocles, *Philoctetes*, 343–356; Philostratus Junior, *Imag.* 2; Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, vi. 57–113, vii. 169–430; J. Tzetzes, *Posthomerica*, 523–534. Apollodorus agrees with Sophocles in saying that the Greek envoys who fetched

taken,¹ to wit, first, if the bones of Pelops were brought to them; next, if Neoptolemus fought for them; and third, if the Palladium,² which had fallen from heaven, were stolen from Troy, for while it was within the walls the city could not be taken.

On hearing these things the Greeks caused the bones of Pelops to be fetched, and they sent Ulysses and Phoenix to Lycomedes at Scyros, and these two persuaded him to let Neoptolemus go.³ On coming to the camp and receiving his father's arms from Ulysses, who willingly resigned them, Neoptolemus slew many

Neoptolemus from Scyros were Ulysses and Phoenix. According to Quintus Smyrnaeus, they were Ulysses and Diomedes. Ulysses is the only envoy mentioned by Homer, Lesches, and Tzetzes; and Phoenix is the only envoy mentioned by Philostratus. Pindar speaks vaguely of "messengers." In this passage I have adopted Wagner's conjecture *πειθουσι* <αὐ> τὸν *Νεοπτόλεμον πρὸς* θάι, "persuaded him to let Neoptolemus go." If this conjecture is not accepted, we seem forced to translate the passage "persuaded Neoptolemus to venture." But I cannot cite any exact parallel to such a use of the middle of *πρήμι*. When employed absolutely, the verb seems often to convey a bad meaning. Thus Demosthenes uses it in the sense of "throwing away a chance," "neglecting an opportunity" (*Or.* xix. *De falsa legatione*, p. 388, §§ 150, 152, *μὴ πρὸς* θάι, οὐ *πρὸς* θάι). Iphicrates employed it with the same significance (quoted by Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, ii. 23. 6 *διότι πρὸς* θάι). Aristotle applied the verb to a man who had "thrown away" his health (*Nicom. Ethics*, iii. 5. 14, *τότε μὲν οὖν ἐξῆν αὐτῷ μὴ νοσεῖν, προεμένψ δ' οὐκέτι, ὥσπερ οὐδ' ἀφέντι λίθον ἔτ' αὐτὸν δυνατὸν ἀναλαβεῖν*). However, elsewhere Aristotle uses the word to describe the lavish liberality of generous men (*Rhetoric*, i. 9. 6, *εἶτα ἢ ἐλευθεριότης· πρὸς* θάι γὰρ καὶ οὐκ ἀνταγωνίζονται *περὶ τῶν χρημάτων, ὧν μάλιστα ἐφίενται ἄλλοι*). In the present passage of Apollodorus, if Wagner's emendation is not accepted, we might perhaps read <μὴ> *πρὸς* θάι and translate, "persuaded Neoptolemus not to throw away the chance." But it is better to acquiesce in Wagner's simple and probable correction.

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12 πλίαν πολλοὺς τῶν Τρώων ἀναιρεῖ. ἀφικνεῖται δὲ ὕστερον Τρωσὶ σύμμαχος Εὐρύπυλος ὁ Τηλέφου πολλὴν Μυσῶν δύναμιν ἄγων· τοῦτον ἀριστεύ-
 13 σαντα Νεοπτόλεμος ἀπέκτεινεν. Ὀδυσσεὺς δὲ μετὰ Διομήδους παραγενόμενος νύκτωρ εἰς τὴν πόλιν Διομήδην μὲν αὐτοῦ μένειν εἶα, αὐτὸς δὲ ἑαυτὸν¹ αἰκισάμενος καὶ πενιχρὰν στολὴν ἐνδυσάμενος² ἀγνώστως εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσέρχεται ὡς ἐπαίτης· γνωρισθεῖς δὲ ὑπὸ Ἑλένης δι' ἐκείνης τὸ παλλάδιον ἔκλεψε³ καὶ πολλοὺς κτεῖνας τῶν φυλασσόντων ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς μετὰ Διομήδους κομίζει.

¹ ἑαυτὸν E: αὐτὸν S.

² ἐνδυσάμενος ἀγνώστως εἰς τὴν πόλιν E: ἐνδὺς εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀγνώστως S. Perhaps for ἀγνώστως we should read ἀγνωστος.

³ ἔκλεψε S: ἐκκλέψας E.

¹ As to the single combat of Eurypylus and Neoptolemus, and the death of Eurypylus, see Homer, *Od.* xi. 516–521; the *Little Iliad* of Lesches, summarized by Proclus, in *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 37; Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, viii. 128–220; J. Tzetzes, *Posthomerica*, 560–565; Dictys Cretensis, *Bellum Trojanum*, iv. 17. Eurypylus was king of Mysia. At first his mother Astyoche refused to let him go to the Trojan war, but Priam overcame her scruples by the present of a golden vine. See Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* xi. 520. The brief account which Apollodorus gives of the death of Eurypylus agrees closely with the equally summary narrative of Proclus. Sophocles composed a tragedy on the subject, of which some very mutilated fragments have been discovered in Egypt. See *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. i. pp. 146 sqq.; A. S. Hunt, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta Papyracea nuper reperta* (Oxford, the Clarendon Press; no date, no pagination).

² These events were narrated in the *Little Iliad* of Lesches, as we learn from the summary of Proclus (*Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 37), which runs thus: “And Ulysses, having disfigured himself, comes as a spy to

EPITOME, v. 11-13

of the Trojans. Afterwards, Eurypylos, son of Telephus, arrived to fight for the Trojans, bringing a great force of Mysians. He performed doughty deeds, but was slain by Neoptolemus.¹ And Ulysses went with Diomedes by night to the city, and there he let Diomedes wait, and after disfiguring himself and putting on mean attire he entered unknown into the city as a beggar. And being recognized by Helen, he with her help stole away the Palladium, and after killing many of the guards, brought it to the ships with the aid of Diomedes.²

Troy, and being recognized by Helen he makes a compact with her concerning the capture of the city; and having slain some of the Trojans he arrives at the ships. And after these things he with Diomedes conveys the Palladium out of Ilium." From this it appears that Ulysses made two different expeditions to Troy: in one of them he went by himself as a spy in mean attire, and being recognized by Helen concerted with her measures for betraying Troy to the Greeks; in the other he went with Diomedes, and together the two stole the Palladium. The former of these expeditions is described by Homer in the *Odyssey* (iv. 242 *sqq.*), where Helen tells how Ulysses disfigured himself with wounds, and disguising himself in mean attire came as a beggar to Troy; how she alone detected him, wormed the secrets of the Greeks out of him, and having sworn not to betray him till he had returned in safety to the ships, let him go free, whereupon on his way back he killed many Trojans. Euripides also relates this visit of Ulysses to Troy, adding that Helen revealed his presence to Hecuba, who spared his life and sent him out of the country (*Hecuba*, 239-250). These two quite distinct expeditions of Ulysses have been confused and blended into one by Apollodorus. As to the joint expedition of Ulysses and Diomedes to Troy, and the stealing of the Palladium, see further Conon, *Narrat.* 34; Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, x. 350-360; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* vi. 311; J. Malalas, *Chronogr.* v. pp. 109, 111 *sq.*, ed. L. Dindorf; Zeno-bius, *Cent.* iii. 8; Apostolius, *Cent.* vi. 15; Suidas, *s.v.* Διομήδεις ἀνάγκη and Παλλάδιον; Hesychius, *s.v.* Διομήδεις

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- 14 "Τόστερον δὲ ἐπινοεῖ δουρείου ἵππου κατασκευὴν καὶ ὑποτίθεται Ἐπειῶ, ὃς ἦν ἀρχιτέκτων· οὗτος

ἀνάγκη; Eustathius, on Homer, *Il.* x. 531, p. 822; Scholiast on Plato, *Republic*, vi. 493 B; Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 162-170; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 166; Dictys Cretensis, *Bellum Trojanum*, v. 5 and 8 sq. The narrative of Apollodorus suggests that Ulysses had the principal share in the exploit. But according to another and seemingly more prevalent tradition it was Diomedes who really bore off the image. This emerges particularly from Conon's account. Diomedes, he tells us, mounted on the shoulders of Ulysses, and having thus scaled the wall, he refused to draw his comrade up after him, and went in search of the Palladium. Having secured it, he returned with it to Ulysses, and together they retraced their steps to the Greek camp. But by the way the crafty Ulysses conceived the idea of murdering his companion and making himself master of the fateful image. So he dropped behind Diomedes and drew his sword. But the moon shone full; and as he raised his arm to strike, the flash of the blade in the moonlight caught the eye of the wary Diomedes. He faced round, drew his sword, and, upbraiding the other with his cowardice, drove him before him, while he beat the back of the recreant with the flat of his sword. This incident gave rise to the proverb, "Diomedes's compulsion," applied to such as did what they were forced to do by dire necessity. The proverb is similarly explained by the other Greek proverb-writers and lexicographers cited above, except that, instead of the flash of the sword in the moonlight, they say it was the shadow of the sword raised to strike him which attracted the attention of Diomedes. The picturesque story appears to have been told in the *Little Iliad* (Hesychius, s.v. Διομήδειος ἀνάγκη). According to one account, Diomedes and Ulysses made their way into the Trojan citadel through a sewer (Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 166), indeed a narrow and muddy sewer, as Sophocles called it in the play which he composed on the subject. See Julius Pollux, ix. 49; *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. ii. p. 36, frag. 367. Some affirmed that the Palladium was treacherously surrendered to the Greek heroes by Theano, the priestess of the goddess (Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* vi. 311; Suidas, s.v. ΠΑΛΛΑΔ-

But afterwards he invented the construction of the Wooden Horse and suggested it to Epeus, who was an architect.¹ Epeus felled timber on Ida,

διον); to this step she was said to have been instigated by her husband Antenor (J. Malalas, *Chronogr.* v. p. 109, ed. L. Dindorf; Dictys Cretensis, *Bellum Trojanum*, v. 5 and 8). As to Theano in her capacity of priestess, see Homer, *Il.* vi. 297 sqq.

The theft of the Palladium furnished a not infrequent subject to Greek artists; but the artistic, like the literary, tradition was not agreed on the question whether the actual thief was Diomedes or Ulysses. See my note on Pausanias, i. 22. 6 (vol. ii. pp. 264 sq.).

¹ As to the stratagem of the Wooden Horse, by which Troy is said to have been captured, see Homer, *Od.* iv. 271-289, viii. 492-515, xi. 523-532; the *Little Iliad* of Lesches, summarized by Proclus, in *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 37; the *Ilii Persis* ("Sack of Troy") by Arctinus, summarized by Proclus, in *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 49; Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomericæ*, xii. 23-83, 104-156, 218-443, 539-585, xiii. 21-59; Tryphiodorus, *Excidium Ilii*, 57-541; J. Tzetzes, *Posthomericæ*, 629-723; *id.* *Schol. on Lycophron*, 930; Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 13-267; Hyginus, *Fab.* 108; Dictys Cretensis, *Bellum Trojanum*, v. 9 and 11 sq. The story is only alluded to by Homer, but was no doubt fully told by Lesches and Arctinus, though of their narratives we possess only the brief abstracts of Proclus. The accounts of later writers, such as Virgil, Quintus Smyrnaeus, Tryphiodorus, Tzetzes, and Apollodorus himself, are probably based on the works of these early cyclic poets. The poem of Arctinus, if we may judge by Proclus's abstract, opened with the deliberations of the Trojans about the Wooden Horse, and from the similarity of the abstract to the text of Apollodorus we may infer that our author followed Arctinus generally, though not in all details; for instance, he differed from Arctinus in regard to the affair of Laocoon and his sons. See below.

With the stratagem of the Wooden Horse we may compare the stratagem by which, in the war of Independence waged by the United Provinces against Spain, Prince Maurice contrived to make himself master of Breda. The city was then held by

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ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰδης¹ ξύλα τεμὼν ἵππον κατασκευάζει
κοῖλον ἔνδοθεν εἰς τὰς πλευρὰς ἀνεφωγμένον. εἰς
τοῦτον Ὀδυσσεὺς εἰσελθεῖν πείθει πεντήκοντα
τοὺς ἀρίστους, ὡς δὲ ὁ τὴν μικρὰν γράψας Ἰλιάδα
φησί, τρισχιλίου, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς γενομένης
νυκτὸς ἐμπρήσαντας τὰς σκηνάς, ἀναχθέντας
περὶ² τὴν Τένεδον ναυλοχεῖν καὶ μετὰ τὴν
15 ἐπιούσαν νύκτα καταπλεῖν. οἱ δὲ πείθονται καὶ
τοὺς μὲν ἀρίστους ἐμβιβάζουσιν εἰς τὸν ἵππον,
ἡγεμόνα καταστήσαντες αὐτῶν Ὀδυσσεά, γράμ-

¹ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰδης E: ἐπὶ τῶν Ἰδης S.

² περὶ S: ἐπὶ E.

a Spanish garrison, which received its supply of fuel by boats. The master of one of these boats, Adrian Vandenberg by name, noticed that in the absence of the governor there was great negligence in conducting the examination to which all boats were subjected before they were allowed to enter the town. This suggested to Vandenberg a plan for taking the citadel by surprise. He communicated his plan to Prince Maurice, who readily embraced it. Accordingly the boat was loaded in appearance with turf as usual; but the turf was supported by a floor of planks fixed at the distance of several feet from the bottom; and beneath this floor seventy picked soldiers were placed under the command of an able officer named Harauguer. The boat had but a few miles to sail, yet through unexpected accidents several days passed before they could reach Breda. The wind veered against them, the melting ice (for it was the month of February) retarded their course, and the boat, having struck upon a bank, was so much damaged that the soldiers were for some time up to their knees in water. Their provisions were almost spent, and to add to their anxieties one of their number was seized with a violent cough, which, if it had continued, would inevitably have betrayed them to the enemy. The man generously entreated his comrades to kill him, offering them his own sword for the purpose; but they as generously refused, and happily the soldier's cough left him before they approached the walls. Even the leak in the boat

and constructed the horse with a hollow interior and an opening in the sides. Into this horse Ulysses persuaded fifty (or, according to the author of the *Little Iliad*, three thousand) of the doughtiest to enter,¹ while the rest, when night had fallen, were to burn their tents, and, putting to sea, to lie to off Tenedos, but to sail back to land after the ensuing night. They followed the advice of Ulysses and introduced the doughtiest into the horse, after appointing Ulysses their leader and engraving on

was stopped by some accident. On reaching the fortifications the boat was searched, but only in the most superficial manner. Still the danger was great, for the turf was immediately purchased and the soldiers of the garrison set to work to unload it. They would soon have uncovered the planks and detected the ambush, if the ready-witted master of the boat had not first amused them with his discourse and then invited them to drink wine with him. The offer was readily accepted. The day wore on, darkness fell, and the Spanish soldiers were all drunk or asleep. At dead of night Harauguer and his men issued from the boat, and dividing into two bodies they attacked the guards and soon made themselves masters of two gates. Seized with a panic, the garrison fled the town. Prince Maurice marched in and took possession of the citadel. These events happened in the year 1590. See Robert Watson, *History of the Reign of Philip the Second*, Fourth Edition (London, 1785), bk. xxi. vol. iii. pp. 157-161.

¹ According to Tzetzes the number of men who entered into the Wooden Horse was twenty-three, and he gives the names of them all (*Posthomerica*, 641-650). Quintus Smyrnaeus gives the names of thirty, and he says that there were more of them (*Posthomerica*, xii. 314-335). He informs us that the maker of the horse, Epeus, entered last and drew up the ladder after him; and knowing how to open and shut the trapdoor, he sat by the bolt. To judge by Homer's description of the heroes in the Horse (*Od.* xi. 526 *sqq.*), the hearts of most of them failed them, for they blubbered and their knees knocked together; but Neoptolemus never blenched and kept fumbling with the hilt of his sword.

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ματα ἐγχαράξαντες τὰ δηλοῦντα· τῆς εἰς οἶκον ἀνακομιδῆς¹ Ἕλληνες Ἀθηναῖα χαριστήριον. αὐτοὶ² δὲ ἐμπρήσαντες τὰς σκηναὶς καὶ καταλιπόντες Σίνωνα, ὃς ἔμελλεν αὐτοῖς πυρσὸν ἀνάπτειν, τῆς νυκτὸς ἀνάγονται καὶ περὶ Τένεδον ναυλοχοῦσιν.

- 16 Ἡμέρας δὲ γενομένης ἔρημον οἱ Τρῶες τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατόπεδον θεασάμενοι³ καὶ νομίσαντες αὐτοὺς πεφευγέναι, περιχαρέντες εἰλκον τὸν ἵππον καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Πριάμου βασιλείοις
- 17 στήσαντες ἐβουλεύοντο τί χρῆ ποιεῖν. Κασάνδρας δὲ λεγούσης ἔνοπλον ἐν αὐτῷ δύναμιν εἶναι, καὶ προσέτι Λαοκόωντος τοῦ μάντεως, τοῖς μὲν ἐδόκει κατακαίειν, τοῖς δὲ κατὰ βαράθρων ἀφιέναι· δόξαν δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἵνα αὐτὸν ἐάσωσι θεῖον ἀνάθημα,
- 18 τραπέντες ἐπὶ θυσίαν εὐωχοῦντο. Ἀπόλλων δὲ αὐτοῖς σημεῖον ἐπιπέμπει· δύο γὰρ δράκοντες διανηξάμενοι διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐκ τῶν πλησίον⁴
- 19 νήσων τοὺς Λαοκόωντος υἱοὺς κατεσθίουσιν. ὡς δὲ ἐγένετο νύξ καὶ πάντα ὕπνος κατεῖχεν, οἱ ἀπὸ

¹ τῆς εἰς οἶκον ἀνακομιδῆς S: τὴν εἰς οἶκον κομιδὴν E.

² αὐτοὶ δὲ E: οἱ δὲ S.

³ στρατόπεδον θεασάμενοι E: θεασάμενοι στρατεύμα S.

⁴ πλησίον E: πλησίων S.

¹ As to these deliberations of the Trojans, compare Homer, *Od.* viii. 505 sqq.; Arctinus, *Ilii Persis*, summarized by Proclus, in *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 49; Tryphiodorus, *Excidium Ilii*, 250 sqq.

² Compare the *Ilii Persis* of Arctinus, summarized by Proclus, in *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 49; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Roman.* i. 48. 2; Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomericæ*, xii. 444-497; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 347; Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 199-227; Hyginus, *Fab.* 135; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 201; *Scriptores rerum*

the horse an inscription which signified, "For their return home, the Greeks dedicate this thankoffering to Athena." But they themselves burned their tents, and leaving Sinon, who was to light a beacon as a signal to them, they put to sea by night, and lay to off Tenedos.

And at break of day, when the Trojans beheld the camp of the Greeks deserted and believed that they had fled, they with great joy dragged the horse, and stationing it beside the palace of Priam deliberated what they should do. As Cassandra said that there was an armed force in it, and she was further confirmed by Laocoon, the seer, some were for burning it, and others for throwing it down a precipice; but as most were in favour of sparing it as a votive offering sacred to a divinity,¹ they betook them to sacrifice and feasting. However, Apollo sent them a sign; for two serpents swam through the sea from the neighbouring islands and devoured the sons of Laocoon.² And when night fell, and all were

mythicarum Latini, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 144 *sq.* (Second Vatican Mythographer, 207). According to Arctinus, our oldest authority for the tragedy of Laocoon, the two serpents killed Laocoon himself and one of his sons. According to Virgil, Hyginus, and Servius, they killed Laocoon and both his sons. According to Quintus Smyrnaeus, the serpents killed the two sons but spared the father, who lived to lament their fate. This last seems to have been the version followed by Apollodorus. The reason of the calamity which befel Laocoon is explained by Servius on the authority of Euphorion. He tells us that when the Greek army landed in the Troad, the Trojans stoned the priest of Poseidon to death, because he had not, by offering sacrifices to the sea-god, prevented the invasion. Accordingly, when the Greeks seemed to be departing, it was deemed advisable to sacrifice to Poseidon, no doubt in order to induce him to give the Greeks a stormy passage. But the priesthood was vacant, and it was necessary

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Τενέδου προσέπλεον, καὶ Σίνων αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ
 Ἀχιλλέως τάφου πυρσὸν ἤπτεν. Ἑλένη δὲ ἔλθοῦ-
 σα περὶ τὸν ἵππον, μιμουμένη τὰς φωνὰς ἐκάστης
 τῶν γυναικῶν, τοὺς ἀριστέας ἐκάλει. ὑπακούσαι
 δὲ Ἀντίκλου θέλοντος Ὀδυσσεὺς τὸ στόμα κατέ-
 20 σχεν. ὡς δ' ἐνόμισαν κοιμᾶσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους,
 ἀνοίξαντες σὺν τοῖς ὄπλοις ἐξήεσαν· καὶ πρῶτος
 μὲν Ἑχίων Πορθέως ἀφαλλόμενος¹ ἀπέθανεν, οἱ
 δὲ λοιποὶ σειρᾷ ἐξάψαντες ἑαυτοὺς² ἐπὶ τὰ τείχη
 παρεγένοντο καὶ τὰς πύλας ἀνοίξαντες ὑπεδέ-
 21 ξαντο τοὺς ἀπὸ Τενέδου καταπλεύσαντας. χωρή-
 σαντες δὲ μεθ' ὄπλων εἰς τὴν πόλιν, εἰς τὰς οἰκίας

¹ ἀφαλλόμενος E: ἐφαλλόμενος S.

² ἑαυτοὺς E: αὐτοὺς S.

to choose a priest by lot. The lot fell on Laocoon, priest of the Thymbraean Apollo, but he had incurred the wrath of Apollo by sleeping with his wife in front of the divine image, and for this sacrilege he perished with his two sons. This narrative helps us to understand the statement of Apollodorus that the two serpents were sent by Apollo for a sign. According to Tzetzes, the death of Laocoon's son took place in the temple of the Thymbraean Apollo, the scene of the crime thus becoming the scene of the punishment. Sophocles wrote a tragedy on the subject of Laocoon, but though a few fragments of the play have survived, its contents are unknown. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck², pp. 211 sqq.; *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. ii. pp. 38 sqq. In modern times the story of Laocoon is probably even better known from the wonderful group of statuary in the Vatican than from the verses of Virgil. That group, the work of three Rhodian sculptors, graced the palace of the emperor Titus in the time of Pliny, who declared that it was to be preferred to any other work either of sculpture or painting (*Nat. Hist.* xxxvi. 37). Lessing took the group for the text of his famous essay on the comparative limitations of poetry and art.

¹ The beacon-light kindled by the deserter and traitor

plunged in sleep, the Greeks drew near by sea from Tenedos, and Sinon kindled the beacon on the grave of Achilles to guide them.¹ And Helen, going round the horse, called the chiefs, imitating the voices of each of their wives. But when Anticlus would have answered, Ulysses held fast his mouth.² And when they thought that their foes were asleep, they opened the horse and came forth with their arms. The first, Echion, son of Portheus, was killed by leaping from it; but the rest let themselves down by a rope, and lighted on the walls, and having opened the gates they admitted their comrades who had landed from Tenedos. And marching, arms in hand, into

Sinon to guide the Greeks across the water to the doomed city is a regular feature in the narratives of the taking of Troy; but the only other writer who mentions that it shone from the grave of Achilles is Tryphiodorus, who adds that all night long there blazed a light like the full moon above Helen's chamber, for she too was awake and signalling to the enemy, while all the town was plunged in darkness and silence; the sounds of revelry and music had died away, and not even the barking of a dog broke the stillness of the summer night. See Tryphiodorus, *Excidium Ilii*, 487-521. That the poet conceived the fall of Troy to have happened in the summer time is shown by his describing how the Trojans wreathed the mane of the Wooden Horse with flowers culled on river banks, and how the women spread carpets of roses under its feet (verses 316 *sq.*, 340-344). For these flowers of fancy Tryphiodorus is severely taken to task by the pedantic Tzetzes on the ground that Troy fell at midwinter; and he clinches the lesson administered to his predecessor by observing that he had learned from Orpheus, "who had it from another man," never to tell a lie. Such was the state of the Higher Criticism at Byzantium in the twelfth century of our era. See J. Tzetzes, *Posthomerica*, 700-707.

² This incident is derived from Homer, *Od.* iv. 274-289. It is copied and told with fuller details by Tryphiodorus, who says that Anticlus expired under the iron grip of Ulysses (*Excidium Ilii*, 463-490).

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E
ES 22
E
 ἐπερχόμενοι κοιμωμένους ἀνήρουν. καὶ Νεοπτό-
 λεμος μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἑρκείου Διὸς βωμοῦ κατα-
 φεύγοντα Πρίαμον ἀνείλεν. | Ὀδυσσεὺς δὲ καὶ
 Μενέλαος Γλαῦκον τὸν Ἀντήνορος¹ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν
 φεύγοντα γνωρίσαντες μεθ' ὄπλων ἐλθόντες² ἔσω-
 σαν. Αἰνείας δὲ Ἀγχίσην τὸν πατέρα βαστάσας
 ἔφυγεν, οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες αὐτὸν διὰ τὴν εὐσέβειαν
 εἶασαν. | Μενέλαος δὲ Δηίφοβον κτείνας Ἑλένην
 ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς ἄγει· ἀπάγουσι δὲ καὶ τὴν Θησέως
 μητέρα Αἶθραν οἱ Θησέως παῖδες | Δημοφῶν καὶ
 Ἀκάμας· καὶ γὰρ τούτους λέγουσιν εἰς Τροίαν

¹ Ἀντήνορος Wagner: ἀγήνορος E.

² ἐλθόντες Frazer: θέλοντες E, Wagner.

¹ As to the death of Priam at the altar, compare Arctinus, *Ilii Persis*, summarized by Proclus, in *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 49; Euripides, *Troades*, 16 sq., 481-483; *id. Hecuba*, 22-24; Pausanias, iv. 17. 4; Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, xiii. 220-250; Tryphiodorus, *Excidium Ilii*, 634-639; J. Tzetzes, *Posthomerica*, 732 sq.; Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 533-558; Dictys Cretensis, *Bellum Trojanum*, v. 12. According to Lesches, the ruthless Neoptolemus dragged Priam from the altar and despatched him at his own door. See Pausanias, x. 27. 2, with my note (vol. v. p. 371). The summary account of Proclus agrees almost verbally with the equally summary account of Apollodorus.

² Ulysses and Menelaus were bound by ties of hospitality to Antenor; for when they went as ambassadors to Troy to treat of the surrender of Helen, he entertained them hospitably in his house. See Homer, *Il.* iii. 203-207. Moreover, Antenor had advocated the surrender of Helen and her property to the Greeks. See Homer, *Il.* iii. 347-353. According to Lesches, one of Antenor's sons, Lycaon, was wounded in the sack of Troy, but Ulysses recognized him and carried him safe out of the fray. See Pausanias, x. 26. 8. Sophocles composed a tragedy on the subject of Antenor and his sons, in which he said that at the storming of Troy the Greeks hung a leopard's skin in front of Antenor's house in

the city, they entered the houses and slew the sleepers. Neoptolemus slew Priam, who had taken refuge at the altar of Zeus of the Courtyard.¹ But when Glaucus, son of Antenor, fled to his house, Ulysses and Menelaus recognized and rescued him by their armed intervention.² Aeneas took up his father Anchises and fled, and the Greeks let him alone on account of his piety.³ But Menelaus slew Deiphobus and led away Helen to the ships⁴; and Aethra, mother of Theseus, was also led away by Demophon and Acamas, the sons of Theseus; for they say that they afterwards went to Troy.⁵ And

token that it was to be respected by the soldiery. See Strabo, xiii. 1. 53, p. 608. In Polygnotus's great picture of the sack of Troy, which was one of the sights of Delphi, the painter depicted the house of Antenor with the leopard's skin hung on the wall; in front of it were to be seen Antenor and his wife, with their children, including Glaucus, while beside them servants were lading an ass, to indicate the long journey which the exiles were about to undertake. See Pausanias, x. 27. 3 sq. According to Roman tradition, Antenor led a colony of Eneitians to the head of the Adriatic, where the people were thenceforth called Venetians (Livy i. 1). As to Sophocles's play, *The Antenorids*, see *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck², p. 160; *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. i. pp. 86 sqq.

³ Compare Xenophon, *Cyneg.* i. 15; Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, xiii. 315-327; Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 699 sqq.

⁴ Compare Arctinus, *Ilii Persis*, summarized by Proclus, in *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 49; Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, xiii. 354 sqq.; Tryphiodorus, *Excidium Ilii*, 627-633; J. Tzetzes, *Posthomerica*, 729-731; Dictys Cretensis, *Bellum Trojanum*, v. 12. Deiphobus had married Helen after the death of Paris. See above, *Epitome*, v. 8. 9.

⁵ Compare Arctinus, *Ilii Persis*, summarized by Proclus, in *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 50; Pausanias, x. 25. 8; Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, xiii. 496-543; Scholia on Euripides, *Hecuba*, 123, and

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ἐλθεῖν ὕστερον. Αἶας δὲ ὁ Λοκρὸς Κασάνδραν ὀρώων περιπεπλεγμένην τῷ ξοάνῳ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς βιάζεται· διὰ <τοῦ>το τὸ¹ ξόανον εἰς οὐρανὸν βλέπειν.²

ES 23 | Κτείναντες δὲ τοὺς Τρῶας τὴν πόλιν ἐνέπρησαν καὶ τὰ λάφυρα ἐμερίσαντο. καὶ θύσαντες πᾶσι τοῖς θεοῖς Ἀστυάνακτα ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων ἔρριψαν, Πολυξένην δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀχιλλέως τάφῳ κατέ-

¹ διὰ <τοῦ>το τὸ Wagner : διὰ τὸ τὸ E.

² For βλέπειν we should perhaps read βλέπει.

on *Troades*, 31; Dictys Cretensis, *Bellum Trojanum*, v. 13. Homer mentions Aethra as one of the handmaids of Helen at Troy (*Il.* iii. 53). Quintus Smyrnaeus (*l.c.*) has described at length the recognition of the grandmother by the grandsons, who, according to Hellanicus, went to Troy for the purpose of rescuing or ransoming her (Scholiast on Euripides, *Hecuba*, 123). The recognition was related also by Lesches (Pausanias, *l.c.*). Aethra had been taken prisoner at Athens by Castor and Pollux when they rescued their sister Helen. See above, iii. 7. 4, *Epitome*, i. 23. On the chest of Cypselus at Olympia the artist portrayed Helen setting her foot on Aethra's head and tugging at her handmaid's hair. See Pausanias, v. 19. 3; Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* xi. vol. i. p. 179, ed. L. Dindorf.

¹ As to the violence offered to Cassandra by Ajax, compare Arctinus, *Ilii Persis*, summarized by Proclus, in *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, pp. 49 sq.; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xiii. 66, referring to Callimachus; Pausanias, i. 15. 2, v. 11. 6, v. 19. 5, x. 26. 3, x. 31. 2; Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomericæ*, xiii. 420-429; Tryphiodorus, *Excidium Ilii*, 647-650; Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 403-406; Dictys Cretensis, *Bellum Trojanum*, v. 12; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 55 (First Vatican Mythographer, 181). Arctinus described how, in dragging Cassandra from the image of Athena, at which she had taken refuge, Ajax drew down the image itself. This incident was carved on the chest of Cypselus at Olympia (Pausanias, v. 19. 5), and painted by Polygnotus in his great

the Locrian Ajax, seeing Cassandra clinging to the wooden image of Athena, violated her; therefore they say that the image looks to heaven.¹

And having slain the Trojans, they set fire to the city and divided the spoil among them. And having sacrificed to all the gods, they threw Astyanax from the battlements² and slaughtered Polyxena on the

picture of the sack of Troy at Delphi (Pausanias, x. 26. 3). The Scholiast on Homer (*l.c.*) and Quintus Smyrnaeus describe how the image of Athena turned up its eyes to the roof in horror at the violence offered to the suppliant.

² Compare Arctinus, *Ilii Persis*, summarized by Proclus, in *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 50; Euripides, *Troades*, 719-739, 1133-1135; *id.* *Andromache*, 8-11; Pausanias, x. 26. 9; Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, xiii. 251-257; Tryphiodorus, *Excidium Ilii*, 644-646; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 1263; Scholiast on Euripides, *Andromache*, 10; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xiii. 415-417; Hyginus, *Fab.* 109; Seneca, *Troades*, 524 *sqq.*, 1063 *sqq.* While ancient writers generally agree that Astyanax was killed by being thrown from a tower at or after the sack of Troy, they differ as to the agent of his death. Arctinus, as reported by Proclus, says merely that he was killed by Ulysses. Tryphiodorus reports that he was hurled by Ulysses from a high tower. On the other hand, Lesches in the *Little Iliad* said that it was Neoptolemus who snatched Astyanax from his mother's lap and cast him down from the battlements (J. Tzetzes and Pausanias, *l.c.c.*). According to Euripides and Seneca, the murder of the child was not perpetrated in hot blood during the sack of Troy, but was deliberately executed after the capture of the city in pursuance of a decree passed by the Greeks in a regular assembly. This seems to have been the version followed by Apollodorus, who apparently regarded the death of Astyanax as a sacrifice, like the slaughter of Polyxena on the grave of Achilles. But the killing of Astyanax was not thus viewed by our other ancient authorities, unless we except Seneca, who describes how Astyanax leaped voluntarily from the wall, while Ulysses was reciting the words of the soothsayer Calchas and invoking the cruel gods to attend the rite.

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σφαξαν. λαμβάνει δὲ Ἀγαμέμνων μὲν κατ' ἑξάι-
 ρετον Κασάνδραν, Νεοπτόλεμος δὲ Ἀνδρόμαχην,
 Ὀδυσσεὺς δὲ Ἑκάβην. ὡς δὲ ἔνιοι λέγουσιν,
 Ἐλενος αὐτὴν λαμβάνει, καὶ διακομισθεὶς εἰς
 Χερρόνησον σὺν αὐτῇ κύνα γενομένην θάπτει,
 ἔνθα νῦν λέγεται Κυνὸς σῆμα. Λαοδίκην μὲν γὰρ
 κάλλει τῶν Πριάμου θυγατέρων διαφέρουσαν βλε-
 πόντων πάντων γῆ χάσματι ἀπέκρυψεν. | ὡς δὲ

¹ As to the sacrifice of Polyxena on the grave of Achilles, see Arctinus, *Ilii Persis*, summarized by Proclus, in *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 50; Euripides, *Hecuba*, 107 sqq., 218 sqq., 391-393, 521-582; Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, xiv. 210-328; Tryphiodorus, *Excidium Ilii*, 686 sq.; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 323; Hyginus, *Fab.* 110; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xiii. 439-480; Seneca, *Troades*, 168 sqq., 938-944, 1118-1164; Dictys Cretensis, *Bellum Trojanum*, v. 13; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 322. According to Euripides and Seneca, the ghost of Achilles appeared above his grave and demanded the sacrifice of the maiden. Others said that the spirit of the dead showed himself in a dream to Neoptolemus (so Quintus Smyrnaeus) or to Agamemnon (so Ovid). In Quintus Smyrnaeus the ghost threatens to keep the Greeks windbound at Troy until they have complied with his demand, and accordingly the offering of the sacrifice is followed by a great calm. Euripides seems to have contemplated the sacrifice, in primitive fashion, as a means of furnishing the ghost with the blood needed to quench his thirst (*Hecuba*, 391-393, 536 sq.); but Seneca represents the ghost as desiring to have Polyxena as his wife in the Elysian Fields (*Troades*, 938-944). A more romantic turn is given to the tradition by Philostratus, who says that after the death of Achilles, and before the fall of Troy, the amorous Polyxena stole out from the city and stabbed herself to death on the grave of Achilles, that she might be his bride in the other world. See Philostratus, *Heroica*, xx. 18; *id. Vit. Apollon.* iv. 16. 4. According to the usual tradition, it was Neoptolemus who slew the maiden on his father's tomb. Pictures of the sacrifice were to be seen at Athens and Per-

grave of Achilles.¹ And as special awards Agamemnon got Cassandra, Neoptolemus got Andromache, and Ulysses got Hecuba.² But some say that Helenus got her, and crossed over with her to the Chersonese³; and that there she turned into a bitch, and he buried her at the place now called the Bitch's Tomb.⁴ As for Laodice, the fairest of the daughters of Priam, she was swallowed up by a chasm in the earth in the sight of all.⁵ When they

gamus (Pausanias, i. 22. 6, x. 25. 10). Sophocles wrote a tragedy on the theme. See *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. ii. pp. 161 sqq.

² Compare Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomericæ*, xiv. 20-23, who agrees with Apollodorus as to the partition of these captive women among the Greek leaders.

³ This is the version of the story adopted by Dares Phrygius, who says that Helenus went to the Chersonese along with Hecuba, Andromache, and Cassandra (*De Excidio Trojæ*, 43).

⁴ As to the transformation of Hecuba into a bitch, compare Euripides, *Hecuba*, 1259-1273; Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomericæ*, xiv. 347-351; Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* xxxii. vol. ii. p. 20, ed. L. Dindorf; Agatharchides, *De Erythraeo Mari*, in Photius, *Bibliotheca*, p. 442a 23 sq., ed. Bekker; Julius Pollux, v. 45; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 315, 1176; Cicero, *Tuscul. Disput.* iii. 26. 63; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xiii. 565-571; Hyginus, *Fab.* 111; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 6; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 145 (Second Vatican Mythographer, 209). A rationalistic version of the story is told by Dictys Cretensis (*Bellum Trojanum*, v. 16). We may conjecture that the fable of the transformation originated in the resemblance of the name Hecuba to the name Hecate; for Hecate was supposed to be attended by dogs, and Hecuba is called an attendant of Hecate (Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 1176).

⁵ Compare Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomericæ*, xiii. 544-551; Tryphiodorus, *Excidium Ilii*, 660-663; J. Tzetzes, *Posthomericæ*, 736; *id. Schol. on Lycophron*, 314.

APOLLODORUS

ES ἔμελλον ἀποπλεῖν πορθήσαντες Τροίαν, ὑπὸ Κάλχαντος κατείχοντο, μνησίου Ἀθηναίων αὐτοῖς λέγοντος διὰ τὴν Αἴαντος ἀσέβειαν. | καὶ τὸν μὲν Αἴαντα¹ κτείνειν ἔμελλον, φεύγοντα² δὲ ἐπὶ βωμὸν εἶασαν.

S VI. | Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα συνελθόντων εἰς ἐκκλησίαν, Ἀγαμέμνων καὶ Μενέλαος ἐφιλονεύκουν, Μενελάου λέγοντος ἀποπλεῖν, Ἀγαμέμνωνος δὲ ἐπιμένειν κελεύοντος καὶ θύειν Ἀθηναίᾳ. | ἀναχθέντες³ δὲ Διομήδης <καὶ>⁴ Νέστωρ καὶ Μενέλαος ἄμα, οἱ μὲν εὐπλοοῦσιν, ὁ δὲ Μενέλαος χειμῶνι περιπεσῶν, τῶν λοιπῶν ἀπολομένων σκαφῶν, πέντε ναυσὶν ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ἀφικνεῖται.

2 Ἀμφίλοχος δὲ καὶ Κάλχας καὶ Λεοντεὺς καὶ Ποδαλείριος καὶ Πολυποίτης⁵ ἐν Ἰλίῳ τὰς ναῦς ἀπολιπόντες ἐπὶ Κολοφῶνα πεζῇ πορεύονται, κάκει θάπτουσι Κάλχαντα τὸν μάντιν· ἦν γὰρ αὐτῷ λόγιον τελευτήσειν, ἐὰν ἑαυτοῦ⁶ σοφωτέρῳ
3 περιτύχη μάντει. ὑποδεχθέντων οὖν ὑπὸ Μόψου μάντεως, ὃς Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Μαντοῦς παῖς ὑπῆρχεν, οὗτος ὁ Μόψος περὶ μαντικῆς ἤρισε Κάλχαντι. καὶ Κάλχαντος ἀνακρίναντος ἔρινεοῦ

¹ καὶ τὸν μὲν Αἴαντα κτείνειν S: τὸν μόνον Αἴαντα διὰ τὴν ἀσεβείαν κτείνειν E.

² φεύγοντα ES: we should perhaps read φυγόντα.

³ ἀναχθέντες δὲ Διομήδης Νέστωρ καὶ Μενέλαος ἄμα, οἱ μὲν ἀποπλοοῦσιν, ὁ δὲ Μενέλαος χειμῶνι περιπεσῶν E: Διομήδης μὲν οὖν καὶ Νέστωρ εὐπλοοῦσι, Μενέλαος δὲ μετὰ τούτων ἀναχθεὶς χειμῶνι περιπεσῶν S. In the text I have corrected the ἀποπλοοῦσιν of E by the εὐπλοοῦσιν of S.

⁴ καὶ inserted by Frazer.

⁵ καὶ Ποδαλείριος καὶ Πολυποίτης E, wanting in S.

⁶ ἑαυτοῦ S: αὐτοῦ E.

had laid Troy waste and were about to sail away, they were detained by Calchas, who said that Athena was angry with them on account of the impiety of Ajax. And they would have killed Ajax, but he fled to the altar and they let him alone.¹

VI. After these things they met in assembly, and Agamemnon and Menelaus quarrelled, Menelaus advising that they should sail away, and Agamemnon insisting that they should stay and sacrifice to Athena. When they put to sea, Diomedes, Nestor, and Menelaus in company, the two former had a prosperous voyage, but Menelaus was overtaken by a storm, and after losing the rest of his vessels, arrived with five ships in Egypt.²

But Amphiloclus, and Calchas, and Leonteus, and Podalirius, and Polypoetes left their ships in Ilium and journeyed by land to Colophon, and there buried Calchas the diviner³; for it was foretold him that he would die if he met with a wiser diviner than himself. Well, they were lodged by the diviner Mopsus, who was a son of Apollo and Manto, and he wrangled with Calchas about the art of divination. A wild fig-tree grew on the spot,

¹ Compare Arctinus, *Ilii Persis*, summarized by Proclus, in *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, pp. 49 sq. Ulysses advised the Greeks to stone Ajax to death for his crime against Cassandra (Pausanias, x. 31. 2).

² Compare Homer, *Od.* iii. 130 sqq., 276 sqq.; Hagias, *Returns (Nostoi)*, summarized by Proclus, in *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 53.

³ Compare Hagias, *Returns*, summarized by Proclus, in *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 53; Strabo, xiv. 1. 27, p. 642; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 427-430, 980.

APOLLODORUS

ἐστώσης “Πόσους¹ ὀλύνθους φέρει;” ὁ Μόψος·
 “Μυρίους” ἔφη “καὶ μέδιμνον καὶ ἓνα ἡλυθον
 4 περισσόν” καὶ εὐρέθησαν οὕτω. Μόψος δὲ συὸς
 οὔσης ἐπιτόκου ἠρώτα Κάλχαντα,² πόσους χοί-
 S ρους³ κατὰ γαστρὸς ἔχει καὶ πότε τέκοι·⁴ | τοῦ δὲ
 εἰπόντος·⁵ “Ὀκτώ,” μειδιάσας ὁ Μόψος ἔφη·
 “Κάλχας τῆς ἀκριβοῦς μαντείας ἀπεναντιῶς⁶
 διακεῖται, ἐγὼ δ’ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Μαντοῦς παῖς
 ὑπάρχων τῆς ἀκριβοῦς μαντείας τὴν ὄξυδορκίαν
 πάντως πλουτῶ, καὶ οὐχ ὡς ὁ Κάλχας ὀκτώ, ἀλλ’
 ἐννέα κατὰ γαστρός, καὶ τούτους ἄρρενας ὄλους
 ἔχειν μαντεύομαι, καὶ αὔριον ἀνυπερθέτως ἐν ἔκτη
 ES ὥρα τεχθῆσεσθαι.” | ὧν⁷ γενομένων Κάλχας ἀθυ-
 S μήσας ἀπέθανε⁸ | καὶ ἐτάφη ἐν Νοτίῳ.

¹ “πόσους ὀλύνθους . . . καὶ εὐρέθησαν οὕτω E: “πόσα ἔχει;” τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος μύρια καὶ μέτρον μέδιμνον καὶ ἓν περισσόν,” καταστήσας Κάλχας μυριάδα εὔρε καὶ μέδιμνον καὶ ἓν πλεονάζον κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Μόψου πόρησιν S. Here καταστήσας is clearly wrong. Herwerden conjectured κατασεῖσας (*Mnemosyne*, N.S. xx. (1892), p. 200): Wagner suggested καταπλήσας (viz. τὸ μέτρον). Perhaps we should read καταμετρήσας (comparing Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 427, καὶ μετρήσαντες εὔρον οὕτω).

² ἠρώτα Κάλχαντι (sic) S: ἠρώτησε Κάλχαντα Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 427: ἠρώτα E.

³ πόσους χοίρους S (compare Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 980, Πόσους χοίρους ἔχει κατὰ γαστρὸς): πόσους E.

⁴ καὶ πότε τέκοι E, wanting in S.

⁵ τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος . . . ἐν ἔκτη ὥρᾳ τεχθῆσεσθαι S: τοῦ δὲ μηδὲν εἰπόντος αὐτὸς ἔφη δέκα χοίρους ἔχειν καὶ τὸν ἓνα τούτων ἄρρενα, τέξεσθαι δὲ αὔριον E, “and when he (Calchas) said nothing, he himself (Mopsus) said that the sow had ten pigs, and that one of them was a male, and that she would farrow on the morrow.” Thus the versions of S and E differ on some points. The version of Tzetzes (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 980) agrees substantially, though not verbally, with that of E. It runs thus: Μόψος δὲ συὸς ἐπὶ τόκου ἐστώσης, ἤρετο, Πόσους χοίρους ἔχει κατὰ γαστρός, καὶ πότε τέξεται; Κάλχαντος δὲ μὴ ἀποκριναμένου, αὐτὸς ὁ Μόψος πάλιν εἶπε, Δέκα χοίρους ἔχει, ὧν

and when Calchas asked, "How many figs does it bear?" Mopsus answered, "Ten thousand, and a bushel, and one fig over," and they were found to be so. And when Mopsus asked Calchas concerning a pregnant sow, "How many pigs has she in her womb, and when will she farrow?" Calchas answered, "Eight." But Mopsus smiled and said, "The divination of Calchas is the reverse of exact; but I, as a son of Apollo and Manto, am extremely rich in the sharp sight which comes of exact divination, and I divine that the number of pigs in the womb is not eight, as Calchas says, but nine, and that they are all male and will be farrowed without fail to-morrow at the sixth hour." So when these things turned out so, Calchas died of a broken heart and was buried at Notium.¹

¹ Compare Strabo, xiv. 1. 27, pp. 642 *sq.*; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 427-430, 980. From Strabo we learn that the riddle of Calchas concerning the wild fig-tree was recorded by Hesiod, and that the riddle of Mopsus concerning the sow was recorded by Pherecydes. Our authorities vary somewhat in regard to the latter riddle. According to Pherecydes, the true answer was, "Three little pigs, and one of them a female." According to Tzetzes, Calchas could not solve the riddle, so Mopsus solved it by saying that the sow would farrow ten little pigs, of which one would be a male. Strabo also tells us that the oracle which doomed Calchas to death whenever he should meet a diviner more skilful than himself, was mentioned by Sophocles in his play *The Demand for Helen*. As to that play, see *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. i. pp. 121 *sqq.* A different story of the rivalry of the two seers is told by Conon (*Narrat.* 6).

ὁ εἰς ἄρρην τέχεται δὲ κατὰ τὴν αἴριον. οὐ γεινομένου Κάλχας ἀθυμήσας τελευτᾷ. The same version is repeated by Tzetzes elsewhere (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 427) with a few verbal variations. ⁶ ἀπεναντιῶς Frazer: ἀπεναντίας S.

⁷ ὦν E: τούτων γούν S.

⁸ ἀπέθανε S: τελευτᾷ E, Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 427 and 980.

APOLLODORUS

- 5 Ἀγαμέμνων δὲ θύσας ἀνάγεται καὶ Τενέδω προσ-
 ἴσχει, Νεοπτόλεμον δὲ πείθει Θέτις ἀφικομένη
 ἐπιμῆναι δύο ἡμέρας καὶ θυσιάσαι, καὶ ἐπιμένει.
 οἱ δὲ ἀνάγονται καὶ περὶ Τήνον χειμάζονται.
 Ἀθηνᾶ γὰρ ἔδεήθη Διὸς τοῖς Ἑλλησι χειμῶνα
 ἐπιπέμψαι. καὶ πολλαὶ νῆες βυθίζονται.
- ES 6 | Ἀθηνᾶ δὲ¹ ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴαντος ναῦν κεραυνὸν
 βύλλει, ὃ δὲ τῆς νεῶς διαλυθείσης ἐπὶ τινα πέτραν
 διασωθεὶς παρὰ τὴν θεοῦ ἔφη πρόνοϊαν σεσῶσθαι.
 Ποσειδῶν δὲ πλήξας τῇ τριαίνῃ² τὴν πέτραν
 ἔσχισεν, ὃ δὲ πεσὼν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν τελευτᾷ,
 καὶ ἐκβρασθέντα θάπτει Θέτις ἐν Μυκόνῳ.
- 7 Τῶν δὲ ἄλλων Εὐβοία προσφερομένων νυκτὸς
 Ναύπλιος ἐπὶ τοῦ Καφηρέως ὄρους³ πυρσὸν
 ἀνάπτει· οἱ δὲ νομίσαντες εἶναί τινας τῶν
 σεσωσμένων προσπλέουσι, καὶ περὶ τὰς Καφη-
 ρίδας πέτρας θραύεται τὰ σκάφη καὶ πολλοὶ

¹ Ἀθηνᾶ δὲ S: "Ὅτι Ἀθηνᾶ E.

² πλήξας τῇ τριαίνῃ S: τριαίνῃ πλήξας E.

³ ὄρους E: ὄρους τῆς Εὐβοίας S.

¹ As to the shipwreck and death of the Locrian Ajax, compare Homer, *Od.* iv. 499-511; Hagias, *Returns*, summarized by Proclus, in *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 53; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xiii. 66; Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, xiv. 530-589; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 365, 387, 389, 402; Virgil, *Aen.* i. 39-45; Hyginus, *Fab.* 116; Seneca, *Agamemnon*, 532-556; Dictys Cretensis, *Bellum Trojanum*, vi. 1. In his great picture of the underworld, which Polygnotus painted at Delphi, the artist depicted Ajax as a castaway, the brine forming a scurf on his skin (Pausanias, x. 31. 1). According to the Scholiast on Homer (*l.c.*) Ajax was cast up on the shore of Delos, where Thetis found and buried him. But as it was unlawful to be buried or even to die in Delos (Thucydides, iii. 104), the

After sacrificing, Agamemnon put to sea and touched at Tenedos. But Thetis came and persuaded Neoptolemus to wait two days and to offer sacrifice; and he waited. But the others put to sea and encountered a storm at Tenos; for Athena entreated Zeus to send a tempest against the Greeks; and many ships foundered.

And Athena threw a thunderbolt at the ship of Ajax; and when the ship went to pieces he made his way safe to a rock, and declared that he was saved in spite of the intention of Athena. But Poseidon smote the rock with his trident and split it, and Ajax fell into the sea and perished; and his body, being washed up, was buried by Thetis in Myconos.¹

The others being driven to Euboea by night, Nauplius kindled a beacon on Mount Caphareus; and they, thinking it was some of those who were saved, stood in for the shore, and the vessels were wrecked on the Capherian rocks, and many men perished.²

statement of Apollodorus that Ajax was buried in Myconus, a small island to the east of Delos, is more probable. It is said that on hearing of his death the Locrians mourned for him and wore black for a year, and every year they laded a vessel with splendid offerings, hoisted a black sail on it, and, setting the ship on fire, let it drift out to sea, there to burn down to the water's edge as a sacrifice to the drowned hero. See Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 365. Sophocles wrote a tragedy, *The Locrian Ajax*, on the crime and punishment of the hero. See *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. i. pp. 8 sqq.

² As to the false lights kindled by Nauplius to lure the Greek ships on to the breakers, see above, ii. 1. 5; Euripides, *Helen*, 768 sq., 1126 sqq.; Scholiast on Euripides, *Orestes*, 432; Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, xiv. 611-628; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 384; Propertius, v. 1. 115 sq.; Hyginus, *Fab.* 116; Seneca, *Agamemnon*, 557-575; Dictys Cretensis, *Bellum Trojanum*, vi. 1; Servius on Virgil, *Aen.*

APOLLODORUS

- Ε 8 τελευτῶσιν. | ὁ γὰρ τοῦ Ναυπλίου¹ καὶ Κλυμένης τῆς Κατρέως υἱὸς Παλαμῆδης ἐπιβουλαῖς Ὀδυσσεῶς λιθοβοληθεὶς ἀναιρεῖται. τοῦτο μαθὼν Ναύπλιος ἔπλευσε πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ τὴν τοῦ
- 9 παιδὸς ἀπήτει ποιήνῃ· ἄπρακτος δὲ ὑποστρέψας, ὡς πάντων χαριζομένων τῷ βασιλεῖ Ἀγαμέμνονι, μεθ' οὗ τὸν Παλαμῆδην ἀνείλεν Ὀδυσσεύς, παραπλέων τὰς χώρας τὰς Ἑλληνίδας παρεσκεύασε τὰς τῶν Ἑλλήνων γυναῖκας μοιχευθῆναι, Κλυταιμνήστραν Αἰγίσθῳ, Αἰγιάλειαν τῷ Σθενέλου
- 10 Κομήτῃ, τὴν Ἰδομενέως Μήδαν ὑπὸ Λεύκου· ἦν καὶ ἀνείλε Λεῦκος ἅμα Κλεισιθύρα² τῇ θυγατρὶ ταύτης ἐν τῷ ναῶ³ προσφυγούσῃ, καὶ δέκα πόλεις ἀποσπάσας⁴ τῆς Κρήτης ἐτυράνησε· καὶ μετὰ τὸν Τρωικὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὸν Ἰδομενέα κατάραντα
- 11 τῇ Κρήτῃ ἐξήλασε. ταῦτα πρότερον κατασκευάσας ὁ Ναύπλιος, ὕστερον μαθὼν τὴν εἰς τὰς πατρίδας τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπάνοδον, τὸν εἰς τὸν Καφηρέα, νῦν δὲ Ξυλοφάγον λεγόμενον, ἀνήψε φρυκτόν· ἔνθα προσπελάσαντες Ἕλληνες ἐν τῷ δοκεῖν λιμένα εἶναι διεφθάρησαν.

¹ τοῦ Ναυπλίου Frazer : αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ναυπλίου E, Wagner.

² Κλεισιθύρα E : Κλεισιθήρα Lycophron, *Alexandra*, 1222, Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 384, *id. Chiliades*, iii. 294.

³ The name of the deity of the temple seems wanting, perhaps τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς.

⁴ ἀποσπάσας E, Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 384. We should perhaps read ἀποστήσας, "having caused to revolt."

xi. 260 ; Lactantius Placidus on Statius, *Achil.* i. 93 ; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 46, 141 (First Vatican Mythographer, 144 ; Second Vatican Mythographer, 201). The story was probably told by Hagias in his epic *The Returns (Nostoi)*, though in the abstract of

For Palamedes, the son of Nauplius and Clymene daughter of Catreus, had been stoned to death through the machinations of Ulysses.¹ And when Nauplius learned of it,² he sailed to the Greeks and claimed satisfaction for the death of his son; but when he returned unsuccessful (for they all favoured King Agamemnon, who had been the accomplice of Ulysses in the murder of Palamedes), he coasted along the Grecian lands and contrived that the wives of the Greeks should play their husbands false, Clytaemnestra with Aegisthus, Aegialia with Cometes, son of Sthenelus, and Meda, wife of Idomeneus, with Leucus. But Leucus killed her, together with her daughter Clisithyra, who had taken refuge in the temple; and having detached ten cities from Crete he made himself tyrant of them; and when after the Trojan war Idomeneus landed in Crete, Leucus drove him out.³ These were the earlier contrivances of Nauplius; but afterwards, when he learned that the Greeks were on their way home to their native countries, he kindled the beacon fire on Mount Caphereus, which is now called Xylophagus; and there the Greeks, standing in shore in the belief that it was a harbour, were cast away.

that poem there occurs merely a mention of "the storm at the Capherian Rocks." See *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 53. The wrecker Nauplius was the subject of a tragedy by Sophocles. See *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. ii. pp. 80 *sqq.*

¹ As to the death of Palamedes, see above, *Epitome*, iii. 8.

² This passage, down to the end of § 12, is quoted with some slight verbal changes, but without citing his authority, by Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 384-386; compare *id.* on v. 1093.

³ See Appendix, "The vow of Idomeneus."

APOLLODORUS

- 12 Νεοπτόλεμος δὲ μείνας ἐν Τενέδῳ δύο ἡμέρας ὑποθήκαις τῆς Θέτιδος εἰς Μολοσσούς πεζῇ ἀπῆει μετὰ Ἑλένου, καὶ παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀποθανόντα Φοῖνικα θάπτει, καὶ νικήσας μάχῃ Μολοσσούς βασιλεύει, καὶ ἐξ Ἀνδρομάχης γεννᾷ Μολοσσόν.
- 13 Ἑλενος δὲ κτίσας ἐν τῇ Μολοσσίᾳ πόλιν κατοικεῖ, καὶ δίδωσιν αὐτῷ Νεοπτόλεμος εἰς γυναῖκα τὴν μητέρα Δηιδάμειαν. Πηλέως δὲ ἐκ Φθίας ἐκβληθέντος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀκάστου παίδων καὶ ἀποθαν-

¹ Compare Hagias, *Returns*, summarized by Proclus, in *Epícorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 53; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 902, quoting "Apollodorus and the rest." According to Servius (on Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 166), it was the soothsayer Helenus who, foreseeing the shipwreck of the Greek leaders, warned Neoptolemus to return home by land; hence in gratitude for this benefit Neoptolemus at his death bequeathed Andromache to Helenus to be his wife (Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 297). Neoptolemus was on friendly terms with Helenus, because the seer had revealed to the Greeks the means by which Troy could be taken, and because in particular he had recommended the fetching of Neoptolemus himself from Scyros. See above, *Építome*, v. 10. A different tradition is recorded by Eustathius, on Homer, *Od.* iii. 189, p. 1463. He says that Neoptolemus sailed across the sea to Thessaly and there burned his ships by the advice of Thetis; after which, being directed by the soothsayer Helenus to settle wherever he should find a house with foundations of iron, walls of wood, and roof of wool, he marched inland till he came to the lake Pambotis in Epirus, where he fell in with some people camping under blankets supported by spears, of which the blades were stuck into the earth. Compare Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* iii. 188, who adds that, "having laid waste Molossia, he begot Molossus by Andromache, and from Molossus is descended the race of the kings of Molossia, as Eratosthenes relates." The lake Pambotis is believed to be what is now called the lake of Joannina, near which Dodona was situated. Pausanias (i. 11. 1) mentions that Pyrrhus (Neoptolemus) settled in Epirus "in

After remaining in Tenedos two days at the advice of Thetis, Neoptolemus set out for the country of the Molossians by land with Helenus, and on the way Phoenix died, and Neoptolemus buried him;¹ and having vanquished the Molossians in battle he reigned as king and begat Molossus on Andromache. And Helenus founded a city in Molossia and inhabited it, and Neoptolemus gave him his mother Deidamia to wife.² And when Peleus was expelled from Phthia by the sons of Acastus³ and died, Neoptolemus

compliance with the oracles of Helenus," and that he had Molossus, Pielus, and Pergamus by Andromache.

² As to Deidamia, mother of Neoptolemus, see above, iii. 13. 8. The marriage of Helenus to Deidamia appears not to be mentioned by any other ancient writer.

³ According to Euripides (*Troades*, 1126-1130), while Neoptolemus was still at Troy, he heard that his grandfather Peleus had been expelled by Acastus; hence he departed for home in haste, taking Andromache with him. The Scholiast on this passage of Euripides (v. 1128) says that Peleus was expelled by Acastus's two sons, Archander and Architeles, and that the exiled king, going to meet his grandson Neoptolemus, was driven by a storm to the island of Cos, where he was entertained by a certain Molon and died. As to an early connexion between Thessaly and Cos, see W. R. Paton and E. L. Hicks, *The Inscriptions of Cos*, pp. 344 sqq. A different and much more detailed account of the exile of Peleus is furnished by Dictys Cretensis, *Bellum Trojanum*, vi. 7-9. According to it, when Neoptolemus was refitting his shattered ships in Molossia, he heard that Peleus had been deposed and expelled by Acastus. Hastening to the aid of his aged grandfather, he found him hiding in a dark cave on the shore of one of the Sepiades Islands, where he eagerly scanned every passing sail in hopes that one of them would bring his grandson to his rescue. By disguising himself Neoptolemus contrived to attack and kill Acastus's two sons, Menalippus and Plisthenes, when they were out hunting. Afterwards, disguising himself as a Trojan captive, he lured Acastus himself to the cave and would have slain him there,

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όντος, Νεοπτόλεμος τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ πατρὸς
 14 παρέλαβε. καὶ μανέντος Ὀρέστου ἀρπάζει τὴν
 ἐκείνου γυναῖκα Ἑρμιόνην κατηγγυημένην αὐτῷ
 πρότερον ἐν Τροίᾳ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐν Δελφοῖς ὑπό

if it had not been for the intercession of Thetis, who had opportunely arrived from the sea to visit her old husband Peleus. Happy at his escape, Acastus resigned the kingdom on the spot to Neoptolemus, and that hero at once took possession of the realm in company with his grandfather, his divine grandmother Thetis, and the companions of his voyage. This romantic narrative may be based on a lost Greek tragedy, perhaps on the *Peleus* of Sophocles, a play in which the dramatist appears to have dealt with the fortunes of Peleus in his old age. See *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. ii. pp. 140 *sqq.* The statement of Dictys Cretensis that Peleus took refuge in one of the Sepiades Islands suggests that in the scholium on Euripides (*l.c.*) the name Icos should be read instead of Cos, as has been argued by several scholars (A. C. Pearson, *op. cit.* ii. 141); for Icos was a small island near Euboea (Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Ἴκός), and would be a much more natural place of refuge for Peleus than the far more distant island of Cos. Moreover, we have the positive affirmation of the poet Antipater of Sidon that Peleus was buried in Icos (*Anthologia Palatina*, vii. 2. 9 *sq.*). The connexion of Peleus with the Sepiades Islands is further supported by Euripides; for in his play *Andromache* (vv. 1253–1269) he tells how Thetis bids her old husband Peleus tarry in a cave of these islands, till she should come with a band of Nereids to fetch him away, that he might dwell with her as a god for ever in the depths of the sea. In the same play (vv. 22 *sq.*) Euripides says that Neoptolemus refused to accept the sceptre of Pharsalia in the lifetime of his grandfather Peleus.

¹ In this passage Apollodorus appears to follow the account given by Euripides in his *Andromache*, 967–981. According to that account, Menelaus gave his daughter Hermione in marriage to her cousin Orestes, the son of Agamemnon and Clytaemnestra. But in the Trojan war he afterwards promised the hand of Hermione to Neoptolemus, if Neoptolemus should succeed in capturing Troy. Accordingly on his return

succeeded to his father's kingdom. And when Orestes went mad, Neoptolemus carried off his wife Hermione, who had previously been betrothed to him in Troy¹; and for that reason he was slain by Orestes

from the war Neoptolemus claimed his bride from her husband Orestes, who was then haunted and maddened by the Furies of his murdered mother Clytaemnestra. Orestes protested, but in vain; Neoptolemus insolently reproached him with his crime of matricide and with the unseen avengers of blood by whom he was pursued. So Orestes was obliged to yield up his wife to his rival, but he afterwards took his revenge by murdering Neoptolemus at Delphi. This version of the legend is followed also by Hyginus (*Fab.* 123). An obvious difficulty is presented by the narrative; for if Menelaus had given his daughter in marriage to Orestes, how could he afterwards have promised her to Neoptolemus in the lifetime of her first husband? This difficulty was met by another version of the story, which alleged that Hermione was betrothed or married to Orestes by her grandfather Tyndareus in the absence of her father Menelaus, who was then away at the Trojan war; that meantime, in ignorance of this disposal of his daughter, Menelaus had promised her hand to Neoptolemus before Troy, and that on his return from the war Neoptolemus took her by force from Orestes. See Eustathius, on Homer, *Od.* iv. 3, p. 1479; Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* iv. 4; Ovid, *Heroides*, viii. 31 *sqq.*; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 330, compare *id.* on v. 297. According to the tragic poet Philocles, not only had Hermione been given in marriage by Tyndareus to Orestes, but she was actually with child by Orestes when her father afterwards married her to Neoptolemus. See Scholiast on Euripides, *Andromache*, 32. This former marriage of Hermione to Orestes, before she became the wife of Neoptolemus, is recognized by Virgil (*Aen.* iii. 330), and Ovid (*Heroides*, viii. *passim*), but it is unknown to Homer. On the other hand, Homer records that Menelaus betrothed Hermione to Neoptolemus at Troy, and celebrated the marriage after his return to Sparta (*Od.* iv. 1-9). Sophocles wrote a tragedy *Hermione*, the plot of which seems to have resembled that of the *Andromache* of Euripides. See *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. ii. pp. 141 *sqq.* Euripides does not appear to have been consistent in his view that

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Ὀρέστου κτείνεται. ἔνιοι δὲ αὐτόν φασι παραγενόμενον εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀπαιτεῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πατρὸς τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα δίκας καὶ συλᾶν τὰ ἀναθήματα καὶ τὸν νεῶν ἐμπιμπράναι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὑπὸ Μαχαιρέως¹ τοῦ Φωκέως ἀναιρεθῆναι.

¹ Μαχαιρέως Wagner : βαχαιρέως E.

Neoptolemus forcibly deprived Orestes of Hermione and married her himself; for in his play *Orestes* (vv. 1653–1657) he makes Apollo prophesy to Orestes that he shall wed Hermione, but that Neoptolemus shall never do so.

¹ The murder of Neoptolemus at Delphi, as Apollodorus observes, was variously related. According to Euripides, Neoptolemus paid two visits to Delphi. On the first occasion he went to claim redress from Apollo, who had shot his father Achilles at Troy (see above, *Építome*, v. 3). On the second occasion he went to excuse himself to the god for the rashness and impiety of which he had been guilty in calling the deity to account for the murder; and it was then that Orestes, enraged at having been robbed of his wife Hermione by Neoptolemus, waylaid and murdered his rival in the temple of Apollo, the fatal blow being struck, however, not by Orestes but by “a Delphian man.” See Euripides, *Andromache*, 49–55, 1086–1165; compare *id.* *Orestes*, 1656 *sq.* This is the version of the story which Apollodorus appears to prefer. It is accepted also by Hyginus (*Fab.* 123), Velleius Paterculus (i. 1. 3), Servius (on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 297 and 330), and somewhat ambiguously by Dictys Cretensis (*Bellum Trojanum*, vi. 12 *sq.*). The murder of Neoptolemus by Orestes is mentioned, but without any motive assigned, by Heliodorus (ii. 34) and Justin (xvii. 3. 7). A different account is given by Pindar. He says that Neoptolemus went to consult the god at Delphi, taking with him first-fruit offerings of the Trojan spoil; that there he was stabbed to death by a man in a brawl concerning the flesh of the victim, and that after death he was supposed to dwell within the sacred precinct and to preside over the processions and sacrifices in honour of heroes. See Pindar, *Nem.* vii. 34 (50)–47 (70); compare *id.* *Pæan*, vi. 117 *sqq.*, ed. Sandys. The Scholiast on the former of these passages of Pindar, verse

at Delphi. But some say that he went to Delphi to demand satisfaction from Apollo for the death of his father, and that he rifled the votive offerings and set fire to the temple, and was on that account slain by Machaereus the Phocian.¹

42 (62), explains the brawl by saying that it was the custom of the Delphians to appropriate (*ἀπράξιν*) the sacrifices; that Neoptolemus attempted to prevent them from taking possession of his offerings, and that in the squabble the Delphians despatched him with their swords. This explanation seems to be due to Pherecydes, for a Scholiast on Euripides (*Orestes*, 1655) quotes the following passage from that early historian: "When Neoptolemus married Hermione, daughter of Menelaus, he went to Delphi to inquire about offspring; for he had no children by Herinione. And when at the oracle he saw the Delphians scrambling for (*διαπράξοντας*) the flesh, he attempted to take it from them. But their priest Machaereus killed him and buried him under the threshold of the temple." This seems to have been the version of the story followed by Pausanias, for he mentions the hearth at Delphi on which the priest of Apollo slew Neoptolemus (x. 24. 4), and elsewhere he says that "the Pythian priestess ordered the Delphians to kill Pyrrhus (Neoptolemus), son of Achilles" (i. 13. 9; compare iv. 17. 4). That the slayer of Neoptolemus was called Machaereus is mentioned also by a Scholiast on Euripides (*Andromache*, 53) and by Strabo (ix. 3. 9, p. 421), who says that Neoptolemus was killed "because he demanded satisfaction from the god for the murder of his father, or, more probably, because he had made an attack on the sanctuary." Indeed, Asclepiades, in his work *Tragodoumena*, wrote as follows: "About his death almost all the poets agree that he was killed by Machaereus and buried at first under the threshold of the temple, but that afterwards Menelaus came and took up his body, and made his grave in the precinct. He says that Machaereus was a son of Daetas." See Scholiast on Pindar, *Nem.* vii. 42 (62). The story that Neoptolemus came to Delphi to plunder the sanctuary, which is noticed by Apollodorus and preferred by Strabo, is mentioned by Pausanias (x. 7. 1) and a Scholiast on Pindar (*Nem.* vii. 58, Boeckh). It is probably

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E 15 | "Ὅτι πλανηθέντες¹ Ἕλληνες ἄλλοι ἀλλαχοῦ
κατάραντες κατοικοῦσιν, οἱ μὲν εἰς Λιβύην, οἱ
δὲ εἰς Ἰταλίαν, εἰς Σικελίαν ἕτεροι, τινὲς δὲ
πρὸς τὰς πλησίον Ἰβηρίας νήσους, ἄλλοι παρὰ
S τὸν Σαγγάριον ποταμὸν· εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ καὶ Κύπρον
ῥῆσαν. | τῶν δὲ ναυαγησάντων περὶ τὸν Καφη-
ρέα² ἄλλος ἀλλαχῆ φέρεται, Γουνεύς μὲν εἰς
Λιβύην, Ἄντιφος δὲ ὁ Θεσσαλοῦ εἰς Πελασγοῦς
καὶ <τὴν> χώραν³ κατασχὼν Θεσσαλίαν ἐκάλε-
σεν, ὁ δὲ Φιλοκτῆτης πρὸς Ἰταλίαν εἰς Καμπανούς,

¹ Ὅτι πλανηθέντες . . . Κύπρον ῥῆσαν. This passage is from E: the passage immediately following (τῶν δὲ ναυαγησάντων . . . καὶ ἄλλος ἀλλαχοῦ) is from S. The two passages are perhaps duplicate versions of the same passage in the original unabridged work of Apollodorus; but as they supplement each other, each giving details which are omitted by the other, I have printed them consecutively in the text. Wagner prints them in parallel columns to indicate that they are duplicates.

² Καφηρέα Kerameus: κηφέα S.

³ <τὴν> χώραν Wagner (comparing Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 911, καὶ τὴν χώραν κατασχών).

not inconsistent with the story that he went to demand satisfaction from, or to inflict punishment on, the god for the death of his father; for the satisfaction or punishment would naturally take the shape of a distress levied on the goods and chattels of the defaulting deity. The tradition that the slain Neoptolemus was buried under the threshold of Apollo's temple is remarkable and, so far as I remember, unique in Greek legend. The statement that the body was afterwards taken up and buried within the precinct agrees with the observation of Pausanias (x. 24. 6) that "quitting the temple and turning to the left you come to an enclosure, inside of which is the grave of Neoptolemus, son of Achilles. The Delphians offer sacrifice to him annually as to a hero." From Pindar (*Nem.* vii. 44 (65) *sqq.*) we learn that Neoptolemus even enjoyed a pre-eminence over other heroes at

After their wanderings the Greeks landed and settled in various countries, some in Libya, some in Italy, others in Sicily, and some in the islands near Iberia, others on the banks of the Sangarius river; and some settled also in Cyprus. And of those that were shipwrecked at Caphereus, some drifted one way and some another.¹ Guneus went to Libya; Antiphus, son of Thessalus, went to the Pelasgians, and, having taken possession of the country, called it Thessaly. Philoctetes went to the Cam-

Delphi, being called on to preside over the processions and sacrifices in their honour. The Aenianes of Thessaly used to send a grand procession and costly sacrifices to Delphi every fourth year in honour of Neoptolemus. The ceremony fell at the same time as the Pythian games. See Heliodorus, *Aethiop.* ii. 34–iii. 6. It is a little difficult to understand how a man commonly accused of flagrant impiety and sacrilege should have been raised to such a pitch of glory at the very shrine which he was said to have attacked and robbed. The apparent contradiction might be more intelligible if we could suppose that, as has been suggested, Neoptolemus was publicly sacrificed as a scapegoat, perhaps by being stoned to death, as seems to have been the fate of the human victims at the Thargelia, whose sacrifice was justified by a legend that the first of their number had stolen some sacred cups of Apollo. See Harpocration, *s. v.* φάρμακος; and as to the suggestion that Neoptolemus may have been sacrificed as a scapegoat, see J. Toepffer, "Thargelienbräuche," *Beiträge zur griechischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Berlin, 1897), pp. 132 sq., who points out that according to Euripides (*Andromache*, 1127 sqq.) Neoptolemus was stoned as well as stabbed at the altar of Apollo. As to the custom of burying the dead under a threshold, see *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*, iii. 13 sq.

¹ The wanderings described in the remainder of this paragraph, except those of Agapenor, are resumed and told somewhat more fully in the following three paragraphs (15a, 15b, 15c), which do not occur in our text of the *Epitome*, but are conjecturally restored to it from the scholia on Lycophron of Tzetzes, who probably had before him the full text of Apollodorus, and not merely the *Epitome*.

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Φείδιππος μετὰ τῶν Κῶων ἐν Ἄνδρῳ κατώκησεν,
Ἄγαπήνωρ ἐν Κύπρῳ, καὶ ἄλλος ἄλλαχού.

TZ 15a <902: Ἀπολλόδωρος δὲ¹ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ οὕτω
φασί· Γουνεὺς εἰς Λιβύην λιπὼν τὰς ἑαυτοῦ ναῦς
ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ Κίνυφα² ποταμὸν κατοικεῖ. Μέγης³ δὲ
καὶ Πρόθοος ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ περὶ τὸν Καφηρέα σὺν
πολλοῖς ἐτέροις διαφθείρεται . . . τοῦ δὲ Προθόου
περὶ τὸν Καφηρέα ναυαγήσαντος, οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ
Μάγνητες εἰς Κρήτην ῥιφέντες ᾤκησαν.>

15b <911: Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἰλίου πόρθησιν Μενεσθεὺς
Φείδιππός τε καὶ Ἄντιφος καὶ οἱ Ἐλεφήνορος⁴ καὶ
Φιλοκτήτης μέχρι Μίμαντος κοινῇ ἔπλευσαν. εἶτα
Μενεσθεὺς μὲν εἰς Μῆλον ἐλθὼν βασιλευεῖ, τοῦ
ἐκεῖ βασιλέως Πολυίνακτος τελευτήσαντος. Ἄν-
τιφος δὲ ὁ Θεσσαλοῦ εἰς Πελασγούς ἐλθὼν καὶ
τὴν χώραν κατασχὼν Θεσσαλίαν ἐκάλεσε. Φεί-
διππος δὲ μετὰ Κῶων ἐξωσθεὶς περὶ τὴν Ἄνδρον,⁵
εἶτα περὶ Κύπρον ἐκεῖ κατώκησεν. Ἐλεφήνορος
δὲ ὑποθανόντος ἐν Τροίᾳ, οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ ἐκριφέντες
περὶ τὸν Ἰόνιον κόλπον Ἀπολλωνίαν ᾤκησαν τὴν
ἐν Ἠπείρῳ. καὶ οἱ τοῦ Τληπολέμου προσίσχουσι

¹ The following three paragraphs are extracted from the *Scholía on Lycorhron* of Tzetzes, who seems to have borrowed them from Apollodorus.

² Κίνυφα Tzetzes: Κίνυπα Wagner. Either form is legitimate. See Pape, *Wörterbuch der griech. Eigennamen*, s. v. Κίνυψ, p. 663.

³ Μέγης Stiehle, Wagner. The MSS. of Tzetzes read *Μέγας* or *Μάγνητες*.

⁴ οἱ Ἐλεφήνορος. Some MSS. of Tzetzes read Ἐλεφήνωρ.

⁵ τὴν Ἄνδρον Wagner: τὸν ἄδριαν Tzetzes.

¹ Compare Pausanias, viii. 5. 2, who says that, driven by the storm to Cyprus, Agapenor founded Paphos and built the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Old Paphos. Compare Aristotle, *Peplus*, 30 (16), in Bergk's *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*³, ii. 654.

panians in Italy; Phidippus with the Coans settled in Andros, Agapenor in Cyprus,¹ and others elsewhere.

Apollodorus and the rest² say as follows. Guneus left his own ships, and having come to the Cinyps river in Libya he dwelt there.³ But Meges and Prothous, with many others, were cast away at Caphereus in Euboea⁴ . . . and when Prothous was shipwrecked at Caphereus, the Magnesians with him drifted to Crete and settled there.

After the sack of Ilium,⁵ Menestheus, Phidippus and Antiphus, and the people of Elephenor, and Philoctetes sailed together as far as Mimas. Then Menestheus went to Melos and reigned as king, because the king there, Polyanax, had died. And Antiphus the son of Thessalus went to the Pelasgians, and having taken possession of the country he called it Thessaly.⁶ Phidippus with the Coans was driven first to Andros, and then to Cyprus, where he settled. Elephenor died in Troy,⁷ but his people were cast away in the Ionian gulf and inhabited Apollonia in Epirus. And the people of Tlepolemus touched

² This paragraph is quoted from Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 902.

³ According to another account, Guneus was drowned at sea. See Aristotle, *Peplos*, 32 (37), in Bergk's *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*³, ii. 654.

⁴ Epitaphs on these two drowned men are ascribed to Aristotle, *Peplos*, 25 (19) and 28 (38). See Bergk's *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*³, ii. 653, 654. Meges was leader of the Dulichians, and Prothous was leader of the Magnesians. See *Epitome*, iii. 12 and 14.

⁵ This paragraph is quoted from Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 911.

⁶ Compare Strabo, ix. 5. 23, p. 444.

⁷ Elephenor was killed in battle by Agenor. See Homer, *Il.* iv. 463-472. Compare Aristotle, *Peplos*, 33 (4), in Bergk's *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*³, ii. 654.

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Κρήτη, εἶτα ὑπ' ἀνέμων ἐξωσθέντες περὶ τὰς Ἰβηρικὰς νήσους ᾤκησαν. . . . οἱ τοῦ Πρωτεσιλάου εἰς Πελλήνην¹ ἀπερρίφησαν πλησίον πεδίου Κανάστρου. Φιλοκτήτης δὲ ἐξώσθη εἰς Ἰταλίαν πρὸς Καμπανοὺς καὶ πολεμήσας Λευκανοὺς πλησίον Κρότωνος καὶ Θουρίου Κρίμισσαν κατοικεῖ· καὶ παυθεὶς τῆς ἄλης Ἀλαίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν κτίζει, ᾧ καὶ τὸ τόξον αὐτοῦ ἀνέθηκεν, ὡς φησιν Εὐφορίων.>

15c <921: Ναύαιθος] ποταμός ἐστίν Ἰταλίας· ἐκλήθη δὲ οὕτω κατὰ μὲν Ἀπολλόδωρον καὶ τοὺς λοιπούς, ὅτι μετὰ τὴν Ἰλίου ἄλωσιν αἱ Λαομέ-

¹ εἰς Πελλήνην omitted by Wagner in his edition of Apollodorus, probably by mistake. For Πελλήνην we should perhaps read Παλλήνην. See exegetical note.

¹ Canastrum, or Canastra, is the extreme southern cape of the peninsula of Pallone (Pellene) in Macedonia. See Herodotus, vii. 123; Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 599, with the Scholiast; Strabo, vii. frag. 25, p. 330 (vol. ii. p. 462, ed. Meineke); Apostolius, *Cent.* ii. 20; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 526; Livy, xxx. 45. 15, xlv. 11. 3.

² It is said that in a sedition Philoctetes was driven from his city of Meliboea in Thessaly (Homer, *Il.* ii. 717 sq.), and fled to southern Italy, where he founded the cities of Petilia, Old Crimissa, and Chone, between Croton and Thurii. See Strabo, vi. 1. 3, p. 254, who, after recording the foundation of Petilia and Old Crimissa by Philoctetes, proceeds as follows: "And Apollodorus, after mentioning Philoctetes in his *Book of the Ships*, says that some people relate how, on arriving in the country of Croton, he founded Crimissa on the headland and above it the city of Chone, from which the Chonians hereabout took their name, and how men sent by him to Sicily fortified Segesta near Eryx with the help of Aegestes the Trojan." The book from which Strabo makes this quotation is not the *Library* of our author, but the *Catalogue*

at Crete ; then they were driven out of their course by winds and settled in the Iberian islands. . . . The people of Protesilaus were cast away on Pellene near the plain of Canastrum.¹ And Philoctetes was driven to Campania in Italy, and after making war on the Lucanians, he settled in Crimissa, near Croton and Thurium²; and, his wanderings over, he founded a sanctuary of Apollo the Wanderer (*Alaios*), to whom also he dedicated his bow, as Euphorion says.³

Navaethus is a river of Italy.⁴ It was called so, according to Apollodorus and the rest, because after the capture of Ilium the daughters of Laomedon, the

of the Ships, a work on the Homeric Catalogue by the Athenian grammarian Apollodorus. According to Strabo (viii. 3. 6, p. 339), Apollodorus borrowed most of his materials for this work from Demetrius of Scepsis. For the fragments of the work see Heyne's *Apollodorus* (Second Edition, 1803), vol. i. pp. 417 *sqq.*; *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, ed. C. Müller, i. 453 *sqq.*

¹ Compare Aristotle, *Mirab. Auscult.* 107 (115): "It is said that Philoctetes is worshipped by the Sybarites; for on his return from Troy he settled in the territory of Croton at the place called Macalla, which they say is distant a hundred and twenty furlongs, and they relate that he dedicated the bow of Hercules in the sanctuary of the Halian Apollo. But they say that in the time of their sovereignty the people of Croton fetched the bow from there and dedicated it in the sanctuary of Apollo in their country. It is said, too, that when he died he was buried beside the river Sybaris; for he had gone to the help of the Rhodians under Tlepolemus, who had been carried out of their course to these regions and had engaged in battle with the barbarous inhabitants of that country." This war with the barbarians is no doubt the "war on the Lucanians," in which Apollodorus, or at all events, Tzetzes here tells us that Philoctetes engaged after his arrival in Italy.

⁴ This paragraph is quoted from Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 921.

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δοντος θυγατέρες, Πριάμου δὲ ἀδελφαί,¹ Αἴθυλλα Ἄστυόχη Μηδεσικίστη μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν αἰχμαλωτίδων ἐκείσε γεγонуῖαι τῆς Ἰταλίας, εὐλαβούμεναι τὴν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι δουλείαν τὰ σκάφη ἐνέπρησαν, ὅθεν ὁ ποταμὸς Ναύαιθος ἐκλήθη καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες Ναυπρήστιδες· οἱ δὲ σὺν αὐταῖς Ἕλληνες ἀπολέσαντες τὰ σκάφη ἐκεῖ κατώκησαν.>

E 16 | Δημοφῶν δὲ² Θραξὶ Βισάλταις μετ' ὀλίγων νεῶν προσίσχει, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐρασθεῖσα Φυλλίς ἡ θυγάτηρ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπὶ προικὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ συνεννάζεται ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός. ὁ δὲ βουλόμενος εἰς τὴν πατρίδα ἀπιέναι, πολλὰ δεηθεὶς ὁμόσας ἀναστρέφειν ἀπέρχεται· καὶ Φυλλίς αὐτὸν ἄχρι τῶν Ἐννέα ὁδῶν³ λεγομένων προπέμπει καὶ δίδωσιν αὐτῷ κίστην, εἰποῦσα ἱερὸν <τῆς> μητρὸς⁴ Ῥέας ἐνεῖναι, καὶ ταύτην μὴ ἀνοίγειν, εἰ μὴ ὅταν

¹ Πριάμου δὲ ἀδελφαί. These words are omitted, doubtless by accident, in Wagner's edition of Apollodorus.

² The following story of the loves of Demophon and Phyllis is repeated by Tzetzes (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 495) in a passage which to a great extent agrees verbally with the present passage of Apollodorus.

³ Ἐννέα ὁδῶν Wagner (comparing Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 495): ἐννεᾶδων E.

⁴ <τῆς> μητρὸς Wagner (comparing Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 495): μητρὸς E.

¹ The same story is told by Strabo, who calls the river Neaethus (vi. 1. 12, p. 262). Stephanus Byzantius agrees with Apollodorus in giving Navaethus (Ναύαιθος) as the form of the name. Apollodorus derives the name from ναῦς, "a ship," and αἴθω, "to burn." Virgil tells a similar tale of the founding of Segesta or, as he calls it, Acesta in Sicily. See Virgil, *Aen.* v. 604-771.

² Demophon and his brother Acamas, the sons of Theseus, had gone to Troy to rescue their grandmother Aethra from

sisters of Priam, to wit, Aethylla, Astyoche, and Medesicaste, with the other female captives, finding themselves in that part of Italy, and dreading slavery in Greece, set fire to the vessels; whence the river was called Navaethus and the women were called Nauprestides; and the Greeks who were with the women, having lost the vessels, settled there.¹

Demophon with a few ships put in to the land of the Thracian Bisaltians,² and there Phyllis, the king's daughter, falling in love with him, was given him in marriage by her father with the kingdom for her dower. But he wished to depart to his own country, and after many entreaties and swearing to return, he did depart. And Phyllis accompanied him as far as what are called the Nine Roads, and she gave him a casket, telling him that it contained a sacrament of Mother Rhea, and that he was not to open it until he

captivity. See above, *Epitome*, v. 22. The following story of the loves and sad fate of Demophon and Phyllis is told in almost the same words by Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 495, except that for the name of Demophon he substitutes the name of his brother Acamas. Lucian also couples the names of Acamas and Phyllis (*De saltatione*, 40). A pretty story is told of the sad lovers by Servius. He says that Phyllis, despairing of the return of Demophon, hanged herself and was turned into a leafless almond tree; but that when Demophon came and embraced the trunk of the tree, it responded to his endearments by bursting into leaf; hence leaves, which had been called *petala* before, were ever after called *phylla* in Greek. See Servius, on Virgil, *Ecl.* v. 10. Compare *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 51 and 146 *sq.* (First Vatican Mythographer, 159; Second Vatican Mythographer, 214). The story is told in a less romantic form by Hyginus (*Fab.* 59, compare 243). He says that when Phyllis died for love, trees grew on her grave and mourned her death at the season when their leaves withered and fell.

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- 17 ἀπελπίσῃ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀνόδου.¹ Δημοφῶν δὲ ἐλθὼν εἰς Κύπρον ἐκεῖ κατώκει. καὶ τοῦ τακτοῦ χρόνου διελθόντος Φυλλίς ἄρα θεμένη κατὰ Δημοφῶντος ἑαυτὴν ἀναιρεῖ. Δημοφῶν δὲ τὴν κίστην ἀνοίξας φόβῳ κατασχεθεῖς² ἀνεισιν ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον καὶ τοῦτον ἐλαύνων ἀτάκτως ἀπόλλυται· τοῦ γὰρ ἵππου σφαλέντος κατειεχθεῖς ἐπὶ τὸ ξίφος ἔπεσεν. οἱ δὲ σὺν αὐτῷ κατώκησαν ἐν Κύπρῳ.
- 18 Ποδαλείριος δὲ ἀφικόμενος εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐχράτο ποῦ κατοικήσει· χρησμοῦ δὲ δοθέντος, εἰς ἣν πόλιν τοῦ περιέχοντος οὐρανοῦ πεσόντος οὐδὲν πείσεται,³ τῆς Καρικῆς Χερρονήσου τὸν πέριξ οὐρανοῦ κυκλούμενον ὄρεσι τόπον κατώκησεν.
- 19 Ἀμφίλοχος δὲ ὁ Ἀλκμαίωνος, κατὰ τινὰς ὕστερον παραγενόμενος εἰς Τροίαν, κατὰ [τὸν]⁴ χειμῶνα ἀπερρίφη πρὸς Μόψον, καί, ὡς τινες λέγουσιν, ὑπὲρ τῆς βασιλείας μονομαχοῦντες ἔκτειναν ἀλλήλους.

¹ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀνόδου E: τὴν πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀνοδὸν Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 495.

² φόβῳ κατασχεθεῖς E: φάσματι κρατηθεῖς Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 495.

³ οὐδὲν πείσεται E. Wagner conjectures οὐδὲν <δεινὸν> πείσεται, comparing Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 1047, οὐδὲν δεινὸν πείσεται.

⁴ κατὰ [τὸν] χειμῶνα. As Wagner observes, the article should perhaps be omitted, as in the quotation of the passage by Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 440, κατὰ χειμῶνα ἀπερρίφη πρὸς Μόψον, who cites Apollodorus by name. Yet perhaps our author was thinking of the famous storm that overtook the Greeks on their return from Troy and wrecked so many gallant ships.

¹ The same story is told, nearly in the same words, by Tzetzes (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 1047), who probably copied Apollodorus. As to the settlement of Podalirius in Caria,

should have abandoned all hope of returning to her. And Demophon went to Cyprus and dwelt there. And when the appointed time was past, Phyllis called down curses on Demophon and killed herself; and Demophon opened the casket, and, being struck with fear, he mounted his horse and galloping wildly met his end; for, the horse stumbling, he was thrown and fell on his sword. But his people settled in Cyprus.

Podalirius went to Delphi and inquired of the oracle where he should settle; and on receiving an oracle that he should settle in the city where, if the encompassing heaven were to fall, he would suffer no harm, he settled in that place of the Carian Chersonese which is encircled by mountains all round the horizon.¹

Amphilochus son of Alcmaeon, who, according to some, arrived later at Troy, was driven in the storm to the home of Mopsus; and, as some say, they fought a single combat for the kingdom, and slew each other.²

compare Pausanias, iii. 26. 10; Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Σύπρα. Podalirius was worshipped as a hero in Italy. He had a shrine at the foot of Mount Drium in Daunia, and the seer Calchas was worshipped in a shrine on the top of the same mountain, where his worshippers sacrificed black rams and slept in the skins of the victims for the purpose of receiving revelations in dreams. See Strabo, vi. 3. 9, p. 284; Lycophron, *Cassandra*, 1047 *sqq.* Hence Lycophron said that Podalirius was buried in Italy, and for so saying he was severely taken to task by his learned but crabbed commentator Tzetzes, who roundly accused him of lying (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 1047).

² This passage is quoted from Apollodorus, with the author's name, by Tzetzes (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 440-442), who says that according to the usual tradition Amphilochus and Mopsus had gone together to Cilicia after the capture of

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- 20 Λοκροὶ δὲ μόλις τὴν ἑαυτῶν καταλαβόντες, ἐπεὶ μετὰ τρίτον ἔτος τὴν Λοκρίδα¹ κατέσχε φθορά, δέχονται χρησμὸν ἐξιλάσασθαι τὴν ἐν Ἰλίῳ Ἀθηναῖν καὶ δύο παρθένους πέμπειν ἰκέτιδας ἐπὶ ἔτη χίλια. καὶ λαγχάνουσι πρῶται Περίβοια καὶ
- 21 Κλεοπάτρα. αὐταὶ δὲ εἰς Τροίαν ἀφικόμεναι, διωκόμεναι παρὰ τῶν ἐγχωρίων εἰς τὸ ἱερόν κατέρχονται· καὶ τῇ μὲν θεᾷ οὐ προσήρχοντο, τὸ δὲ ἱερόν ἔσαιρον² τε καὶ ἔρραινον· ἐκτός δὲ τοῦ νεῶ οὐκ ἐξήεσαν, κεκαρμέναι δὲ ἦσαν καὶ μονοχίτωνες

¹ Λοκρίδα Wagner (comparing Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 1141): Λοκρίαν E.

² ἔσαιρον Wagner (comparing Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 1141): ἔσηρον E.

Troy. This statement is confirmed by the testimony of Strabo (xiv. 5. 16, pp. 675 *sq.*), who tells us that Amphilochus and Mopsus came from Troy and founded Mallus in Cilicia. The dispute between Amphilochus and Mopsus is related more fully both by Tzetzes and Strabo (*ll. cc.*). According to them, Amphilochus wished to go for a time to Argos (probably Amphilochian Argos; see above, iii. 7. 7). So he departed after entrusting the kingdom or priesthood to Mopsus in his absence. Dissatisfied with the state of affairs at Argos, he returned in a year and reclaimed the kingdom or priesthood from Mopsus. But, acting on the principle *Beati possidentes*, the viceroy refused to cede the crown or the mitre to its proper owner; accordingly they had recourse to the ordeal of battle, in which both combatants perished. Their bodies were buried in graves which could not be seen from each other; for the people built a tower between them, in order that the rivals, who had fought each other in life, might not scowl at each other in death. However, their rivalry did not prevent them working an oracle in partnership after their decease. In the second century of our era the oracle enjoyed the highest reputation for infallibility (Pausanias, i. 34. 3). The leading partner of the firm was apparently Amphilochus, for he is usually men-

The Locrians regained their own country with difficulty, and three years afterwards, when Locris was visited by a plague, they received an oracle bidding them to propitiate Athena at Ilium and to send two maidens as suppliants for a thousand years. The lot first fell on Periboea and Cleopatra. And when they came to Troy they were chased by the natives and took refuge in the sanctuary. And they did not approach the goddess, but swept and sprinkled the sanctuary; and they did not go out of the temple, and their hair was cropped, and they wore single garments

tioned alone in connexion with the oracle; Plutarch (*De defectu oraculorum*, 45) is the only ancient writer from whom we learn that Mopsus took an active share in the business, though Cicero mentions the partners together (*De divinatione*, i. 40. 88). According to Plutarch and Dio Cassius (lxxii. 7), the oracles were communicated in dreams; but Lucian says (*Philopseudes*, 38) that the inquirer wrote down his question on a tablet, which he handed to the prophet. The charge for one of these infallible communications was only two obols, or about twopence halfpenny. See Lucian, *Alexander*, 19; *id. Deorum concilium*, 12. The ancients seem to have been divided in opinion on the important question whether the oracular Amphilocheus at Mallus was the son or the grandson of Amphiarus. Apollodorus calls him the son of Alcmaeon, which would make him the grandson of Amphiarus, for Alcmaeon was a son of Amphiarus. But Tzetzes, in reporting what he describes as the usual version of the story, calls Amphilocheus the son, not the grandson of Amphiarus (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 440-442). Compare Strabo, xiv. l. 27, p. 642; Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, xiv. 365-369. Lucian is inconsistent on the point; for while in one passage he calls Amphilocheus the son of Amphiarus (*Alexander*, 19), in another passage he speaks of him sarcastically as the noble son of an accurst matricide, by whom he means Alcmaeon (*Deorum concilium*, 12). Elsewhere Apollodorus mentions both Amphilocheus, the son of Amphiarus, and Amphilocheus, the son of Alcmaeon. See above, iii. 7. 2 and 7.

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22 καὶ ἀνυπόδετοι. τῶν δὲ πρώτων ἀποθανουσῶν ἄλλας ἔπεμπον· εἰσήεσαν δὲ εἰς τὴν πόλιν νύκτωρ, ἵνα μὴ φανείσαι τοῦ τεμένουσ ἔξω φονευθῶσι· μετέπειτα δὲ βρέφη μετὰ τροφῶν ἔπεμπον. χιλίων δὲ ἐτῶν παρελθόντων μετὰ τὸν Φωκικὸν πόλεμον ἰκέτιδας ἐπαύσαντο πέμποντες.

ES 23 | Ἄγαμέμνων δὲ κατανήσας εἰς Μυκῆνας μετὰ Κασάνδρας ἀναιρεῖται ὑπὸ Αἰγίσθου καὶ Κλυταιμνήστρας· δίδωσι γὰρ αὐτῷ χιτῶνα ἄχειρα καὶ ἀτράχηλον, καὶ τοῦτον ἐνδύόμενος φονεύεται, καὶ βασιλεύει Μυκηνῶν Αἰγισθος· κτείνουσι δὲ καὶ

¹ The story of the custom of propitiating Athena at Troy by sending two Locrian virgins to her every year is similarly told by Tzetzes, who adds some interesting particulars omitted by Apollodorus. From him we learn that when the maidens arrived, the Trojans met them and tried to catch them. If they caught the maidens, they killed them and burned their bones with the wood of wild trees which bore no fruit. Having done so, they threw the ashes from Mount Traron into the sea. But if the maidens escaped from their pursuers, they ascended secretly to the sanctuary of Athena and became her priestesses, sweeping and sprinkling the sacred precinct; but they might not approach the goddess, nor quit the sanctuary except by night. Tzetzes agrees with Apollodorus in describing the maidens during their term of service as barefoot, with cropped hair, and clad each in a single tunic. He refers to the Sicilian historian Timaeus as his authority for the statement that the custom was observed for a thousand years, and that it came to an end after the Phocian war (357-346 B. C.). See Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 1141. The maidens were chosen by lot from the hundred noblest families in Locris (Polybius, xii. 5); and when they escaped death on landing, they served the goddess in the sanctuary for the term of their lives (Plutarch, *De sera numinis vindicta*, 12), or, at all events, till their successors arrived (Suidas, *s.v. κατεγήρασαν*). For other references to this very remarkable custom, which appears to be well

and no shoes. And when the first maidens died, they sent others; and they entered into the city by night, lest, being seen outside the precinct, they should be put to the sword; but afterwards they sent babes with their nurses. And when the thousand years were passed, after the Phocian war they ceased to send suppliants.¹

After Agamemnon had returned to Mycenae with Cassandra, he was murdered by Aegisthus and Clytaemnestra; for she gave him a shirt without sleeves and without a neck, and while he was putting it on he was cut down, and Aegisthus reigned over Mycenae.² And they killed Cassandra

authenticated, see Strabo, xiii. l. 40, pp. 600 *sq.*; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xiii. 66; Iamblichus, *De Pythagorica vita*, viii. 42; Suidas, *s.v.* ποινή (quoting Aelian); Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* i. 41. Servius, in contradiction to our other authorities, says that only one maiden was sent annually. Strabo appears to affirm that the custom originated as late as the Persian period (τὰς δὲ Λοκρίδας πεμφθῆναι Περσῶν ἤδη κρατοῦντων συνέβη). This view is accepted by Clinton, who accordingly holds that the custom lasted from 559 B.C. to 346 B.C. (*Fasti Hellenici*, i. 134 *sq.*).

² As to the murder of Agamemnon, see Homer, *Od.* iii. 193 *sq.*, 303-305, iv. 529-537, xi. 404-434; Hagias, *Returns*, summarized by Proclus, in *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 53; Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, 1379 *sqq.*; *id.* *Eumenides*, 631-635; Sophocles, *Electra*, 95-99; Euripides, *Electra*, 8-10; *id.* *Orestes*, 25 *sq.*; Pausanias, ii. 16. 6; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 1108 and 1375; Hyginus, *Fab.* 117; Seneca, *Agamemnon*, 875-909; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* xi. 268; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 47, 126, 141 *sq.* (First Vatican Mythographer, 147; Second Vatican Mythographer, 147 and 202); Dictys Cretensis, *Bellum Trojanum*, vi. 2. According to Homer and the author of the *Returns*, with whom Pausanias agrees, it was Aegisthus who killed Agamemnon; according to Aeschylus, it was Clytaemnestra. Sophocles and Euripides speak of the murder being perpetrated by the

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- 24 Κασάνδραν. Ἡλέκτρα δὲ μία τῶν Ἀγαμέμνονος θυγατέρων Ὀρέστην τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐκκλέπτει καὶ δίδωσι Στροφίῳ Φωκεῖ¹ τρέφειν, ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκτρέφει μετὰ Πυλάδου παιδὸς ἰδίου. τελειωθεὶς δὲ Ὀρέστης εἰς Δελφοὺς παραγίνεται καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἐρωτᾷ,² εἰ τοὺς αὐτόχειρας τοῦ πατρὸς μετέλθοι.
- 25 τοῦτο δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπιτρέποντος³ ἀπέρχεται εἰς Μυκῆνας⁴ μετὰ Πυλάδου λαθραίως καὶ κτείνει⁵ τὴν τε μητέρα καὶ τὸν Αἴγισθον, καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ μανία κατασχεθεὶς ὑπὸ Ἐρινύων⁶ διωκόμενος εἰς Ἀθήνας παραγίνεται καὶ κρίνεται⁷ ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ,⁸ | ὡς μὲν λέγουσί τινες ὑπὸ Ἐρινύων, ὡς δὲ τινες ὑπὸ Τυνδάρεω, ὡς δὲ τινες ὑπὸ Ἡριγόνης τῆς Αἰγίσθου καὶ Κλυταιμνήστρας, καὶ κριθεὶς ἴσων γενομένων τῶν ψήφων ἀπολύεται.

¹ Στροφίῳ Φωκεῖ E: Φωκεῖ Στροφίῳ S.

² καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἐρωτᾷ S: κακεῖ ἐρωτᾷ E.

³ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπιτρέποντος S: τοῦτο δ' ἐπιτραπεὶς E.

⁴ ἀπέρχεται Μυκῆνας E: ἀπερχόμενος εἰς Μυκῆνας S.

⁵ καὶ κτείνει τὴν τε μητέρα καὶ τὸν Αἴγισθον E: τὸν τε Αἴγισθον καὶ τὴν μητέρα κτείνει S.

⁶ Ἐρινύων S: Ἐριννύων E.

⁷ καὶ κρίνεται E: κρίνεται δὲ Ὀρέστης S.

⁸ ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ S: ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ καὶ ἀπολύεται E.

two jointly. The sleeveless and neckless garment in which Clytaemnestra entangled her husband, while she cut him down, is described with tragic grandiloquence and vagueness by Aeschylus, but more explicitly by later writers (Tzetzes, Seneca, Servius, and the Vatican Mythographers).

¹ As to the murder of Cassandra, see Homer, *Od.* xi. 421–423; Pindar, *Pyth.* xi. 19 (29) *sqq.*; Philostratus, *Imagines*, ii. 10; Athenaeus, xiii. 3, p. 556c; Hyginus, *Fab.* 117. According to Hyginus, both Clytaemnestra and Aegisthus had a hand in the murder of Cassandra; according to the other writers, she was despatched by Clytaemnestra alone.

² Compare Pindar, *Pyth.* xi. 34 (52) *sqq.*; Sophocles, *Electra*, 11 *sqq.*; Euripides, *Electra*, 14 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.*

also.¹ But Electra, one of Agamemnon's daughters, smuggled away her brother Orestes and gave him to Strophius, the Phocian, to bring up; and he brought him up with Pylades, his own son.² And when Orestes was grown up, he repaired to Delphi and asked the god whether he should take vengeance on his father's murderers. The god gave him leave, so he departed secretly to Mycenae in company with Pylades, and killed both his mother and Aegisthus.³ And not long afterwards, being afflicted with madness and pursued by the Furies, he repaired to Athens and was tried in the Areopagus. He is variously said to have been brought to trial by the Furies, or by Tyndareus, or by Erigone, daughter of Aegisthus and Clytaemnestra; and the votes at his trial being equal he was acquitted.⁴

117. Pindar tells how, after the murder of his father Agamemnon, the youthful Orestes was conveyed to the aged Strophius at the foot of Parnassus; but he does not say who rescued the child and conveyed him thither. According to Sophocles and Euripides, it was an old retainer of the family who thus saved Orestes, but Sophocles says that the old man had received the child from the hands of Electra. Hyginus, in agreement with Apollodorus, relates how, after the murder of Agamemnon, Electra took charge of (*sustulit*) her infant brother Orestes and committed him to the care of Strophius in Phocis.

¹ This vengeance for the murder of Agamemnon is the theme of three extant Greek tragedies, the *Choephoroi* of Aeschylus, the *Electra* of Sophocles, and the *Electra* of Euripides. It was related by Hagias in his epic, the *Returns*, as we learn from the brief summary of Proclus (*Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 53). Compare Pindar, *Pyth.* xi. 36 (55) *sq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 119. Homer briefly mentions the murder of Aegisthus by Orestes (*Od.* i. 29 *sq.*, 298-300, iii. 306 *sqq.*); he does not expressly mention, but darkly hints at, the murder of Clytaemnestra by her son (*Od.* iii. 309 *sq.*).

⁴ The trial and acquittal of Orestes in the court of the Areopagus at Athens is the subject of Aeschylus's tragedy,

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- ES 26 | Ἐρομένω¹ δὲ αὐτῷ, πῶς ἂν ἀπαλλαγείη τῆς
 νόσου, ὁ θεὸς εἶπεν, εἰ τὸ ἐν Ταύροις ξόανον μετα-
 S κομίσειεν.² | οἱ δὲ Ταῦροι μοῖρά ἐστι Σκυθῶν, οἱ
 τοὺς ξένους φονεύουσι καὶ εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν <πῦρ>³
 ῥίπτουσι. τοῦτο ἦν ἐν τῷ τεμένει διὰ τινος πέτρας
 ES 27 ἀναφερόμενον ἐξ Ἰδίου. | παραγενόμενος οὖν εἰς

¹ For ἔρομένω we should perhaps read χρωμένω.

² ἔρομένω δὲ . . . ξόανον μετακομίσειεν S: καὶ λαμβάνει χρῆσ-
 μὸν ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῆς νόσου, εἰ τὸ ἐν Ταύροις μετακομίσει Βρέ-
 τας E.

³ εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν <πῦρ> ῥίπτουσι Herwerden (*Mnemosyne*,
 xx. (1892), p. 200) (compare Euripides, *Iphigenia in Tauris*,
 626, πῦρ ἱερὸν): εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ῥίπτουσι S, Wagner.

the *Eumenides*, where the poet similarly represents the matricide as acquitted because the votes were equal (verses 752 sq.). The *Parian Chronicle* also records the acquittal on the same ground, and dates it in the reign of Demophon, king of Athens. See *Marmor Parium*, 40 sq. (*Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, ed. C. Müller, i. 546). Compare Euripides, *Iphigenia in Tauris*, 940-967, 1469-1472; *id. Orestes*, 1648-1652; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 1374; Pausanias, i. 28. 5, viii. 34. 4; Dictys Cretensis, *Bellum Trojanum*, vi. 4. In the *Eumenides* the accusers of Orestes are the Furies. According to the *Parian Chronicle*, it was Erigone, the daughter of Aegisthus and Clytaemnestra, who instituted the prosecution for the murder of her father; the chronicler does not mention the murder of Clytaemnestra as an article in the indictment of Orestes. According to the author of the *Etymologicum Magnum* (p. 42, s.v. Αἰώρα), the prosecution was conducted at Athens jointly by Erigone and her grandfather Tyndareus, and when it failed, Erigone hanged herself. Peloponnesian antiquaries, reported by Pausanias (viii. 34. 4), alleged that the accuser was not Tyndareus, who was dead, but Perilaus, a cousin of Clytaemnestra. According to Hyginus (*Fab.* 119), Orestes was accused by Tyndareus before the people of Mycenae, but was suffered to retire into banishment for the sake of his father. As to the madness of Orestes, caused by the Furies of his murdered mother, see Euripides, *Orestes*, 931 sqq.; Pausanias, iii. 22. 1, viii. 34. 1-4. The incipient symptoms of

When he inquired how he should be rid of his disorder, the god answered that he would be rid of it if he should fetch the wooden image that was in the land of the Taurians.¹ Now the Taurians are a part of the Scythians, who murder strangers² and throw them into the sacred fire, which was in the precinct, being wafted up from Hades through a certain rock.³ So when Orestes was come with madness, showing themselves immediately after the commission of the crime, are finely described by Aeschylus (*Choephoroi*, 1021 sqq.).

¹ As to the oracle, compare Euripides, *Iphigenia in Tauris*, 77-92, 970-978; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 1374; Hyginus, *Fab.* 120.

² The Taurians inhabited the Crimea. As to their custom of sacrificing castaways and strangers, see Herodotus, iv. 103; Euripides, *Iphigenia in Tauris*, 34-41; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 44. 7; Pausanias, i. 43. 1; *Orphica*, *Argon.* 1075 sq., ed Abel; Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, iii. 2. 45-58; Mela, ii. 11; Ammianus Marcellinus, xxii. 8. 34. According to Herodotus, these Taurians sacrificed human beings to a Virgin Goddess, whom they identified with Iphigenia, daughter of Agamemnon. The victims were shipwrecked persons and any Greeks on whom they could lay hands. They were slaughtered by being knocked on the head with a club, after which their heads were set up on stakes and their bodies thrown down a precipice into the sea or buried in the ground; for reports differed in regard to the disposal of the corpses, though all agreed as to the setting of the heads on stakes. Ammianus Marcellinus says that the native name of the goddess was Orsiloche.

³ This account of the disposal of the bodies of the victims is based on Euripides, *Iphigenia in Tauris*, 625 sq. :—

OP. τάφος δὲ ποῖος δέξεται μ', ὅταν θάνω;

IP. πῦρ ἱερὸν ἔνδον χάσμα τ' εὐρωπὸν πέτρας.

Compare *id.* 1154 sq. :—

ἤδη τῶν ξένων κατήρξατο,

ἀδύτοις τ' ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ σῶμα λάμπονται πυρὶ;

Thus Apollodorus differs from the account which Herodotus gives of the disposal of the bodies. See the preceding note.

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Ταύρους Ὀρέστης¹ μετὰ Πυλάδου φωραθεὶς ἑάλω
καὶ ἄγεται πρὸς Θόαντα τὸν βασιλέα δέσμιος,
ὁ δὲ ἀμφοτέρους πρὸς τὴν ἰέρειαν ἀποστέλλει.
ἐπιγνωσθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἱερὰ ποιούσης
ἐν Ταύροις,² ἄρας τὸ ξόανον σὺν αὐτῇ φεύγει.
S | κομισθὲν δὲ εἰς Ἀθήνας νῦν λέγεται τὸ τῆς Ταυ-
ροπόλου· ἔνιοι δὲ αὐτὸν κατὰ χεῖμῶνα προσενε-

¹ παραγενόμενος οὖν εἰς Ταύρους Ὀρέστης S : καὶ δὴ παραγενόμενος ἐν Ταύροις E.

² τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἱερὰ ποιούσης ἐν Ταύροις S : τῆς ἀδελφῆς E.

¹ This account of the expedition of Orestes and Pylades to the land of the Taurians, and their escape with the image of Artemis, is the subject of Euripides's play *Iphigenia in Tauris*, which Apollodorus seems to have followed closely. The gist of the play is told in verse by Ovid (*Ex Ponto*, iii. 2. 43-96) and in prose by Hyginus (*Fab.* 120). Compare Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 1374; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 7, 141 sq. (First Vatican Mythographer, 20; Second Vatican Mythographer, 202).

² In saying that the image of the Tauric Artemis was taken to Athens our author follows Euripides. See *Iphigenia in Tauris*, 89-91, 1212-1214. But according to Euripides the image was not to remain in Athens but to be carried to a sacred place in Attica called Halae, where it was to be set up in a temple specially built for it and to be called the image of Artemis Tauropolis or Brauronian Artemis (*Iphigenia in Tauris*, 1446-1467). An old wooden image of Artemis, which purported to be the one brought from the land of the Taurians, was shown at Brauron in Attica as late as the second century of our era; Iphigenia is said to have landed with the image at Brauron and left it there, while she herself went on by land to Athens and afterwards to Argos. See Pausanias, i. 23. 7, i. 33. 1. But according to some the original image was carried off by Xerxes to Susa, and was afterwards presented by Seleucus to Laodicea in Syria, where it was said to remain down to the time of Pausanias in the second century of our era (Pausanias, iii. 16. 8, viii. 46. 3).

Pylades to the land of the Taurians, he was detected, caught, and carried in bonds before Thoas the king, who sent them both to the priestess. But being recognized by his sister, who acted as priestess among the Taurians, he fled with her, carrying off the wooden image.¹ It was conveyed to Athens and is now called the image of Tauropolus.² But some say

Euripides has recorded, in the form of prophecy, two interesting features in the ritual of Artemis at Halae or Brauron. In sacrificing to the goddess the priest drew blood with a sword from the throat of a man, and this was regarded as a substitute for the sacrifice of Orestes, of which the goddess had been defrauded by his escape. Such a custom is explained most naturally as a mitigation of an older practice of actually sacrificing human beings to the goddess; and the tradition of such sacrifices at Brauron would suffice to give rise to the story that the image of the cruel goddess had been brought from the land of ferocious barbarians on the Black Sea. For similar mitigations of an old custom of human sacrifice, see *The Dying God*, pp. 214 *sqq.* The other feature in the ritual at Brauron which Euripides notices was that the garments of women dying in childbed used to be dedicated to Iphigenia, who was believed to be buried at Brauron. See Euripides, *Iphigenia in Tauris*, 1458–1467. As to Brauron and Halae, see my note on Pausanias, i. 33. 1 (vol. ii. pp. 445 *sqq.*). But other places besides Brauron claimed to possess the ancient idol of the Tauric Artemis. The wooden image of Artemis Orthia at Sparta, at whose altar the Spartan youths were scourged to the effusion of blood, was supposed by the Lacedaemonians to be the true original image brought by Iphigenia herself to Sparta; and their claim was preferred by Pausanias to that of the Athenians (Pausanias, iii. 16. 7–10). Others said that Orestes and Iphigenia carried the image, hidden in a bundle of faggots, to Aricia in Italy. See Servius, on Virgil, ii. 116, vi. 136; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 7, 142 (First Vatican Mythographer, 20; Second Vatican Mythographer, 202); compare Strabo, v. 3. 12, p. 239. Indeed, it was affirmed by some people that on his wanderings Orestes had deposited, not one, but many

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χθῆναι τῇ νήσῳ Ῥόδῳ λέγουσιν . . . αὐτὸν καὶ
 ES 28 κατὰ χρησμὸν ἐν τείχει καθοσιωθῆναι.¹ | καὶ δὴ
 ἐλθὼν εἰς Μυκῆνας Πυλάδῃ μὲν τὴν ἀδελφὴν
 Ἥλέκτραν συζεύγνυσιν,² αὐτὸς δὲ γήμας Ἐρμιόνην,
 E ἣ κατὰ τινὰς Ἡριγόνην,³ τεκνοῖ Τισαμενόν,⁴ | καὶ
 δηχθεῖς ὑπὸ ὄφεως ἐν Ὀρεστείῳ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας
 θνήσκει.

¹ λέγουσιν αὐτὸν καὶ κατὰ χρησμὸν ἐν τείχει καθοσιωθῆναι S.
 There seems to be a lacuna after λέγουσιν. Bücheler pro-
 posed to correct the passage and supply the lacuna as follows:
 λέγουσι <καὶ τὸ ξόανον μείναι> αὐτοῦ καὶ κατὰ χρησμὸν ἐν
 τείχει καθοσιωθῆναι, "They say that the image remained
 there and in accordance with an oracle was dedicated in a
 fortification wall." This may give the sense. Kerameus
 proposed to change αὐτὸν into ναυαγόν, but this would still
 leave the verb καθοσιωθῆναι without a proper subject.

² καὶ δὴ ἐλθὼν εἰς Μυκῆνας Πυλάδῃ μὲν τὴν ἀδελφὴν Ἥλέκτραν
 συζεύγνυσιν E: Ὀρέστῃς δὲ τὴν ἀδελφὴν Ἥλέκτραν Πυλάδῃ
 συνῴκισεν S.

³ ἣ κατὰ τινὰς Ἡριγόνην E, wanting in S.

⁴ ἐγέννησε Τισαμενόν S: τεκνοῖ (without an accusative) E.
 The original text of Apollodorus in this passage is probably
 reproduced more fully by Tzetzes (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 1374)
 as follows: "Ἦστερον δὲ ἦλθεν εἰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ Πυλάδῃ μὲν
 Ἥλέκτραν ζευγνύει, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἀνελὼν Νεοπτό-
 λεμον τὸν Ἀχιλλέως ἔγημεν Ἐρμιόνην, ἐξ ἧς γεννᾷ Τισαμενόν, ἣ
 κατὰ τινὰς Ἡριγόνην γήμας, τὴν Αἰγίσθου, Πένθιλον γεννᾷ, οἰκῶν
 ἐν Ὀρεστίᾳ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας, ὅπου ὑπὸ ὄφεως δηχθεὶς ἀναιρεῖται.
 "Afterwards he came to Athens and united Electra in
 marriage to Pylades, but he himself, with the help of his
 brothers, killed Neoptolemus, son of Achilles, and married
 Hermione, by whom he begat Tisamenus; or, according to
 some, he married Erigone, daughter of Aegisthus, and begat
 Penthilus, dwelling in Orestia, a district of Arcadia, where
 he was killed by the bite of a snake."

images of Artemis in many places (Aelius Lampridius, *Helio-
 gabalus*, 7). Such stories have clearly no historical value.
 In every case they were probably devised to explain or excuse
 a cruel and bloody ritual by deriving it from a barbarous
 country.

that Orestes was driven in a storm to the island of Rhodes, and in accordance with an oracle the image was dedicated in a fortification wall.¹ And having come to Mycenae, he united his sister Electra in marriage to Pylades,² and having himself married Hermione, or, according to some, Erigone, he begat Tisamenus,³ and was killed by the bite of a snake at Oresteum in Arcadia.⁴

¹ This drifting of Orestes to Rhodes seems to be mentioned by no other ancient writer. The verb (καθοσιωθῆναι), which I have taken to refer to the image and have translated by "dedicated," may perhaps refer to Orestes; if so, it would mean "purified" from the guilt of matricide. According to Hyginus (*Fab.* 120), Orestes sailed with Iphigenia and Pylades to the island of Sminthe, which is otherwise unknown. Another place to which Orestes and Iphigenia were supposed to have come on their way from the Crimea was Comana in Cappadocia; there he was said to have introduced the worship of Artemis Tauropolus and to have shorn his hair in token of mourning. Hence the city was said to derive its name (Κόμανα from κόμη). See Strabo, xii. 2. 3, p. 535. According to Tzetzes (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 1374), Orestes was driven by storms to that part of Syria where Seleucia and Antioch afterwards stood; and Mount Amanus, on the borders of Syria and Cilicia, was so named because there the matricide was relieved of his madness (Ἀμανός, from μανία "madness" and ἀ privative). Such is a sample of Byzantine etymology.

² As to the marriage of Electra to Pylades, see Euripides, *Electra*, 1249; *id. Orestes*, 1658 *sq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 122.

³ As to the marriage of Orestes and Hermione, see above, *Epitome*, v. 14, with the note. According to Pausanias (ii. 18. 6), Orestes had by Hermione a son Tisamenus, who succeeded his father on the throne of Sparta. But Pausanias also mentions a tradition that Orestes had a bastard son Penthilus by Erigone, daughter of Aegisthus, and for this tradition he cites as his authority the old epic poet Cinaethon. Compare Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 1474.

⁴ Compare Scholiast on Euripides, *Orestes*, 1645, quoting Asclepiades as his authority; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 1374. In the passage of Euripides on which the

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ES 29 | Μενέλαος δὲ πέντε ναῦς τὰς πάσας¹ ἔχων μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ προσσχὼν² Σουνίῳ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἀκρωτηρίῳ κάκειθεν εἰς Κρήτην ἀπορριφεὶς πάλιν ὑπὸ ἀνέμων μακρὰν ἀπωθεῖται, καὶ πλανώμενος ἀνά τε Λιβύην καὶ Φοινίκην καὶ Κύπρον καὶ Αἴγυπτον πολλὰ συναθροίζει χρήματα. καὶ κατὰ τινὰς εὐρίσκεται παρὰ Πρωτεῖ τῷ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεῖ Ἑλένη, μέχρι τότε εἰδῶλον ἐκ νεφῶν ἐσχηκότος τοῦ Μενελάου. ὀκτῶ δὲ πλανηθεὶς ἔτη κατέπλευσεν εἰς Μυκῆνας, κάκει κατέλαβεν Ὀρέστην μετεληλυθότα τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς φόνον. ἐλθὼν δὲ εἰς Σπάρτην τὴν ἰδίαν³ ἐκτίησατο βασιλείαν. καὶ⁴ | ἀποθανασθεὶς ὑπὸ Ἡρας εἰς τὸ Ἥλισιον ἦλθε πεδίου μεθ' Ἑλένης.

S

VII. Ὁ δὲ Ὀδυσσεύς, ὡς μὲν ἔνιοι λέγουσιν, ἐπλανᾶτο κατὰ Λιβύην, ὡς δὲ ἔνιοι κατὰ Σικελίαν,

¹ τὰς πάσας S: τὰς ὄλας E.

² προσσχὼν Σουνίῳ . . . Κύπρον καὶ Αἴγυπτον S: πολλὰς χῆρας παραμείψας E. ³ τὴν ἰδίαν E: ἰδίαν S.

⁴ Here the Vatican Epitome ends. What follows is found in the Sabbaitic fragments alone.

Scholiast comments (*Orestes*, 1643–1647), Orestes is bidden by Apollo to retire to Parrhasia, a district of Arcadia, for the space of a year, after which he is to go and stand his trial for the murder of his mother at Athens. This year to be spent in Arcadia is no doubt the year of banishment to which homicides had to submit before they were allowed to resume social intercourse with their fellows. See above note on ii. 5. 11 (vol. i. pp. 218 *sq.*). The period is so interpreted by a Scholiast on Euripides (*Orestes*, 1645). As to Oresteum in Arcadia, see Pausanias, viii. 3. 1 *sq.*, who says that it was formerly called Oresthasium. A curious story of the madness of Orestes in Arcadia is told by Pausanias (viii. 34. 1–4). He says that, when the Furies were about to drive him mad, they appeared to him black, but that he bit off one of his own

Menelaus, with five ships in all under his command, put in at Sunium, a headland of Attica; and being again driven thence by winds to Crete he drifted far away, and wandering up and down Libya, and Phoenicia, and Cyprus, and Egypt, he collected much treasure.¹ And according to some, he discovered Helen at the court of Proteus, king of Egypt; for till then Menelaus had only a phantom of her made of clouds.² And after wandering for eight years he came to port at Mycenae, and there found Orestes, who had avenged his father's murder. And having come to Sparta he regained his own kingdom,³ and being made immortal by Hera he went to the Elysian Fields with Helen.⁴

VII. Ulysses, as some say, wandered about Libya, or, as some say, about Sicily, or, as others

fingers, whereupon they appeared to him white, and he immediately recovered his wits. The grave of Orestes was near Tegea in Arcadia; from there his bones were stolen by a Spartan and carried to Sparta in compliance with an oracle, which assured the Spartans of victory over their stubborn foes the Tegeans, if only they could get possession of these valuable relics. See Herodotus, i. 67 *sq.*; Pausanias, iii. 3. 5 *sq.*, iii. 11. 10, viii. 54. 3.

¹ For the wanderings of Menelaus on the voyage from Troy, see Homer, *Od.* iii. 276–302; compare Pausanias, x. 25. 2.

² As to the real and the phantom Helen, see above, *Epitome*, iii. 5, with the note.

³ The return of Menelaus to his home was related by Hagias in the *Returns*, as we learn from the brief abstract of that poem by Proclus (*Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 53).

⁴ Homer in the *Odyssey* (iv. 561–569) represents Proteus prophesying to Menelaus that he was fated not to die but to be transported by the gods to the Elysian Fields, there to dwell at ease where there was neither snow, nor storm, or rain, because he had married Helen and was thereby a son-in-law of Zeus. Compare Euripides, *Helen*, 1676–1679.

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ὡς δὲ ἄλλοι κατὰ τὸν Ὀκεανὸν ἢ κατὰ τὸ Τυρρη-
νικὸν πέλαγος.

- 2 Ἀναχθεὶς δὲ ἀπὸ Ἰλίου προσίσχει πόλει Κίκωνων Ἴσμαρῶ καὶ ταύτην αἰρεῖ πολεμῶν καὶ λαφυραγωγεῖ, μόνου φεισάμενος Μάρωνος, ὃς ἦν ἱερεὺς Ἀπόλλωνος. αἰσθόμενοι δὲ οἱ τὴν ἡπειρον οἰκοῦντες Κίκονες σὺν ὄπλοις ἐπ' αὐτὸν παραγίνονται· ἀφ' ἐκάστης δὲ νεῶς ἕξ ἀποβαλὼν ἄνδρας ἀνα-
3 χθεὶς ἔφευγε. καὶ καταντᾶ εἰς τὴν Λωτοφάγων χώραν καὶ πέμπει τινὰς¹ μαθησομένους τοὺς κατοικοῦντας· οἱ δὲ γευσάμενοι τοῦ λωτοῦ κατέμειναν· ἐφύετο γὰρ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ καρπὸς ἡδὺς λεγόμενος λωτός, ὃς τῷ γευσασμένῳ πάντων ἐποίει λήθην. Ὀδυσσεὺς δὲ αἰσθόμενος, τοὺς λοιποὺς κατασχών, τοὺς γευσασμένους μετὰ βίας ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς ἄγει, καὶ προσπλεύσας² τῇ Κυκλώπων γῆ προσπελάζει.
- 4 Καταλιπὼν δὲ τὰς λοιπὰς ναῦς ἐν τῇ πλησίον νήσῳ, μίαν ἔχων τῇ Κυκλώπων γῆ προσπελάζει, μετὰ δώδεκα ἐταίρων ἀποβὰς τῆς νεῶς. ἔστι δὲ τῆς θαλάσσης πλησίον ἄντρον, εἰς ὃ ἔρχεται ἔχων

¹ τινὰς Wagner : τοὺς S.

² προσπλεύσας S. Wagner conjectures ἀποπλεύσας, which would be better.

¹ As to the adventures of Ulysses with the Cicones, see Homer, *Od.* ix. 39-66. The Cicones were a Thracian tribe; Xerxes and his army marched through their country (Herodotus, vii. 110). As to Maro, the priest of Apollo at Ismarus, see Homer, *Od.* ix. 196-211. He dwelt in a wooded grove of Apollo, and bestowed splendid presents and twelve jars of red honey-sweet wine, in return for the protection which he and his wife received at the hands of Ulysses.

² As to the adventures of Ulysses with the Lotus-eaters, see Homer, *Od.* ix. 82-104; Hyginus, *Fab.* 125. The Lotus-

say, about the ocean or about the Tyrrhenian Sea.

And putting to sea from Ilium, he touched at Ismarus, a city of the Cicones, and captured it in war, and pillaged it, sparing Maro alone, who was priest of Apollo.¹ And when the Cicones who inhabited the mainland heard of it, they came in arms to withstand him, and having lost six men from each ship he put to sea and fled. And he landed in the country of the Lotus-eaters,² and sent some to learn who inhabited it, but they tasted of the lotus and remained there; for there grew in the country a sweet fruit called lotus, which caused him who tasted it to forget everything. When Ulysses was informed of this, he restrained the rest of his men, and dragged those who had tasted the lotus by force to the ships. And having sailed to the land of the Cyclopes, he stood in for the shore.

And having left the rest of the ships in the neighbouring island, he stood in for the land of the Cyclopes with a single ship, and landed with twelve companions.³ And near the sea was a cave which he entered,

eaters were a tribe of northern Africa, inhabiting the coast of Tripolis (Scylax, *Periplus*, 110; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* v. 28). As to the lotus, see Herodotus, iv. 177; Polybius, xii. 2. 1, quoted by Athenaeus, xiv. 65, p. 651 D-F; Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.* iv. 3. 1 sq. The tree is the *Zizyphus Lotus* of the botanists. Theophrastus says that the tree was common in Libya, that is, in northern Africa, and that an army marching on Carthage subsisted on its fruit alone for several days. The modern name of the tree is *ssodr* or *ssidr*. A whole district in Tripolis is named *Ssodria* after it. See A. Wiedemann, *Herodots zweites Buch*, p. 385, note on Herodotus, ii. 96.

³ As to the adventures of Ulysses and his companions among the Cyclopes, see Homer, *Od.* ix. 105-542; Hyginus, *Fab.* 125. The story is a folk-tale found in many lands. See Appendix, "Ulysses and Polyphemus."

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- ἄσκον οἴνου τὸν ὑπὸ Μάρωνος αὐτῷ δοθέντα.¹ ἦν δὲ Πολυφήμου τὸ ἄντρον, ὃς ἦν Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Θωῶσης νύμφης, ἀνὴρ ὑπερμεγέθης ἀγριος ἀνδροφάγος, ἔχων ἓνα ὀφθαλμὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου.
- 5 ἀνακαύσαντες δὲ πῦρ καὶ τῶν ἐρίφων θύσαντες εὐωχοῦντο. ἐλθὼν δὲ ὁ Κύκλωψ καὶ εἰσελάσας τὰ ποιμνία τῇ μὲν θύρα προσέθηκε πέτρον ὑπερμεγέθης καὶ θεασάμενος αὐτοὺς ἐνίους κατήσθιεν.
- 6 Ὀδυσσεὺς δὲ αὐτῷ δίδωσιν ἐκ τοῦ Μάρωνος οἴνου πιεῖν· ὁ δὲ πῖον πάλιν ἤτησε, καὶ πῖον τὸ δεύτερον ἐπηρώτα τὸ ὄνομα. τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος <ὄτι>² Οὔτις καλεῖται, Οὔτιν ἠπεῖλει ὕστερον ἀναλώσαι, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἔμπροσθεν, καὶ τοῦτο αὐτῷ ξένιον ἀποδώσειν ὑπέσχετο. κατασχεθεῖς δὲ ὑπὸ μέθης
- 7 ἐκοιμήθη. Ὀδυσσεὺς δὲ εὐρῶν ῥόπαλον κείμενον σὺν τέσσαρσιν ἐταίροις ἀπώξυνε³ καὶ πυρώσας ἐξετύφλωσεν αὐτόν. ἐπιβωμένοι δὲ Πολυφήμου τοὺς πέριξ Κύκλωπας, παραγενόμενοι ἐπηρώτων τίς αὐτὸν ἀδικεῖ. τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος "Οὔτις," νομίσαντες αὐτὸν λέγειν "ὑπὸ μηδενός" ἀνεχώρησαν.
- 8 ἐπιζητούντων δὲ τῶν ποιμνίων τὴν συνήθη νομὴν, ἀνοίξας καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ προθύρου στὰς τὰς χεῖρας ἐκπετάσας ἐψηλάφα τὰ ποιμνία. Ὀδυσσεὺς δὲ τρεῖς κριοὺς ὁμοῦ συνδέων . . . καὶ αὐτὸς τῷ μείζονι ὑποδύς, ὑπὸ τὴν γαστέρα κρυβεῖς, σὺν τοῖς ποιμνίοις ἐξῆλθε, καὶ λύσας τοὺς ἐταίρους τῶν ποιμνίων, ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐλάσας ἀποπλέων ἀνεβόησε Κύκλωπι ὡς Ὀδυσσεὺς εἶη καὶ ἐκπεφεύγοι⁴

¹ For τὸν . . . δοθέντα we should perhaps read τοῦ . . . δοθέντος, as Wagner suggests, since it was not the wine-skin (ἄσκος), but the wine, which Maron gave to Ulysses. See Homer, *Od.* ix. 196 sq., 203-205.

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taking with him the skin of wine that had been given him by Maro. Now the cave belonged to Polyphemus, who was a son of Poseidon and the nymph Thoösa, a huge, wild, cannibal man, with one eye on his forehead. And having lit a fire and sacrificed some of the kids, they feasted. But the Cyclops came, and when he had driven in his flocks, he put a huge stone to the door, and perceiving the men he ate some of them. But Ulysses gave him of Maro's wine to drink, and when he had drunk, he asked for another draught, and when he had drunk the second, he inquired his name; and when Ulysses said that he was called Nobody, he threatened to devour Nobody last and the others first, and that was the token of friendship which he promised to give him in return. And being overcome by wine, he fell asleep. But Ulysses found a club lying there, and with the help of four comrades he sharpened it, and, having heated it in the fire, he blinded him. And when Polyphemus cried to the Cyclopes round about for help, they came and asked who was hurting him, and when he said, "Nobody," they thought he meant that he was being hurt by nobody, and so they retired. And when the flocks sought their usual pasture, he opened the cave, and standing at the doorway spread out his hands and felt the sheep. But Ulysses tied three rams together, and himself getting under the bigger, and hiding under its belly, he passed out with the sheep. And having released his comrades from the sheep, he drove the animals to the ships, and sailing away shouted to the Cyclops that he was Ulysses and that he had escaped

² *ἄτι* wanting in S, inserted by Bücheler.

³ *ἀπώξυνε* Kerameus: *ἀπώξευε* S.

⁴ *ἐκπεφύγοι* Bücheler: *ἐπιφεύγει* S.

APOLLODORUS

- 9 τὰς ἐκείνου χεῖρας. ἦν δὲ λόγιον Κύκλωπι εἰρη-
 μένον ὑπὸ μάντεως τυφλωθῆναι ὑπὸ Ὀδυσσέως.
 καὶ μαθὼν τὸ ὄνομα πέτρας ἀποσπῶν ἠκόντιζεν
 εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, μόλις δὲ ἡ ναῦς σώζεται
 πρὸς τὰς πέτρας. ἐκ τούτου δὲ μηνίει Ποσειδῶν
 Ὀδυσσεῖ.
- 10 Ἄναχθεῖς δὲ συμπάσαις <ναυσι>¹ παραγίνεται
 εἰς Αἰολίαν νῆσον, ἧς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἦν Αἴολος.
 οὗτος ἐπιμελητὴς ὑπὸ Διὸς τῶν ἀνέμων καθεσ-
 τήκει καὶ παύειν καὶ προτεσθαι. ὃς ξενίσας Ὀδυσ-
 σέα δίδωσιν αὐτῷ ἄσκον βόειον, ἐν ᾧ κατέδησε
 τοὺς ἀνέμους, ὑποδείξας οἷς δεῖ χρῆσθαι πλέοντα,
 τοῦτον² ἐν τῷ σκάφει καταδήσας. ὁ δὲ Ὀδυσσεὺς
 ἐπιτηδείοις ἀνέμοις χρώμενος εὐπλοεῖ, καὶ πλησίον
 Ἰθάκης ὑπάρχων ἤδη τὸν ἀναφερόμενον ἐκ τῆς
- 11 πόλεως καπνὸν ἰδὼν ἐκοιμήθη. οἱ δὲ ἐταῖροι
 νομίζοντες χρυσὸν ἐν τῷ ἄσκῳ κομίζειν αὐτόν,
 λύσαντες τοὺς ἀνέμους ἐξαφῆκαν, καὶ πάλιν εἰς
 τοῦπίσω παρεγένοντο ὑπὸ τῶν πνευμάτων ἄρπα-
 σθέντες. Ὀδυσσεὺς δὲ ἀφικόμενος πρὸς Αἴολον
 ἠξίου πομπῆς τυχεῖν, ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκβάλλει τῆς
 νήσου λέγων ἀντιπρασσόντων τῶν θεῶν μὴ δύνα-
 σθαι σώζειν.
- 12 Πλέων οὖν κατῆρε πρὸς Λαιστρυγόνας, καὶ . . .
 τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ναῦν καθώρμισεν ἐσχάτως. Λαιστρυ-
 γόνες δ' ἦσαν ἀνδροφάγοι, καὶ αὐτῶν ἐβασίλευεν
 Ἀντιφάτης. μαθεῖν οὖν Ὀδυσσεὺς βουλόμενος

¹ *ναυσι* conjectured by Kerameus, wanting in S.

² Perhaps we should read *καὶ τοῦτον*.

¹ As to the adventures of Ulysses with Aeolus, the Keeper of the Winds, see Homer, *Od.* x. 1-76; Hyginus, *Fab.* 125; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xiv. 223-232.

out of his hands. Now the Cyclops had been forewarned by a soothsayer that he should be blinded by Ulysses; and when he learned the name, he tore away rocks and hurled them into the sea, and hardly did the ship evade the rocks. From that time Poseidon was wroth with Ulysses.

Having put to sea with all his ships, he came to the island of Aeolia, of which the king was Aeolus.¹ He was appointed by Zeus keeper of the winds, both to calm them and to send them forth. Having entertained Ulysses, he gave him an ox-hide bag in which he had bound fast the winds, after showing what winds to use on the voyage and binding fast the bag in the vessel. And by using suitable winds Ulysses had a prosperous voyage; and when he was near Ithaca and already saw the smoke rising from the town,² he fell asleep. But his comrades, thinking he carried gold in the bag, loosed it and let the winds go free, and being swept away by the blasts they were driven back again. And having come to Aeolus, Ulysses begged that he might be granted a fair wind; but Aeolus drove him from the island, saying that he could not save him when the gods opposed.

So sailing on he came to the land of the Laestrygones,³ and his own ship he moored last. Now the Laestrygones were cannibals, and their king was Antiphates. Wishing, therefore, to learn about the

¹ Homer says (*Od.* x. 30) they were so near land that they could already see the men tending the fires (*πυρπολέοντας*); but whether the fires were signals to guide the ship to port, or watch-fires of shepherds tending their flocks on the hills, does not appear.

³ As to the adventures of Ulysses and his comrades among the Laestrygones, see Homer, *Od.* x. 80-132; Hyginus, *Fab.* 125; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xiv. 233-244.

APOLLODORUS

- τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἔπεμψέ τινας πεισομένους. τούτοις δὲ ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως θυγάτηρ συντυγχάνει
- 13 καὶ αὐτοὺς ἄγει πρὸς τὸν πατέρα. ὁ δὲ ἓνα μὲν αὐτῶν ἀρπάσας ἀναλίσκει, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐδίωκε φεύγοντας κεκραγῶς καὶ συγκαλῶν τοὺς ἄλλους Λαιστρυγόνας. οἱ δὲ ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ βάλλοντες πέτροις τὰ μὲν σκάφη κατέαξαν, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἐβίβρωσκον. Ὀδυσσεὺς δὲ κόψας τὸ πείσμα τῆς νεῶς ἀνήχθη, αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ συν τοῖς πλέουσιν ἀπώλοντο.
- 14 Μίαν δὲ ἔχων ναῦν Αἰαίῃ νήσῳ προσίσχει. ταύτην κατόκει Κίρκη, θυγάτηρ Ἑλίου καὶ Πέρσης, Αἰήτου δὲ ἀδελφῆ, πάντων ἔμπειρος οὔσα φαρμάκων. διελὼν¹ τοὺς ἑταίρους αὐτὸς μὲν κλήρῳ μένει παρὰ τῇ νηί, Εὐρύλοχος δὲ πορεύεται μεθ' ἑταίρων² εἰκοσιδύο τὸν ἀριθμὸν πρὸς Κίρκην.
- 15 καλούσης δὲ αὐτῆς χωρὶς Εὐρυλόχου πάντες εἰσίασιν. ἡ δ' ἐκάστῳ κυκεῶνα πλήσασα τυροῦ καὶ μέλιτος καὶ ἀλφίτων καὶ οἴνου δίδωσι, μίξασα φαρμάκῳ. πiónτων δὲ αὐτῶν, ἐφαπτομένη ράβδῳ τὰς μορφὰς ἡλλοίου, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐποίει λύκους, τοὺς δὲ σῦς, τοὺς δὲ ὄνους, τοὺς δὲ λέοντας.
- 16 Εὐρύλοχος δὲ ἰδὼν ταῦτα Ὀδυσσεὶ ἀπαγγέλλει.

¹ Wagner conjectures *διελὼν* < δὲ >, which would be better.

² *ἑταίρων* Kerameus: *ἑτέρων* S.

¹ As to the adventures of Ulysses and his comrades with the enchantress Circe, see Homer, *Od.* x. 133-574; Hyginus, *Fab.* 125; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xiv. 246-440. The word (φάρμακα) here translated "enchantments" means primarily drugs; but in the early stages of medicine drugs were supposed to be endowed with magical potency, partly in virtue of the spells, that is, the form of words, with which the

inhabitants, Ulysses sent some men to inquire. But the king's daughter met them and led them to her father. And he snatched up one of them and devoured him; but the rest fled, and he pursued them, shouting and calling together the rest of the Laestrygones. They came to the sea, and by throwing stones they broke the vessels and ate the men. Ulysses cut the cable of his ship and put to sea; but the rest of the ships perished with their crews.

With one ship he put in to the Aeaean isle. It was inhabited by Circe, a daughter of the Sun and of Perse, and a sister of Aeetes; skilled in all enchantments was she.¹ Having divided his comrades, Ulysses himself abode by the ship, in accordance with the lot, but Eurylochus with two and twenty comrades repaired to Circe. At her call they all entered except Eurylochus; and to each she gave a tankard she had filled with cheese and honey and barley meal and wine, and mixed with an enchantment. And when they had drunk, she touched them with a wand and changed their shapes, and some she made wolves, and some swine, and some asses, and some lions.² But Eurylochus saw these things and

medical practitioner administered them to the patient. Hence druggist and enchanter were nearly synonymous terms. As Circe used her knowledge of drugs purely for magical purposes, without any regard to the medical side of the profession, it seems better to translate her *φάρμακα* by "enchantments" or "charms" rather than "drugs," and to call her an enchantress instead of a druggist.

² In Homer (*Od.* x. 237 *sqq.*) the companions of Ulysses are turned into swine only; nothing is said about a transformation of them into wolves, lions, and asses, though round about the house of the enchantress they saw wolves and lions, which stood on their hind legs, wagged their tails, and fawned upon them, because they were men enchanted (*Od.* x. 210-219).

APOLLODORUS

ὁ δὲ λαβὼν μῶλυ παρὰ Ἑρμοῦ πρὸς Κίρκην ἔρχεται, καὶ βαλὼν εἰς τὰ φάρμακα τὸ μῶλυ μόνος πιὼν οὐ φαρμάσσεται· σπασάμενος δὲ τὸ ξίφος ἤθελε¹ Κίρκην ἀποκτεῖναι. ἡ δὲ τὴν ὄργην παύσασα τοὺς ἐταίρους ἀποκαθίστησι. καὶ λαβὼν ὄρκους Ὀδυσσεὺς παρ' αὐτῆς μηδὲν ἀδικηθῆναι συνευνάζεται, καὶ γίνεται αὐτῷ παῖς Τηλέγονος.

17 ἐνιαυτὸν δὲ μείνας ἐκεῖ, πλεύσας² τὸν Ὀκεανόν, σφάγια³ ταῖς ψυχαῖς ποιησάμενος μαντεύεται παρὰ Τειρεσίου, Κίρκης ὑποθεμένης, καὶ θεωρεῖ τὰς τε τῶν ἡρώων ψυχὰς καὶ⁴ τῶν ἡρωϊδῶν. βλέπει δὲ καὶ τὴν μητέρα Ἀντίκλειαν καὶ Ἑλπήνορα, ὃς ἐν τοῖς Κίρκης πεσὼν ἐτελεύτησε.

18 Παραγενόμενος δὲ πρὸς Κίρκην ὑπ' ἐκείνης προπεμφθεὶς ἀνήχθη, καὶ τὴν νῆσον παρέπλει⁵

¹ ἤθελε Bücheler : ἦλθε S.

² Perhaps we should read πλεύσαις <eis> τὸν Ὀκεανόν.

³ Wagner conjectured <καὶ> σφάγια.

⁴ Perhaps we should read καὶ τὰς.

⁵ παρέπλει Wagner : παραπλέει S.

¹ As to moly, see Homer, *Od.* x. 302–306. Homer says that it was a plant dug up from the earth, with a black root and a white flower. According to Theophrastus (*Hist. Plant.* ix. 15. 7), moly resembled *Allium nigrum*, which was found in the valley of Pheneus and on Mount Cyllene in northern Arcadia; he says it had a round root, like an onion, and a leaf like a squill, and that it was used as an antidote to spells and enchantments. But probably the moly of Homer grew on no earthly hill or valley, but only in “fairyländ forlorn.”

² Telegonus is unknown to Homer, who mentions no offspring of Ulysses by the enchantress Circe. He is named as a son of Ulysses and Circe by Hesiod in a line which is suspected, however, of being spurious (*Theogony*, 1014). He was recognized by Hagias in his epic, *The Returns*, and by another Cyclic poet Eugammon of Cyrene; indeed Eugammon composed an epic called the *Telegony* on the adventures of Telegonus, but according to him Telegonus was a son of

reported them to Ulysses. And Ulysses went to Circe with moly,¹ which he had received from Hermes, and throwing the moly among her enchantments, he drank and alone was not enchanted. Then drawing his sword, he would have killed her, but she appeased his wrath and restored his comrades. And when he had taken an oath of her that he should suffer no harm, Ulysses shared her bed, and a son, Telegonus, was born to him.² Having tarried a year there, he sailed the ocean, and offered sacrifices to the souls,³ and by Circe's advice consulted the soothsayer Tiresias,⁴ and beheld the souls both of heroes and of heroines. He also looked on his mother Anticlia⁵ and Elpenor, who had died of a fall in the house of Circe.⁶

And having come to Circe he was sent on his way by her, and put to sea, and sailed past the isle of the

Ulysses by Calypso, not by Circe. See *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, pp. 56, 57 sq.; Eustathius on Homer, *Od.* xvi. 118, p. 1796. According to Hyginus (*Fab.* 125), Ulysses had two sons, Nausithous and Telegonus, by Circe. As to Telegonus, see also below, *Epitome*, vii. 36 sq.

³ The visit of Ulysses to the land of the dead is the theme of the eleventh book of the *Odyssey*. Compare Hyginus, *Fab.* 125. The visit was the subject of one of the two great pictures by Polygnotus at Delphi. See Pausanias, x. 28-31.

⁴ As to the consultation with Tiresias, see Homer, *Od.* xi. 90-151.

⁵ As to the interview of Ulysses with his mother, see Homer, *Od.* xi. 153-224.

⁶ In the hot air of Circe's enchanted isle Elpenor had slept for coolness on the roof of the palace; then, suddenly awakened by the noise and bustle of his comrades making ready to depart, he started up and, forgetting to descend by the ladder, tumbled from the roof and broke his neck. In his hurry to be off, Ulysses had not stayed to bury his dead comrade; so the soul of Elpenor, unwept and unburied, was the first to meet his captain on the threshold of the spirit land. See Homer, *Od.* x. 552-560, xi. 51-83.

APOLLODORUS

τῶν Σειρήνων. αἱ δὲ Σειρήνες ἦσαν Ἀχελφού
καὶ Μελπομένης μιᾶς τῶν Μουσῶν θυγατέρες,
Πεισινόη Ἀγλαόπη Θελξιέπεια. τούτων ἡ μὲν
ἐκισθάριζεν, ἡ δὲ ἦδεν, ἡ δὲ ἠΐλει, καὶ διὰ τούτων
19 ἔπειθον καταμένειν τοὺς παραπλέοντας. εἶχον δὲ
ἀπὸ τῶν μηρῶν ὀρνίθων μορφάς. ταύτας παρα-
πλέον Ὀδυσσεύς, τῆς ᾠδῆς βουλόμενος ὑπακούσαι,
Κίρκης ὑποθεμένης τῶν μὲν ἐταίρων τὰ ᾠτα ἔβυσε
κρηῶ, ἑαυτὸν δὲ ἐκέλευσε προσδεθῆναι τῷ ἰσθῶ.
πειθόμενος δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Σειρήνων καταμένειν ἠξίου
λυθῆναι, οἱ δὲ μᾶλλον αὐτὸν ἐδέσμευον, καὶ οὕτω

¹ As to the return of Ulysses to the isle of Circe, and his sailing past the Sirens, see Homer, *Od.* xii. 1-200; Hyginus, *Fab.* 125. Homer does not name the Sirens individually nor mention their parentage, but by using the dual in reference to them (verses 52, 167) he indicates that they were two in number. Sophocles, in his play *Ulysses*, called the Sirens daughters of Phorcus, and agreed with Homer in recognizing only two of them. See Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.* ix. 14. 6; *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. iii. p. 66, frag. 861. Apollonius Rhodius says that the Muse Terpsichore bore the Sirens to Achelous (*Argonaut.* iv. 895 sq.). Hyginus names four of them, Teles, Raidne, Molpe, and Thelxiope (*Fabulae, praefat.* p. 30, ed. Bunte), and, in agreement with Apollodorus, says that they were the offspring of Achelous by the Muse Melpomene. Tzetzes calls them Parthenope, Leucosia, and Ligia, but adds that other people named them Pisinoe, Aglaope, and Thelxiepia, and that they were the children of Achelous and Terpsichore. With regard to the parts which they took in the bewitching concert, he agrees with Apollodorus. See Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 712. According to a Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius (*Argonaut.* iv. 892), their names were Thelxiope, or Thelxione, Molpe, and Aglaophonus. As to their names and parents see also Eustathius on Homer, *Od.* xii. p. 1709, Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* xii. 39, who mention the view that the father of the Sirens was Achelous, and that their mother was either the Muse Terpsichore, or Sterope, daughter of Porthaon.

Sirens.¹ Now the Sirens were Pisinoe, Aglaope, and Thelxiepia, daughters of Achelous and Melpomene, one of the Muses. One of them played the lyre, another sang, and another played the flute, and by these means they were fain to persuade passing mariners to linger; and from the thighs they had the forms of birds.² Sailing by them, Ulysses wished to hear their song, so by Circe's advice he stopped the ears of his comrades with wax, and ordered that he should himself be bound to the mast. And being persuaded by the Sirens to linger, he begged to be released, but they bound him the more, and so he

² Similarly Apollonius Rhodius (*Argon.* iv. '898 sq.) describes the Sirens as partly virgins and partly birds. Aelian tells us (*De natura animalium*, xvii. 23) that poets and painters represented them as winged maidens with the feet of birds. Ovid says that the Sirens had the feet and feathers of birds, but the faces of virgins; and he asks why these daughters of Achelous, as he calls them, had this hybrid form. Perhaps, he thinks, it was because they had been playing with Persephone when gloomy Dis carried her off, and they had begged the gods to grant them wings, that they might search for their lost playmate over seas as well as land. See Ovid, *Metamorph.* v. 552-562. In like manner Hyginus describes the Sirens as women above and fowls below, but he says that their wings and feathers were a punishment inflicted on them by Demeter for not rescuing Persephone from the clutches of Pluto. See Hyginus, *Fab.* 125, 141. Another story was that they were maidens whom Aphrodite turned into birds because they chose to remain unmarried. See Eustathius, on Homer, *Od.* xii. 47, p. 1709. It is said that they once vied with the Muses in singing, and that the Muses, being victorious, plucked off the Sirens's feathers and made crowns out of them for themselves (Pausanias, ix. 34. 3). In ancient art, as in literature, the Sirens are commonly represented as women above and birds below. See Miss J. E. Harrison, *Myths of the Odyssey* (London, 1882), pp. 146 sqq. Homer says nothing as to the semi-bird shape of the Sirens, thus leaving us to infer that they were purely human.

APOLLODORUS

παρέπλει. ἦν δὲ αὐταῖς¹ Σειρήσι λόγιον τελευ-
 τῆσαι νεῶς² παρελθούσης. αἱ μὲν οὖν ἐτελεύτων.
 20 Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο παραγίνεται ἐπὶ δισσὰς ὁδοῦς.
 ἔνθεν μὲν ἦσαν αἱ Πλαγκταὶ πέτραι, ἔνθεν δὲ
 ὑπερμεγέθεις σκόπελοι δύο. ἦν δὲ ἐν μὲν θατέρῳ
 Σκύλλα, Κραταΐδος θυγάτηρ καὶ † Τριήνου³ ἢ
 Φόρκου, πρόσωπον ἔχουσα καὶ στέρνα γυναικός,
 ἐκ λαγόνων δὲ κεφαλὰς ἕξ καὶ δώδεκα πόδας
 21 κυνῶν. ἐν δὲ θατέρῳ [τῷ σκοπέλῳ] ἦν Χάρυβδις,
 ἡ τῆς ἡμέρας τρεῖς ἀνασπῶσα⁴ τὸ ὕδωρ πάλιν
 ἀνίει. ὑποθεμένης δὲ Κίρκης, τὸν μὲν παρὰ τὰς
 Πλαγκτὰς πλοῦν ἐφυλάξατο, παρὰ δὲ τὸν τῆς
 Σκύλλης σκόπελον <πλέων>⁵ ἐπὶ τῆς πρύμνης
 ἔστη καθωπλισμένος. ἐπιφανεῖσα δὲ ἡ Σκύλλα

¹ αὐταῖς S. Wagner conjectures *ad ταῖς*.

² νεῶς Wagner: *νηὸς* S.

³ Τριήνου S: Τυρρήνου Scholiast on Plato, *Republic*, ix. p. 588 c. Bücheler conjectured *Τριαίου* or *Τυφῶνος* (compare Hyginus, *Fab.*, p. 31, ed. Bunte): Wagner proposed *Τρίτωνος*, comparing Eustathius on Homer, *Od.* xii. 85, p. 1714.

⁴ τρεῖς ἀνασπῶσα Wagner: *τρίτον σπῶσα* S: *τρεῖς σπῶσα* Kerameus.

⁵ σκόπελον <πλέων> ἐπὶ Wagner (conjecture): *σκόπελον ἐπὶ* S.

¹ This is not mentioned by Homer, but is affirmed by Hyginus (*Fab.* 125, 141). Others said that the Sirens cast themselves into the sea and were drowned from sheer vexation at the escape of Ulysses. See Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* xii. 39; Eustathius on Homer, *Od.* xii. 167, p. 1709; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 712; compare Strabo, vi. 1. 1, p. 252.

² As to Ulysses and the Wandering Rocks, see Homer, *Od.* xii. 52-72, 201-221. The poet mentions (verses 70-72) the former passage of the Argo between the Wandering or Clashing Rocks, as to which see above i. 9. 22, with the note. It has been suggested that in the story of the Wandering Rocks we have a confused reminiscence of some

sailed past. Now it was predicted of the Sirens that they should themselves die when a ship should pass them; so die they did.¹

And after that he came to two ways. On the one side were the Wandering Rocks,² and on the other side two huge cliffs, and in one of them was Scylla,³ a daughter of Crataeis and Trienus or Phorcus,⁴ with the face and breast of a woman, but from the flanks she had six heads and twelve feet of dogs. And in the other cliff was Charybdis, who thrice a day drew up the water and spouted it again. By the advice of Circe he shunned the passage by the Wandering Rocks, and in sailing past the cliff of Scylla he stood fully armed on the poop. But Scylla appeared, snatched

sailor's story of floating icebergs. See Merry, on Homer, *Od.* xii. 61.

³ As to the passage of Ulysses between Scylla and Charybdis, see Homer, *Od.* xii. 73-126, 222-259; Hyginus, *Fab.* 125, 199.

⁴ Homer mentions Crataeis as the mother of Scylla, but says nothing as to her father (*Od.* xii. 124 *sq.*). According to Stesichorus, the mother of Scylla was Lamia. See Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* xii. 124; Eustathius, on Homer, *Od.* xii. 85, p. 1714. Apollonius Rhodius represents Scylla as a daughter of Phorcus by the night-wandering hag Hecate (*Argonaut.* iv. 828 *sq.*), and this parentage had the support of Acusilaus, except that he named her father Phorcys instead of Phorcus (Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 828; compare Eustathius, *l.c.*). Hyginus calls her a daughter of Typhon and Echidna (*Fab.* 125, 151, and *praefat.* p. 31, ed. Bunte). A Scholiast on Plato (*Repub.* ix. p. 588 c), who may have copied the present passage of Apollodorus, calls Scylla a daughter of Crataeis and Tyrrhenus or Phorcus, adding that she had the face and breasts of a woman, but from the flanks six heads of dogs and twelve feet. Some said that the father of Scylla was Triton (Eustathius, *l.c.*); and perhaps the name Triton should be read instead of Trienus in the present passage of Apollodorus. See the Critical Note.

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- ἔξ ἑταίρους ἀρπάσασα τούτους κατεβίβρωσκεν.
 22 ἐκείθεν δὲ ἔλθων εἰς Θρινακίαν νῆσον οὖσαν
 Ἑλίου, ἔνθα βόες ἐβόσκοντο, καὶ ἀπλοῖα κατα-
 σχεθεὶς ἔμεινεν αὐτοῦ. τῶν δὲ ἑταίρων σφαζάν-
 των ἐκ τῶν βοῶν καὶ θοινησαμένων, λειφθέντων¹
 τροφῆς, Ἥλιος ἐμήνυσε² Δίῃ. καὶ ἀναχθέντα
 23 κεραυνῷ ἔβαλε. λυθείσης δὲ τῆς νεῶς Ὀδυσσεὺς
 τὸν ἰστὸν κατασχὼν παραγίνεται εἰς τὴν Χάρυβ-
 διν. τῆς δὲ Χάρυβδews καταπινοῦσης τὸν ἰστὸν,
 ἐπιλαβόμενος ὑπερπεφυκός³ ἔρινεοῦ περιέμεινε.
 καὶ πάλιν ἀνεθέντα τὸν ἰστὸν θεωρήσας, ἐπὶ τοῦ-
 τον ρίψας εἰς Ὠγυγίαν νῆσον διεκομίσθη.
 24 Ἐκεῖ δὲ ἀποδέχεται Καλυψὼ θυγάτηρ Ἄτ-
 λαντος, καὶ συνεννασθεῖσα γεννᾷ παῖδα Λατῖνον.
 μένει δὲ παρ' αὐτῆ πενταετίαν, καὶ σχεδίαν
 ποιήσας ἀποπλεῖ. ταύτης δὲ ἐν τῷ πελάγει δια-
 λυθείσης ὀργῇ Ποσειδῶνος, γυμνὸς πρὸς Φαίακας
 25 ἐκβράσσεται. Ναυσικία δέ, ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως
 θυγάτηρ Ἀλκινόου, πλύνουσα τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἱκετεύ-
 σαυτα αὐτὸν ἄγει πρὸς Ἀλκίνοον, ὃς αὐτὸν ξενίζει

¹ λειφθέντων Kerameus : ληφθέντων S.

² ἐμήνυσε Kerameus : ἐμήνισε S.

³ ὑπερπεφυκός Kerameus : ὑπερφυκός S.

¹ As to the adventures of Ulysses in Thrinacia, the island of the Sun, see Homer, *Od.* xii. 127-141, 260-402.

² See Homer, *Od.* xii. 403-425.

³ See Homer, *Od.* xii. 426-450, compare v. 128-135.

⁴ As to the stay of Ulysses with Calypso in the island of Ogygia, and his departure in a boat of his own building, see Homer, *Od.* v. 13-281, vii. 243-266; Hyginus, *Fab.* 125. According to Homer (*Od.* vii. 259), Ulysses stayed seven years with Calypso, not five years, as Apollodorus says. Hyginus limits the stay to one year. Homer does not mention that

six of his comrades, and gobbled them up. And thence he came to Thrinacia, an island of the Sun, where kine were grazing, and being windbound, he tarried there.¹ But when his comrades slaughtered some of the kine and banqueted on them, for lack of food, the Sun reported it to Zeus, and when Ulysses put out to sea, Zeus struck him with a thunderbolt.² And when the ship broke up, Ulysses clung to the mast and drifted to Charybdis. And when Charybdis sucked down the mast, he clutched an overhanging wild fig-tree and waited, and when he saw the mast shot up again, he cast himself on it, and was carried across to the island of Ogygia.³

There Calypso, daughter of Atlas, received him, and bedding with him bore a son Latinus. He stayed with her five years, and then made a raft and sailed away.⁴ But on the high sea the raft was broken in pieces by the wrath of Poseidon, and Ulysses was washed up naked on the shore of the Phaeacians.⁵ Now Nausicaa, the daughter of king Alcinous, was washing the clothes, and when Ulysses implored her protection, she brought him to Alcinous, who entertained him, and after bestowing gifts on him

Calypso bore a son to Ulysses. In the *Theogony* of Hesiod (verses 1111 *sqq.*) it is said that Circe (not Calypso), bore two sons, Agrius and Latinus, to Ulysses; the verses, however, are probably not by Hesiod but have been interpolated by a later poet of the Roman era in order to provide the Latins with a distinguished Greek ancestry. The verses are quoted by the Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonaut.* iii. 200. Compare Joannes Lydus, *De mensibus*, i. 13, p. 7, ed. Bekker. Eustathius says (on Homer, *Od.* xvi. 118, p. 1796) that, according to Hesiod, Ulysses had two sons, Agrius and Latinus, by Circe, and two sons, Nausithous and Nausinous, by Calypso.

⁵ See Homer, *Od.* v. 282-493; Hyginus *Fab.* 125.

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και δῶρα δούς μετὰ πομπῆς αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα ἐξέπεμψε. Ποσειδῶν δὲ Φαίαξι μηνίσας τὴν μὲν ναῦν ἀπελίθωσε, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ὄρει περικαλύπτει.

26 Ὀδυσσεὺς δὲ παραγενόμενος εἰς τὴν πατρίδα εὕρισκει τὸν οἶκον διεφθαρμένον· νομίσαντες γὰρ αὐτὸν τεθνάναι Πηνελόπην ἐμνῶντο ἐκ Δουλιχίου

27 μὲν νῆ'. Ἀμφίνομος Θόας Δημοπτόλεμος Ἀμφίμαχος Εὐρύαλος, Πάραλος Εὐηνορίδης Κλυτίος Ἀγήνωρ Εὐρύπυλος, Πυλαιμένης¹ Ἀκάμας Θερσίλοχος Ἄγιος Κλύμενος, Φιλόδημος Μενεπτόλεμος Δαμάστωρ Βίας Τέλμιος, Πολύιδος Ἀστύλοχος Σχεδῖος Ἀντίγονος² Μάρψιος, Ἴφιδάμας Ἀργεῖος Γλαῦκος Καλυδωνεὺς Ἐχίων, Λάμας Ἀνδραίμων Ἀγέρωχος Μέδων Ἀγριος, Πρόμος Κτήσιος Ἀκαρνάν Κύκνος Ψηρᾶς, Ἑλλάνικος Περίφρων Μεγασθένης Θρασυμήδης Ὀρμένιος, Διοπίθης Μηκιστεὺς Ἀντίμαχος Πτολεμαῖος

28 Λεστορίδης,³ Νικόμαχος Πολυποίτης Κεραός. ἐκ δὲ Σάμης κγ'. Ἀγέλαος Πείσανδρος Ἐλατος Κτήσιππος Ἴππόδοχος, Εὐρύστρατος Ἀρχέμολος⁴ Ἴθακος Πεισήνωρ Ὑπερήνωρ, Φεροίτης⁵ Ἀντισθένης Κέρβερὸς Περιμήδης Κύννος, Θρίασιος Ἐτεωνεὺς Κλυτίος Πρόθοος Λύκαιθος,⁶ Εὐμηλος

29 Ἴτανος⁷ Λύαμμος. ἐκ δὲ Ζακύνθου μδ'. Εὐρύ-

¹ Πυλαιμένης Kerameus : Παλαιμένης S.

² Ἀντίγονος Kerameus : Ἀνήγονος S.

³ Kerameus conjectured Νεστορίδης : Wagner Θεστορίδης.

⁴ Kerameus conjectured Ἀρχέμορος or Ἀρχέμαχος.

⁵ Kerameus conjectured Φιλοίτιος.

⁶ Λύκαιθος Kerameus : Λυκάεθος S.

⁷ Bücheler conjectured Ἴταμος.

¹ See Homer, *Od.* vi., vii., viii., xii. 1-124; Hyginus, *Fab.* 125.

² See Homer, *Od.* xii. 125-187. "Poseidon does not pro-
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sent him away with a convoy to his native land.¹ But Poseidon was wroth with the Phaeacians, and he turned the ship to stone and enveloped the city with a mountain.²

And on arriving in his native land Ulysses found his substance wasted ; for, believing that he was dead, suitors were wooing Penelope.³ From Dulichium came fifty-seven :—Amphinomus, Thoas, Demoptolemus, Amphimachus, Euryalus, Paralus, Evenorides, Clytius, Agenor, Eurypylus, Pylaemenes, Acamas, Thersilochus, Hagijs, Clymenus, Philodemus, Meneptolemus, Damastor, Bias, Telmius, Polyidus, Astylochus, Schedius, Antigonus, Marpsius, Iphidamas, Argius, Glaucus, Calydoneus, Echion, Lamas, Andraemon, Agerochus, Medon, Agrius, Promus, Ctesius, Acarnan, Cyncus, Pseras, Hellanicus, Periphron, Megasthenes, Thrasymedes, Ormenius, Diopithes, Mecisteus, Antimachus, Ptolemaeus, Lestorides, Nicomachus, Polypoetes, and Ceraus. And from Same there came twenty-three :—Agelaus, Pisander, Elatus, Ctesippus, Hippodochus, Eurystratus, Archemolus, Ithacus, Pisenor, Hyperenor, Pheroetes, Antisthenes, Cerberus, Perimedes, Cynnus, Thriasus, Eteoneus, Clytius, Prothous, Lycaethus, Eumelus, Itanus, Lyammus. And from Zacynthos came forty-four :—

pose to bury the city, but to shut it off from the use of its two harbours (cp. *Od.* vi. 263) by some great mountain mass" (Merry, on verse 152).

³ The number of the suitors, according to Homer, was one hundred and eight, namely, fifty-two from Dulichium, twenty-four from Same, twenty from Zacynthus, and twelve from Ithaca. See Homer, *Od.* xvi. 245-253. Apollodorus gives the numbers from these islands as fifty-seven, twenty-three, forty-four, and twelve respectively, or a hundred and thirty-six in all. Homer does not give a regular list of the names, but mentions some of them incidentally.

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- λοχος Λαομήδης Μόλεβος¹ Φρένιος Ἴνδιος, Μίνις² Λειώκριτος³ Πρόνομος Νίσας Δαήμων, Ἀρχέστρατος⁴ Ἴππό[μαχος Εὐρύαλος Περίαλλος Εὐηνορίδης, Κλυτίος Ἀγήνωρ] Πόλυβος Πολύδωρος Θαδύτιος,⁵ Στράτιος [Φρένιος Ἴνδιος] Δαισήνωρ Λαομέδων, Λαόδικος Ἄλιος Μάγνης Ὀλοίτροχος⁶ Βάρθας, Θεόφρων Νισσαῖος Ἀλκάρου Περικλύμενος Ἀντήνωρ, Πέλλας Κέλτος
- 30 Περίφας Ὀρμενος Πόλυβος, Ἀνδρομήδης. ἐκ δὲ αὐτῆς Ἰθάκης ἦσαν οἱ μνηστευόμενοι ἰβ' οἶδε· Ἀντίνοος Πρόνοος Λειώδης Εὐρύνομος Ἀμφίμαχος, Ἀμφιάλος Πρόμαχος Ἀμφιμέδων Ἀρίστρατος Ἐλενος, Δουλιχειὺς Κτήσιππος.
- 31 Οὗτοι πορευόμενοι εἰς τὰ βασίλεια δαπανῶντες τὰς Ὀδυσσεῶς ἀγέλας εὐωχοῦντο. Πηνελόπη δὲ ἀναγκαζομένη τὸν γάμον ὑπέσχετο ὅτε τὸ ἐντάφιον Λαέρτη πέρασ ἔξει, καὶ τοῦτο ὕφηνεν ἐπὶ ἔτη τρία, μεθ' ἡμέραν μὲν ὑφαίνουσα, νύκτωρ δὲ ἀναλύουσα. τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐξηπατῶντο οἱ μνηστήρες ὑπὸ
- 32 τῆς Πηνελόπης, μέχρις ὅτε ἐφωράθη. Ὀδυσσεὺς δὲ μαθὼν τὰ κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν, ὡς ἐπαίτης πρὸς Εὐμαιοῖν οἰκέτην ἀφικνεῖται, καὶ Τηλεμάχῳ ἀναγνωρίζεται, καὶ παραγίνεται εἰς τὴν πόλιν. Μελάνθιος δὲ αὐτοῖς συντυχῶν ὁ αἰπόλος οἰκέτης ὑπάρχων ἀτιμάζει. παραγενόμενος δὲ εἰς τὰ βασίλεια τοὺς μνηστήρας μετῆτει τροφήν, καὶ

¹ Bücheler conjectured Μούλιος.

² Kerameus conjectured Μύνης.

³ Λειώκριτος Wagner (comparing Homer, *Od.* ii. 242): Λαόκριτος S.

⁴ Ἀρχέστρατος Kerameus: Ἀρχέστατος S.

⁵ Bücheler conjectured Θαλύτιος.

⁶ Ὀλοίτροχος Bücheler: Ὀλοίροχος S.

Eurylochus, Laomedes, Molebus, Phrenius, Indius, Minis, Liocritus, Pronomus, Nisas, Daëmon, Arcestratus, Hippomachus, Euryalus, Periallus, Eenorides, Clytius, Agenor, Polybus, Polydorus, Thadytius, Stratius, Phrenius, Indius, Daesenor, Laomedon, Laodicus, Halius, Magnes, Oloetrochus, Barthas, Theophron, Nissaeus, Alcarops, Periclymenus, Antenor, Pellas, Celtus, Periphus, Ormenus, Polybus and Andromedes. And from Ithaca itself the suitors were twelve, to wit:—Antinous, Pronous, Liodes, Eurynomus, Amphimachus, Amphialus, Promachus, Amphimedon, Aristratus, Helenus, Dulicheus, and Ctesippus.

These, journeying to the palace, consumed the herds of Ulysses at their feasts.¹ And Penelope was compelled to promise that she would wed when the shroud of Laertes was finished, and she wove it for three years, weaving it by day and undoing it by night. In this way the suitors were deceived by Penelope, till she was detected.² And Ulysses, being apprized of the state of things at home, came to his servant Eumæus in the guise of a beggar,³ and made himself known to Telemachus,⁴ and arrived in the city. And Melanthius, the goatherd, a servant man, met them, and scorned them.⁵ On coming to the palace Ulysses begged food of the suitors,⁶ and

¹ As to the reckless waste of the suitors, see Homer, *Od.* xiv. 80-109.

² As to Penelope's web, see Homer, *Od.* xix. 136-158; Hyginus, *Fab.* 126.

³ As to the meeting of Ulysses and Eumæus, see Homer, *Od.* xiv. 1-492; Hyginus, *Fab.* 126.

⁴ As to the meeting and recognition of Ulysses and Telemachus, see Homer, *Od.* xvi. 1-234.

⁵ See Homer, *Od.* xvii. 184-253.

⁶ See Homer, *Od.* xvii. 360-457.

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- εὐρῶν μεταίτην Ἴρου καλούμενον διαπαλαίει αὐτῷ. Εὐμαίῳ δὲ μνηύσας ἑαυτὸν καὶ Φιλοίτιῳ,¹ μετὰ τούτων² καὶ Τηλεμάχου τοῖς μνηστήρσιν ἐπιβουλεύει. Πηνελόπη δὲ τοῖς μνηστήρσιν τίθησιν Ὀδυσσέως τόξον, ὃ παρὰ Ἰφίτου ποτὲ ἔλαβε, καὶ τῷ τούτῳ τείναντί φησι συνοικήσειν. μηδενὸς δὲ τείναι δυναμένου, δεξάμενος Ὀδυσσεὺς τοὺς μνηστήρας κατετόξευσε σὺν Εὐμαίῳ καὶ Φιλοίτιῳ καὶ Τηλεμάχῳ. ἀνείλε δὲ καὶ Μελάνθιον καὶ τὰς συνευναζομένας τοῖς μνηστήρσιν θεραπαίνας, καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ τῷ πατρὶ ἀναγνωρίζεται.
- 34 Θύσας δὲ Ἄϊδη καὶ Περσεφόνη καὶ Τειρεσία, πεζῇ διὰ τῆς Ἠπείρου βαδίζων εἰς Θεσπρωτοὺς παραγίνεται καὶ κατὰ τὰς Τειρεσίου μαντείας θυσιάσας ἐξιλάσκειται Ποσειδῶνα. ἡ δὲ βασιλεύ-

¹ καὶ Φιλοίτιῳ Kerameus : καὶ τῷ παιδί Φιλοτίου S.

² τούτων Frazer : τούτου S. Eumiaeus as well as Philoetius was privy to the plot, as we know from Homer (*Od.* xxi. 188-244) and as Apollodorus himself recognizes a few lines below.

¹ See Homer, *Od.* xviii. 1-107; Hyginus, *Fab.* 126. In Homer it is in a boxing-match, not in a wrestling-bout, that Ulysses vanquishes the braggart beggar Irus. Hyginus, like Apollodorus, substitutes wrestling for boxing.

² See Homer, *Od.* xxi. 188-244.

³ See Homer, *Od.* xxi. 1-82; Hyginus, *Fab.* 126.

⁴ See Homer, *Od.* xxi. 140-434, xxii. 1-389; Hyginus, *Fab.* 126.

⁵ See Homer, *Od.* xxii. 417-477.

⁶ See Homer, *Od.* xxiii. 153-297, xxiv. 205-348.

⁷ Tiresias had warned Ulysses that, after slaying the suitors, he must journey inland till he came to a country where men knew not the sea, and where a wayfarer would mistake for a winnowing-fan the oar which Ulysses was carrying on his shoulder. There Ulysses was to sacrifice a ram, a bull, and a boar to Poseidon, the god whom he had

finding a beggar called Irus he wrestled with him.¹ But he revealed himself to Eumaeus and Philoetius, and along with them and Telemachus he laid a plot for the suitors.² Now Penelope delivered to the suitors the bow of Ulysses, which he had once received from Iphitus; and she said that she would marry him who bent the bow.³ When none of them could bend it, Ulysses took it and shot down the suitors, with the help of Eumaeus, Philoetius, and Telemachus.⁴ He killed also Melanthius, and the handmaids that bedded with the suitors,⁵ and he made himself known to his wife and his father.⁶

And after sacrificing to Hades, and Persephone, and Tiresias, he journeyed on foot through Epirus, and came to the Thesprotians, and having offered sacrifice according to the directions of the soothsayer Tiresias, he propitiated Poseidon.⁷ But Callidice, offended. See Homer, *Od.* xi. 119-131. But the journey itself and the sacrifice are not recorded by Homer. In a little island off Cos a Greek skipper told Dr. W. H. D. Rouse a similar story about the journey inland of the prophet Elias. The prophet, according to this account, was a fisherman who, long buffeted by storms, conceived a horror of the sea, and, putting an oar on his shoulder, took to the hills and walked till he met a man who did not know what an oar was. There the prophet planted his oar in the ground, and there he resolved to abide. That is why all the prophet's chapels are on the tops of hills. This legend was published by Dr. Rouse in *The Cambridge Review* under the heading of "A Greek skipper."

This and the remaining part of Apollodorus are probably drawn from the epic poem *Telegony*, a work by Eugammon of Cyrene, of which a short abstract by Proclus has been preserved. See *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, pp. 57 sq. The author of the abstract informs us that after the death and burial of the suitors "Ulysses sacrificed to the nymphs and sailed to Elis to inspect the herds. And he was entertained by Polyxenus and received a present of a

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ουσα τότε Θεσπρωτῶν Καλλιδική καταμένειν
 35 αὐτὸν ἠξίου τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτῷ δοῦσα.¹ καὶ
 συνελθοῦσα αὐτῷ γεννᾷ Πολυποίτην. γήμας δὲ
 Καλλιδικὴν Θεσπρωτῶν ἐβασίλευσε καὶ μάχη τῶν
 περιοίκων νικᾷ τοὺς ἐπιστρατεύσαντας. Καλλι-
 δικῆς δὲ ἀποθανούσης, τῷ παιδὶ τὴν βασιλείαν
 ἀποδιδούς εἰς Ἰθάκην παραγίνεται, καὶ εὐρίσκει
 ἐκ Πηνελόπης Πολιπόρθην αὐτῷ γεγεννημένον.²
 36 Τηλέγονος δὲ παρὰ Κίρκης μαθὼν ὅτι παῖς Ὀδυσ-
 σέως ἐστίν, ἐπὶ τὴν τούτου ζήτησιν ἐκπλεῖ. παρα-
 γενόμενος δὲ εἰς Ἰθάκην τὴν νῆσον ἀπελαύνει³
 τινὰ τῶν βοσκημάτων, καὶ Ὀδυσσεὰ βοηθοῦντα
 τῷ μετὰ χεῖρας δόρατι Τηλέγονος <τρυγόνος>⁴
 κέντρον τὴν αἰχμὴν ἔχοντι τιτρώσκει, καὶ Ὀδυσ-
 37 σεὺς θνήσκει. ἀναγνωρισάμενος δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ

¹ Bücheler conjectured διδοῦσα.

² γεγεννημένον Waguer (comparing Pausanias, viii. 12. 6):
 γεγεννημένην S: γεγεννημένην Kerameus.

³ ἀπελαύνει Bücheler: ἀπέλαυε S.

⁴ <τρυγόνος> inserted by Bücheler.

bowl. And after that followed the episodes of Trophonius, and Agamedes, and Augeas. Then he sailed home to Ithaca and offered the sacrifices prescribed by Tiresias. And after these things he went to the Thesprotians and married Callidice, queen of the Thesprotians. Then the Thesprotians made war on the Brygians, under the leadership of Ulysses. There Ares put Ulysses and his people to flight, and Athena engaged him in battle; but Apollo reconciled them. And after Callidice's death, Polypoetes, son of Ulysses, succeeded to the kingdom, and Ulysses himself went to Ithaca. Meanwhile Telegonus, sailing in search of his father, landed in Ithaca and ravaged the island; and marching out to repel him Ulysses was killed by his son in ignorance. Recognizing his error, Telegonus transported his father's body, and Telemachus, and Penelope to his mother, and she made them

who was then queen of the Thesprotians, urged him to stay and offered him the kingdom; and she had by him a son Polypoetes. And having married Callidice, he reigned over the Thesprotians, and defeated in battle the neighbouring peoples who attacked him. But when Callidice died he handed over the kingdom to his son and repaired to Ithaca, and there he found Poliporthes, whom Penelope had borne to him.¹ When Telegonus learned from Circe that he was a son of Ulysses, he sailed in search of him. And having come to the island of Ithaca, he drove away some of the cattle, and when Ulysses defended them, Telegonus wounded him with the spear he had in his hands, which was barbed with the spine of a sting-ray, and Ulysses died of the wound.² But when

immortal. And Telegonus married Penelope, and Telemachus married Circe." The tradition, mentioned also by Hyginus (*Fab.* 127), that one son of Ulysses (Telegonus) married his father's widow (Penelope), and that another son (Telemachus) married his father's concubine (Circe), is very remarkable, and may possibly point to an old custom according to which a son inherited his father's wives and concubines, with the exception of his own mother. Compare Apollodorus, ii. 7. 7, with the note (vol. i. p. 269). Apollodorus mentions the marriage of Telegonus to Penelope (see below), but not the marriage of Telemachus to Circe.

¹ Compare Pausanias, viii. 12. 6, from whom we learn that the birth of this son Poliporthes or Ptoliporthes, as Pausanias calls him, was mentioned in the epic poem *Thesprotis*.

² Compare Oppian, *Haliëut.* ii. 497-500: *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Odysseam*, ed. G. Dindorf, vol. i. p. 6; Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* xi. 134; Eustathius on Homer, *Od.* xi. 133, p. 1676; Philostratus, *Vit. Apollon.* vi. 32; *id. Heroica*, iii. 42; Parthenius, *Narrat. Amat.* 3; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 794; Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 303; Cicero, *Tusculan. Disput.* ii. 21. 48 sq.; Horace, *Odes*, iii. 29. 8; Hyginus, *Fab.* 127; Ovid, *Ibis*, 567 sq.; Dictys Cretensis, *Bellum Trojanum*, vi. 14 sq.; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.*

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πολλὰ κατοδυσράμενος, τὸν νεκρὸν <καί>¹ τὴν Πηνηλόπην πρὸς Κίρκην ἄγει, καὶ κεί τὴν Πηνηλόπην γαμεί. Κίρκη δὲ ἐκατέρους αὐτοὺς εἰς Μακάρων νήσους ἀποστέλλει.

- 38 Τινὲς δὲ Πηνηλόπην ὑπὸ Ἀντινόου φθαρεῖσαν λέγουσιν ὑπὸ Ὀδυσσέως πρὸς τὸν πατέρα Ἰκάριον ἀποσταλῆναι, γενομένην² δὲ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας κατὰ
 39 Μαντίνειαν ἐξ Ἑρμοῦ τεκεῖν Πάνα· ἄλλοι δὲ δι' Ἀμφίνομον ὑπὸ Ὀδυσσέως αὐτοῦ³ τελευτῆσαι· διαφθαρῆναι γὰρ αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τούτου λέγουσιν.
 40 εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ λέγοντες ἐγκαλούμενον Ὀδυσσεά ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀπολωλότων δικαστῆν

¹ <καί> inserted by Wagner (comparing the *Telegonia*; see *Ericorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 58).

² γενομένην Bücheler: γενομένης S.

³ αὐτοῦ Bücheler: αὐτὸν S.

ii. 44. The fish (τρυγών), whose spine is said to have barbed the fatal spear, is the common sting-ray (*Trygon pastinaca*), as I learn from Professor D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson, who informs me that the fish is abundant in the Mediterranean and not uncommon on our southern coasts. For ancient descriptions of the fish he refers me to Oppian, *Halieut.* ii. 470 *sqq.* (the *locus classicus*); Aelian, *Nat. Anim.* i. 56; Nicander, *Ther.* 828 *sqq.* According to Aelian, the wound inflicted by the sting-ray is incurable. Hercules is said to have lost one of his fingers by the bite of a sting-ray (Ptolemy Hephaest., *Nov. Hist.* ii. in Westermann's *Mythographi Graeci*, p. 184). Classical scholars, following Liddell and Scott, sometimes erroneously identify the fish with the roach. The death of Ulysses through the wound of a sting-ray is foreshadowed in the prophecy of Tiresias that his death would come from the sea (Homer, *Od.* xi. 134 *sq.*). According to a Scholiast on Homer (*Scholía Graeca in Homeri Odysseam*, ed. G. Dindorf, vol. i. p. 6), Hyginus, and Dictys Cretensis, Ulysses had been warned by an oracle or a dream to beware of his son, who would kill him; accordingly, fearing to be slain by Telemachus, he banished him to Cephallenia (Dictys Cretensis, vi. 14). But

Telegonus recognized him, he bitterly lamented, and conveyed the corpse and Penelope to Circe, and there he married Penelope. And Circe sent them both away to the Islands of the Blest.

But some say that Penelope was seduced by Antinous and sent away by Ulysses to her father Icarius, and that when she came to Mantinea in Arcadia she bore Pan to Hermes.¹ However others say that she met her end at the hands of Ulysses himself on account of Amphinomus,² for they allege that she was seduced by him. And there are some who say that Ulysses, being accused by the kinsfolk of the slain, submitted the case to the judgment of

he forgot his son Telegonus, whom he had left behind with his mother Circe in her enchanted island. The death of Ulysses at the hands of his son Telegonus was the subject of a tragedy by Sophocles. See *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. ii. pp. 105 sqq.

¹ A high mound of earth was shown as the grave of Penelope at Mantinea in Arcadia. According to the Mantinean story, Ulysses had found her unfaithful and banished her the house; so she went first to her native Sparta, and afterwards to Mantinea, where she died and was buried. See Pausanias, viii. 12. 5 sq. The tradition that Penelope was the mother of Pan by Hermes (Mercury) is mentioned by Cicero (*De natura deorum*, iii. 22. 56). According to Duris, the Samian, Penelope was the mother of Pan by all the suitors (Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 772). The same story is mentioned also by Servius (on Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 44), who says that Penelope was supposed to have given birth to Pan during her husband's absence, and that when Ulysses came home and found the monstrous infant in the house, he fled and set out afresh on his wanderings.

² Amphinomus was one of the suitors of Penelope; his words pleased her more than those of the other suitors, because he had a good understanding. See Homer, *Od.* xvi. 394-398. He was afterwards killed by Telemachus (Homer, *Od.* xxii. 89 sqq.). The suspicion that Penelope was unfaithful to her husband has no support in Homer.

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Νεοπτόλεμον λαβεῖν τὸν βασιλεύοντα τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἠπειρον νήσων, τοῦτον δέ, νομίσαντα ἐκποδῶν Ὀδυσσέως γενομένου Κεφαλληνίαν καθέξειν, κατακρίναι φυγὴν αὐτοῦ, Ὀδυσσέα δὲ εἰς Αἰτωλίαν πρὸς Θόαντα¹ τὸν Ἀνδραίμονος παραγενόμενον τὴν τούτου θυγατέρα γῆμαι, καὶ καταλιπόντα παῖδα Λεοντοφόνον ἐκ ταύτης γηραιὸν τελευτῆσαι.

¹ Θόαντα Kerameus : θόεντα S.

¹ Compare Plutarch, *Quaestiones Graecae*, 14. According to Plutarch's account, the kinsmen of the slain suitors rose in revolt against Ulysses; but Neoptolemus, being invited by both parties to act as arbitrator, sentenced Ulysses to banishment for bloodshed, and condemned the friends and relatives of the suitors to pay an annual compensation to

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Neoptolemus, king of the islands off Epirus; that Neoptolemus, thinking to get possession of Cephallenia if once Ulysses were put out of the way, condemned him to exile;¹ and that Ulysses went to Aetolia, to Thoas, son of Andraemon, married the daughter of Thoas, and leaving a son Leontophonus, whom he had by her,² died in old age.

Ulysses for the damage they had done to his property. The sentence obliged Ulysses to withdraw not only from Ithaca, but also from Cephallenia and Zacynthus; and he retired to Italy. The compensation exacted from the heirs of the suitors was paid in kind, and consisted of barley groats, wine, honey, olive oil, and animal victims of mature age. This payment Ulysses ordered to be made to his son Telemachus.

² These last recorded doings of Ulysses appear to be mentioned by no other ancient writer.

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APPENDIX

I.—PUTTING CHILDREN ON THE FIRE

(*Apollodorus* I. v. 1)

THE story that Demeter put the infant son of Celeus on the fire to make him immortal is told by other ancient writers as well as by Apollodorus,¹ and while there is a general resemblance between the various versions of the legend, there are some discrepancies in detail. Thus, with regard to the child's parents, Apollodorus and Ovid agree with the Homeric hymn-writer in calling them Celeus and Metanira. But Hyginus calls them Eleusinus and Cothonea; while Servius in one passage² names them Eleusinus and Cyntinia, and in another passage³ calls the father Celeus. Lactantius Placidus names them Eleusius and Hioma; and the Second Vatican Mythographer calls them Celeus and Hiona. Then, with regard to the child who was put on the fire, Apollodorus agrees with the Homeric hymn-writer in calling him Demophon and in distinguishing him from his elder brother Triptolemus. But Ovid, Hyginus, Servius, Lactantius Placidus, and the First Vatican Mythographer call the child who was put on the fire Triptolemus, and make no mention of Demophon. The Second Vatican Mythographer wavers on this point; for, after saying⁴ that Demeter received the child Triptolemus to nurse, he proceeds⁵ to name the child

¹ See *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, 231-274; Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 549-562; Hyginus, *Fab.* 147; Servius, on Virgil, *Georg.* i. 19 and 163; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* ii. 382; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 3, 107 (First Vatican Mythographer, 8; Second Vatican Mythographer, 96 sq.).

² On *Georg.* i. 19.

³ On *Georg.* i. 163.

⁴ *Fab.* 96.

⁵ *Fab.* 97.

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who was put on the fire Eleusius. As to the fate of the child who was put on the fire, the Homeric hymn-writer merely says that Demeter, angry at being interrupted, threw him on the ground; whether he lived or died the author does not mention. Apollodorus definitely affirms that the child was consumed in the fire; and the Second Vatican Mythographer says that Demeter in her rage killed it. On the other hand, the writers who call the child Triptolemus naturally do not countenance the belief that he perished in the fire, for they record the glorious mission on which he was sent by Demeter to reveal to mankind her beneficent gift of corn. Lastly, the writers are not at one in regard to the well-meaning but injudicious person who interrupted Demeter at her magic rite and thereby prevented her from bestowing the boon of immortality on her nursling. Ovid, in agreement with the Homeric hymn-writer, says that the person was the child's mother Metanira; Apollodorus calls her Praxithea, an otherwise unknown person, who may have been the child's sister or more probably his nurse; for Praxithea is not named by the Homeric hymn-writer among the daughters of Celeus.¹ Some critics would forcibly harmonize Apollodorus with the hymn-writer by altering our author's text in the present passage.² On the other hand, Hyginus, Servius, Lactantius Placidus, and the Second Vatican Mythographer say that it was the child's father who by his exclamation or his fear distracted the attention of the goddess and so frustrated her benevolent purpose.

Just as Demeter attempted to make Demophon or Triptolemus immortal by placing him on the fire, so Thetis tried to make her son Achilles immortal in like manner,³ and so Isis essayed to confer immortality on the infant son of the king of Byblus.⁴ All three goddesses were baffled by the rash intervention of affectionate but ignorant mortals. These legends point to an ancient Greek custom of passing newborn infants across a fire in order to save their lives from the dangers which beset infancy, and which, to the primitive mind, assume the form of demons or other spiritual beings lying in wait to cut short the frail thread of life. The Greek

¹ *vv.* 105 *sqq.* ² See Critical Note, vol. i. p. 38.

³ Apollodorus, iii. 13. 6, with the note.

⁴ Plutarch, *Isis et Osiris*, 16.

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practice of running round the hearth with a child on the fifth or seventh day after birth may have been a substitute for the older custom of passing the child over the fire.¹ Similar customs have been observed for similar reasons in many parts of the world. Thus, in the highlands of Scotland, "it has happened that, after baptism, the father has placed a basket filled with bread and cheese on the pot-hook that impended over the fire in the middle of the room, which the company sit around; and the child is thrice handed across the fire, with the design to frustrate all attempts of evil spirits or evil eyes."² In the Hebrides it used to be customary to carry fire round children in the morning and at night every day until they were christened, and fire was also carried about the mothers before they were churched; and this "fire-round was an effectual means to preserve both the mother and the infant from the power of evil spirits, who are ready at such times to do mischief, and sometimes carry away the infant."³ Customs of this sort prevailed in Scotland down to the beginning of the nineteenth century. Sometimes the father leaped across the hearth with the child in his arms; "moreover, every person entering the house was required to take up a burning fire-brand from the hearth, and therewith cross himself, before he ventured to approach a new-born child or its mother. It was also customary to carry a burning peat sun-wise round an unbaptised infant and its mother, to protect them from evil spirits."⁴ The custom of leaping over a hearth or carrying a child round it, implies that the fireplace is in the middle of the floor, as it used to be in cottages in the highlands of Scotland. Miss Gordon

¹ Suidas, s.v. Ἀμφιδρόμια; Scholiast on Plato, *Theaetetus*, p. 160 E.

² Th. Pennant, "Second Tour in Scotland," in J. Pinkerton's *General Collection of Voyages and Travels*, iii. 383.

³ M. Martin, "Description of the Western Islands of Scotland," in J. Pinkerton's *General Collection of Voyages and Travels*, vol. iii. p. 612.

⁴ Miss C. F. Gordon Cumming, *In the Hebrides*, New Edition (London, 1886), p. 101. Compare John Ramsay, *Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century* (Edinburgh and London, 1888), ii. 423.

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Cumming describes from her own observation such a cottage in Iona, "with the old-fashioned fireplace hollowed in the centre of the earthen floor, and with no chimney except a hole in the middle of the roof."¹ Ancient Greek houses must similarly have had the fireplace in the middle of the floor, and probably in them also the smoke escaped through a hole in the roof.

Sometimes the motive for putting the child on the fire was different, as will appear from the following accounts. In the north-east of Scotland, particularly in the counties of Banff and Aberdeen, "if the child became cross and began to *dwine*, fears immediately arose that it might be a 'fairy changeling,' and the trial by fire was put into operation. The hearth was piled with peat, and when the fire was at its strength the suspected changeling was placed in front of it and as near as possible not to be scorched, or it was suspended in a basket over the fire. If it was a 'changeling child' it made its escape by the *lum* [chimney], throwing back words of scorn as it disappeared."² Similarly in Fife we hear of "the old and widespread superstitious belief that a fairy changeling, if passed through the fire, became again the person the fairies had stolen, . . . believed but not acted on by the old women in Fife in an earlier part of this [19th] century."³ Among the miners of Fife, "if a child cries continuously after being dressed at birth, the granny or some other wise elder will say, 'If this gangs on we'll hae to pit on the girdle' (the large circular flat baking-iron on which scones and oat-cakes are 'fired'). Sometimes this is actually done, but the practice is rare now, and very few can give the true meaning of the saying. The idea is that the crying child is a changeling, and that if held over the fire it will go up the chimney, while the girdle will save the real child's feet from being burnt as it comes down to take its own legitimate place."⁴ Similarly, in the Highlands one way of getting rid of a changeling was to seat him on a gridiron, or in a creel, with

¹ Miss C. F. Gordon Cumming, *op. cit.* p. 100.

² W. Gregor, *Notes on the Folk-lore of the North-east of Scotland* (London, 1881), pp. 8 *sq.*

³ *County Folk-lore*, vol. vii. *Fife*, by J. E. Simpkins (London, 1914), p. 32.

⁴ *County Folk-lore*, vol. vii. (as above), p. 398.

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a fire burning below.¹ This mode of exchanging fairy changelings for real children by putting the changelings on the fire appears to be also Scandinavian; for a story relates how, in the little island of Christiansö, to the south-east of Sweden, a mother got rid of a changeling and recovered her own child by pretending to thrust the changeling into the oven; for no sooner had she done so than the fairy mother rushed into the room, snatched up her child, which was a puny, dwindling little creature, and gave the woman her own babe back again, saying, "There is your child! I have done by it better than you have by mine." And indeed the returned infant was a fine sturdy child.²

A similar custom has been observed by the Jews, for Maimonides writes that "we still see the midwives wrap newborn children in swaddling bands, and, after putting foul-smelling incense on the fire, move the children to and fro over the incense on the fire."³ Similarly, of the Jakuns, a wild people of the Malay Peninsula, "it is reported that, in several tribes, the children, as soon as born, are carried to the nearest rivulet, where they are washed, then brought back to the house, where fire is kindled, incense of kamunian wood thrown upon it, and the child then passed over it several times. We know from history that the practice of passing children over fire was in all times much practised amongst heathen nations, and that it is even now practised in China and other places."⁴ In Canton, in order to render a child courageous and to ward off evil, a mother will move her child several times over a fire of glowing charcoal, after which she places a lump of alum in the fire, and the alum is supposed to assume the likeness of the creature which the child fears most.⁵ In the Tenimber and Timorlaut islands (East Indies),

¹ J. G. Campbell, *Superstitions of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland* (Glasgow, 1900), p. 39.

² B. Thorpe, *Northern Mythology* (London, 1851-1852), ii. 174 sq.

³ Maimonides, quoted by D. Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus* (St. Petersburg, 1856), ii. 473.

⁴ The R^d. Favre (Apostolic Missionary), *An Account of the Wild Tribes inhabiting the Malay Peninsula*, etc. (Paris, 1865), pp. 68 sq.

⁵ F. Warrington Eastlake, "Cantonese Superstitions about Infants," *China Review*, ix. (1880-1881), p. 303.

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“ in order to prevent sickness, or rather to frighten the evil spirits, the child is, in the first few days, laid beside or over the fire.”¹ In New Britain, after a birth has taken place, they kindle a fire of leaves and fragrant herbs, and a woman takes the child and swings it to and fro through the smoke of the fire, uttering good wishes. At the same time a sorcerer pinches up a little of the ashes from the fire, and touches with it the infant’s eyes, ears, temples, nose, and mouth, “ whereby the child is thenceforth protected against evil spirits and evil magic.”² In Yule Island, off British New Guinea, “ the child at birth is passed across the flames. It seems probable that in this there is the idea of purification by the fire.”³ In Madagascar a child used to be twice carefully lifted over the fire before he was carried out of the house for the first time.⁴

Among the Kafirs of South Africa “ the mother makes a fire with some scented wood which gives off an abundance of pungent smoke. Over this smoke the baby is held till it cries violently. It is believed that some people at death become wizards or wizard-spirits, and that these evil beings seek malevolently to injure small babies ; they cannot abide the smell of the smoke from this scented wood, which they meet as they wander round seeking for prey, and trying to take possession of babies. The wizard is therefore repelled by the odour, and goes on its journey, hunting for a baby which is not so evil-smelling. When the baby cries in the smoke the mother calls out, ‘ There goes the wizard.’ This smoking process has to be performed daily with closed doors

¹ J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tuschen Selebes en Papua* (The Hague, 1886), p. 303.

² R. Parkinson, *Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee* (Stuttgart, 1907), pp. 70 sq. Compare *id. Im Bismarck-Archipel* (Leipsic, 1887), pp. 94 sq.; A. Kleintitschen, *Die Küstenbewohner der Gazellehalbinsel* (Hiltrup bei Münster, n.d.), p. 204 ; *Les Missions Catholiques*, xvii. (Lyons, 1885), p. 110 ; Dr. Hahl, in *Nachrichten über Kaiser Wilhelms-Land und den Bismarck-Archipel* (Berlin, 1897), p. 81.

³ Father Navarre, in *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, lix. (Lyons, 1887), p. 185.

⁴ W. Ellis, *History of Madagascar* (London, n.d.), i. 151 sq.

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for several weeks, while the mother sings special chants.¹ So among the Ovambo, a Bantu people of South Africa, when the midwife or an old female friend of the mother has carried a newborn baby out of the hut for the first time, she finds on her return a great fire of straw burning at the entrance, and across it she must stride, while she swings the infant several times to and fro through the thick smoke, "in order to free the child from the evil magic that still clings to it from its birth. According to another version, this swinging through the smoke is meant to impart courage to the child; but the first explanation appears to me to tally better with the views of the natives."² At a certain festival, which occurred every fourth year, the ancient Mexicans used to whirl their children through the flames of a fire specially prepared for the purpose.³ Among the Tarahumares, an Indian tribe of Mexico, "when the baby is three days old the shaman comes to cure it. A big fire is made of corn-cobs, the little one is placed on a blanket, and with the father's assistance the shaman carries it, if it is a boy, three times through the smoke to the four cardinal points, making the ceremonial circuit and finally raising it upward. This is done that the child may grow well and be successful in life, that is, in raising corn."⁴

¹ Dudley Kidd, *Savage Childhood, a Study of Kafir Children* (London, 1906), pp. 18 sq.

² Hans Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika* (Oldenburg and Leipsic, n.d.), p. 307.

³ H. H. Bancroft, *The Native Races of the Pacific States* (London, 1875-1876), iii. 376, note²⁷, quoting Sahagun, "*rodearlos por las llamas del fuego que tenían aparejado para esto*," which I translate as above. Bancroft translates, "passed the children over, or near to, or about the flame of a prepared fire." The French translators turn the words, "*conduisaient autour d'une flamme qu'on avait préparée pour cet objet*." See B. de Sahagun, *Histoire Générale des choses de la Nouvelle-Espagne*, traduite par D. Jourdanet et R. Simeon (Paris, 1880), p. 166. Compare C. F. Clavigero, *History of Mexico*, translated by C. Cullen, 2nd ed. (London, 1807), i. 317.

⁴ C. Lumholtz, *Unknown Mexico* (London, 1903), i. 272.

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II.—WAR OF EARTH ON HEAVEN

(*Apollodorus* I. vi. 1)

Some Indian tribes of North-Western America tell a story which resembles in certain respects the Greek myth of the war waged by the Earth-born Giants on the gods in heaven. The details of the story vary from tribe to tribe, but its substance is the same.

As told by the Pend' d'Oreille Indians of Montana, the story runs as follows:—

The Earth people wanted to make war on the Sky people. Grizzly-Bear was their chief, and he called all the warriors together. They were told to shoot in turn at the moon (or sky). All did as they were told, but their arrows fell short. Only Wren had not shot his arrow. Coyote said, "He need not shoot. He is too small, and his bow and arrows are too weak." However, Grizzly-Bear declared that Wren must have his turn. Wren shot his arrow, and it hit the moon (or sky) and stuck fast. Then the others shot their arrows, which stuck each in the notch of the preceding one, until they made a chain of arrows that reached from the sky to the ground. Then all the people climbed up, Grizzly-Bear going last. He was very heavy; and when he was more than half way up, the chain broke by his weight. He made a spring, and caught the part of the chain above him; and this caused the arrows to pull out at the top, where the leading warriors had made a hole to enter the sky. So the whole chain fell down and left the people up aloft without the means of descending. The Earth people attacked the Sky people, and defeated them in the first battle; but the Sky people soon mustered in such force that they far outnumbered the Earth people, and in the next battle routed them, killing a great many. The defeated Earth people ran for the ladder, but many were overtaken and killed on the way. When they found the ladder broken, each prepared himself the best way he could so as not to fall too heavily, and one after another jumped down. Flying-Squirrel was wearing a small robe, which he spread out like wings when he jumped; therefore he has something like wings now. He came down without hurting himself. Whitefish looked down the hole before jumping. When he saw the great depth, he

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puckered up his mouth and drew back ; therefore he has a small puckered mouth at the present day. Sucker jumped down without first preparing himself, and his bones were broken ; therefore the sucker's bones are now found in all parts of its flesh. At that time there were a number of different animals on earth that are not here now ; but they were killed in this war and transformed into stars. Had they all come back to earth, there would be many more kinds here now. Those which we have at the present time represent only the survivors of the war.¹

In this, as in most other versions of the story, the Earth people are conceived as animals, whether beasts, birds or fish. This comes out clearly in a parallel version of the story told by the Indians of the Okanagon tribe in British Columbia. In it we are told that each animal and bird shot at the sky, and that the Fish, Snakes, and Toads also tried, but that only the Chickadee succeeded in hitting the sky with his arrow ; and in the fall from heaven the fish fared worst, because they had no wings. According to this version, the Grizzly Bear and the Black Bear were the only animals that were left on earth when all the rest had climbed up the ladder to the sky ; and in quarrelling as to which of them should mount the ladder first, the two bears knocked it down.²

Similarly the Shuswap tribe of British Columbia tell how "Black Bear and Wolverine were great chiefs, the former of the Fish people, the latter of the Bird people. They assembled the warriors of all the fishes and birds of the earth to go on a war expedition against the people of the sky. All the men shot their arrows up towards the sky, but they fell back without hitting it. Last of all Wren,³ who was the smallest of all the birds, shot an arrow, which stuck in the sky. The next smallest bird shot an arrow, which hit the end of the first one ; and thus they shot arrows ; and one stuck in the end of the other, until there was a chain of arrows forming a ladder from earth to sky. On this all the warriors ascended, leaving the two chiefs to guard the bottom. Soon after all

¹ *Folk-tales of Salishan and Sahaptin Tribes*, edited by Franz Boas (Lancaster, Pa., and New York, 1917), p. 118 (*Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society*, vol. xi.).

² *Folk-tales of Salishan and Sahaptin Tribes*, p. 85.

³ "Some say Humming-Bird, others Chickadee."

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had reached the sky world, Wolverine and Black Bear began to laugh at each other's tails. Black Bear grew angry, chased Wolverine around the foot of the ladder, struck against it, and knocked it down.

"Meanwhile the earth people had attacked the sky people, and at first were victorious; but afterwards the latter, gathering in great force, routed the earth people, who fled in great disorder towards the top of the ladder. By its fall their retreat was cut off; and many made a stand against the sky people, while others threw themselves down. The birds were able to reach the earth safely, for they could fly down; but many of the fishes, who tried to throw themselves into a large lake, were wounded. In their fall some missed the lake and dropped on rocks. Thus the skull of the *sematsai* came to be flattened, the *kwaak* broke its jaw, the *tcokticitin* got a bloody mouth, and the sucker had all its bones scattered and broken, so that it died. The grandson of a man called Teel gathered the bones, put them back into the body, and revived it. This is the reason why the sucker has now so many bones scattered through its flesh, why the *sematsai* has a flat head, the *tcokticitin* a red mouth, and why the mouth of the *kwaak* appears to be broken. The earth people who remained above were all slain, and transformed by the sky people into stars."¹

Thus the story of the attack on the Sky people purports at the same time to explain certain peculiar features of the fauna with which these Indians are acquainted. Animals naturally attract the attention of savages, especially of savage hunters; and the observation of their peculiarities, by exciting the curiosity of the observer, is a fruitful source of explanatory myths.

So far no explanation is given of the reasons which led the Earth people to make war on the Sky people. But in a version of the story told by the Quinault Indians, who inhabit a district on the western coast of Washington State, the motives for the war are fully reported. Raven's two daughters, we are told, went out on the prairie to dig roots, and night overtook them before they could reach home. Camping out in the open, they looked up at the starry sky,

¹ James Teit, *The Shuswap* (Leyden and New York, 1909), p. 749 (*The Jesup North Pacific Expedition*, vol. ii. part 7).

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and the younger sister said, "I wish I were up there with that big bright star!" And the elder sister said, "I wish I were there with that little star!" Soon they fell asleep, and when they awoke they were up in the sky country, where the stars are; and the younger sister found that her star was a feeble old man, while the elder sister's star was a young man. Now the younger sister was afraid of the old man; so she ran away and tried to descend to earth with the help of a rope, which she borrowed from an old woman called Spider. But the rope proved too short, and there she hung just over her father's house till she died, and her bones dropped down on the ground. Bluejay picked them up and knew them to be the bones of Raven's daughter. So he called Raven, and they agreed that it was so. "And they gathered together all the fragments, and then called upon all the people, and all the animals, and all the birds and fishes, to gather and make an attack upon the Sky People to recover the other sister." The rest of the story follows substantially as in the preceding versions. Having determined to make war on the Sky People, the animals prepared to shoot at the heavenly vault with arrows. So they made a bow of the trunk of a white cedar and an arrow of a limb of a tree. Then Grizzly Bear stepped up to string the bow, but could not bend it; after him, Elk and all the large animals tried, but all failed. At last Wren, the smallest of birds, bent the bow, strung it easily, and shot an arrow, which stuck in the sky. Then with the help of Snail, who aimed the arrows, Wren shot shaft after shaft, so that each stuck in the notch of the preceding one, till the arrows formed a chain that reached from the sky to the earth. Up the chain the animals swarmed to heaven, and there, feeling very cold in the upper air, Beaver contrived to steal fire for them from a house of the Sky People, after Robin Redbreast, Dog, and Wildcat had failed in the attempt. There, too, in a corner of the house, they found Raven's elder daughter. Having procured the fire they sent all the rats and mice among the Sky People to gnaw through all the bowstrings of the men and all the girdles of the women, and all fastenings of any kind which they could find. So, when all was ready, the Earth People attacked. The Sky men tried to use their bows, but the bowstrings were cut. The Sky women tried to put on their clothes to run away, but they could not fasten them and they had to stay where they were. Then

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the Earth People went from house to house and killed great numbers of the Sky People. At last the Sky People rallied and began to beat back the Earth People. So, taking Raven's daughter with them, they retreated down the chain of arrows, and they had almost all got safely down, when the chain broke. So some were left hanging in the sky, and they can be seen there now in the stars.¹

The story is told in a somewhat similar form by the Kathlamet Indians, whose territory lay in the south-western part of Washington State to the south of the country owned by the Quinault Indians; but in the Kathlamet version there is no mention of Raven's daughters nor of the chain of arrows. On the other hand it contains the incidents of the stealing of fire by Beaver and of the cutting of the bow-strings and girdles by Mouse and Rat. According to the Kathlamets, it was Bluejay who cut the rope by which, in their version of the tale, the animals had ascended to the sky; and among the creatures who remained up aloft in the shape of stars were the Woodpecker, the Fisher, the Skate, the Elk, and the Deer.²

The story of the War on the Sky is told, in the same general form, also by the Kutenai Indians in the interior of British Columbia. Their version includes the incident of the chain of arrows, and describes the shifts to which the animals in heaven were put when the chain of arrows, by which they had ascended, was broken down. The Bats, we are told, flew down, spreading out their blankets as wings. The Flying Squirrel pulled out his skin and used it as wings to fly with. All the fish threw themselves down, but the Sucker was the only one who was broken to pieces. However, he was restored to life by the touch of his brother's widow.³

A different account of the origin of the War on the Sky is given in a version of the story recorded among the Indians of

¹ L. Farrand, *Traditions of the Quinault Indians* [New York] (1902), pp. 107-109 (*The Jesup North Pacific Expedition*). I have abridged the story.

² Franz Boas, *Kathlamet Texts* (Washington, 1901), pp. 67-71 (*Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 26*).

³ Franz Boas, *Kutenai Tales* (Washington, 1918), pp. 73-77 (*Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 59*).

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the Lower Fraser River in British Columbia. They say that the Redheaded Woodpecker and the Eagle had each a son, and that the two youths in pursuit of a beautiful bird were lured on till they came to the sky. The bereaved fathers desired to go up after them, but did not know how to do it. So they called a general assembly of the animals and inquired of them how one may ascend to heaven. First, the Pelican flew up, but returned without reaching the sky. Next the Mole attempted to scale the heavenly heights by burrowing under the water and under the earth, but naturally he failed. Even the Eagle himself, the father of one of the missing youths, could not fly so high, though he tried hard. At last a man or an animal named Tamia, a grandson of Woodpecker's wife, came forward and declared that he had learned in a dream how one may ascend up to heaven. So he painted his hair red, and having adorned his face with a streak of red paint from the forehead down over the nose to the chin, he began to sing. "I am Tamia! I fear not to shoot at the sky," while his grandmother Takt beat time to the song. Having thus attuned himself to the proper pitch, he took his bow and shot arrow after arrow at the sky, until the arrows, as usual, formed a chain stretching right down to the earth. So all the people ascended the chain, vanquished the Sky People in battle, and freed the two sons of the Woodpecker and the Eagle. When they had returned home victorious, they broke down the chain of arrows, or rather the broad road into which the chain had been converted. But they did not notice that the Snail had lagged behind and was still up aloft. So when the Snail came to heaven's gate and found no ladder, he had to throw himself down, and in his fall he broke every bone in his body. That is why he now moves so slowly.¹

Yet another motive is assigned for the War on the Sky by the Thompson Indians of British Columbia. According to them, that war was caused by the rape of a married woman. The people of the Sky, so they say, stole the wife of Swan, who, in great wrath at this outrage, called all the people of the earth to a council. They agreed to make war on the Sky People, and under the direction

¹ Franz Boas, *Indianische Sagen von der Nord-Pacifischen Küste Amerikas* (Berlin, 1895), pp. 30 sq.

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of the injured husband, they all gathered together with their bows and arrows and shot at the sky, but all their arrows fell short. After they had all tried in vain, Wren shot an arrow. The people watched it rising till it passed out of sight, and though they waited some time, it never came down again. It had stuck in the sky. Then Wren shot another arrow, which likewise disappeared and did not come down again. It had stuck in the notch of the first one. After he had discharged many arrows, the people saw them sticking one in the end of the other, like a chain hung from the sky. Wren continued to shoot till at last the arrow-chain reached the earth. Then all the people ascended one behind the other over the chain of arrows and entering the upper world (some say through a hole which they tore in the sky) they attacked the Sky People, some of whom consisted of Grizzlies, Black Bears, and Elks. A great battle was fought, in which the Sky People were victorious, and the Earth People began to retreat in great haste down the chain of arrows. When about half the people had reached the ground, the chain broke in the middle, and many were killed by the fall. Others, who were on the chain above the point at which it broke, had to ascend again, and were either killed or made prisoners by the Sky People. Those who reached the earth represent the people, animals, birds, and fishes to be found on the earth at the present time. There were formerly other different animals and birds on the earth, but they either were killed in this war or remain in the sky to this day.¹

A short version of the story, without the assignment of any motive for the war, is reported from among the Ntlakypamuq Indians of British Columbia. It includes the usual incident of the sky-reaching chain of arrows.²

A somewhat different story of the War on the Sky is told by the Catloltq Indians of Vancouver Island. They say that long ago Turpentine was a blind man, who could not bear the sun's heat and used to go a-fishing for red shell-fish by night.

¹ James Teit, *Mythology of the Thompson Indians* (Leyden and New York, 1912), p. 246 (*The Jesup North Pacific Expedition*, vol. viii. part ii.). Another, but briefer, version of the story is reported in the same work (p. 334).

² Franz Boas, *Indianische Sagen von der Nord-Pacifischen Küste Amerikas*, p. 17.

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Every morning, when the day began to break, his wife called him back, saying, "Come home quick! The sun is rising. So he always hurried home before it grew warm. But one day his wife slept late, and when she awoke, it was broad day. Horrified by the discovery, she rushed to the beach, shrieking, "Come home quick! The sun is high in heaven." Thus adjured, old Turpentine plied his oars as for dear life, but it was too late; the Sun shone down on him so hot that he melted away before he reached the shore. Indignant at his fate, his two sons resolved to avenge his death by killing the Sun, his murderer. So they took their bows and arrows and went to the place where the Sun rises. There they shot an arrow at the sky, and a second arrow at the first, until the usual ladder of arrows was constructed leading up to heaven. When it was finished, the elder brother shook it to see whether it was strong enough to bear his weight, and finding it quite firm, the two brothers climbed up aloft by it. On reaching the sky they killed the Sun with their arrows. Then they deliberated how to replace the dead luminary and solved the problem very simply; for the elder brother became the Sun, and the younger brother became the Moon.¹

A different motive for the War on the Sky is assigned by the Sanpoil Indians, who live on the Columbia River and belong to the Salish stock.² They say that once on a time it rained so heavily that all the fires on earth were extinguished. The animals held a council and decided to make war against the sky in order to bring back the fire. In spring the people began, and tried to shoot their arrows up to the sky. Coyote tried first, but did not succeed. Finally the Chickadee contrived to shoot an arrow which stuck in the sky. He continued to shoot, making a chain of arrows by

¹ Franz Boas, *Indianische Sagen von der Nord-Pacifischen Küste Amerikas*, pp. 64 sq. The use of a chain of arrows to give access to the sky is a common incident in the folk-tales told by the Indians of North-west America, even in stories in which there is no question of an attack upon the Sky People. See Franz Boas, "Tsimshian Mythology," *Thirty-first Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1916), pp. 364 sqq.

² F. W. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians* (Washington, 1907-1910), ii. 451.

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means of which the animals climbed up. The last to climb was the Grizzly Bear, but so heavy was he that he broke the chain of arrows and so could not join the other animals in the sky.

When the animals reached the sky, they found themselves in a valley near a lake where the people of the sky were fishing. Coyote wished to act as scout, but was captured. Then the Muskrat dug holes along the shore of the lake, and Beaver and Eagle set out to obtain the fire. Beaver entered one of the fish-traps and pretended to be dead. They carried him to the chief's house, where the people began to skin him. At this time the Eagle alighted on a tree near the tent. When the people saw the Eagle, they ran out, and at once Beaver took a clam-shell full of glowing coals and ran away. He jumped into the lake, and people tried to catch him in nets; but the water drained away through the holes which Muskrat had made. The animals now ran back to the chain of arrows, which they found broken. Then, as the birds could fly down and the quadrupeds could not, each bird took a quadruped on its back and flew down with it. Only Coyote and the Sucker were left up above. Coyote tied a piece of buffalo robe to each paw and jumped down. He sailed down on the skin, and finally landed on a pine-tree. Next morning he showed off his wings, but could not take them off again, and was transformed into a bat. The Sucker had to jump down, and was broken to pieces. The animals fitted his bones together; and, since some were missing, they put pine-needles into his tail. Therefore the Sucker has many bones.¹

III.—MYTHS OF THE ORIGIN OF FIRE

(*Apollodorus* i. vii. 1)

According to Hesiod and Hyginus, it was from Zeus himself that Prometheus stole the fire which he bestowed on men;² and Hyginus clearly conceived the theft to have been perpetrated in heaven, for he speaks of Prometheus bringing

¹ *Folk-tales of Salishan and Sahaptin Tribes*, edited by Franz Boas, pp. 107 sq.

² Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 50 sqq., *Theog.* 565 sqq.; Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 15.

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down the stolen fire to earth in a stalk of fennel ;¹ and Latin poets similarly refer to the sky as the source from which our earthly fire was procured by the artful Prometheus.² But according to Plato it was from the workshop of Athena and Hephaestus that Prometheus abstracted the fire. The philosopher tells us that when the time appointed for man's creation or appearance out of the earth was at hand, Prometheus, the friend of the human race, was sore puzzled what to do ; for no provision had been made for supplying the new creatures with fire, and, without that element, how could the mechanical arts exist ? Prometheus himself might not enter the citadel of Zeus, which was guarded by dreadful warders ; so he made his way secretly into the workshop where Athena and Hephaestus laboured in common, and, stealing the fire of Hephaestus and the mechanical skill of Athena, he bestowed both these precious gifts on men.³ This version of the story was known to Lucian, for he represents Hephaestus reproaching Prometheus with having purloined the fire and left his forge cold.⁴ Cicero speaks of "the Lemnian theft" of fire committed by Prometheus ;⁵ which implies that the fire was obtained from the forge of Hephaestus in Lemnos, the island on which Hephaestus fell when he was hurled from heaven by Zeus.⁶ Perhaps the origin of fire on earth was mythically explained by this fall of Hephaestus, who may have been supposed to carry it with him in his descent from heaven, and to have used it to light the furnace of his smithy in the island.

The notion that the first fire used by man was stolen from a deity or other fairyland being meets us in many stories told by many savages in many parts of the world. Very often, curiously enough, the thief is a bird or beast ; not uncommonly the theft is committed by a number of birds or beasts, which combine together for the purpose. On the other hand, a beast or bird often figures, not as the thief, but as the first owner of fire, and the story relates how the

¹ Hyginus, *Fab.* 144.

² Horace, *Odes*, i. 3. 27 *sqq.* ; Juvenal, xv. 84 *sqq.*

³ Plato, *Protagoras*, 11, p. 321 c-e.

⁴ Lucian, *Prometheus*, 5.

⁵ Cicero, *Tuscul. Disput.* ii. 10. 23.

⁶ Homer, *Il.* i. 590 *sqq.*

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fire was obtained from the animal or bird and conveyed to men. Tales of the origin, and in particular of the theft, of fire are too numerous to be told here at length; elsewhere I hope to deal with them fully.¹ But it may be worth while to illustrate the nature and wide diffusion of such tales by some examples.

The aborigines of Cape Grafton, on the eastern coast of Queensland, tell of a time when there was no such thing as fire on earth; so Bin-jir Bin-jir, a small wren with a red back (*Malurus* sp.), went up into the skies to get some. He was successful, but lest his friends on earth should have the benefit of it, he hid it away under his tail. Asked on his return how he had fared, he told his friend that his quest had been fruitless. But his friend laughed and said, "Why, you have got some fire stuck on to the end of your tail," referring to the red spot on the bird's back. Bin-jir Bin-jir was therefore obliged to admit that he did get some fire, and finally he showed his friend from what particular wood to extract it by friction.² Some of the aborigines of Western Victoria thought that the first fire was procured by a little bird described as a "fire-tail wren," which stole it from the crows, who till then had had sole possession of the valuable element.³

According to the Boandik tribe, who used to inhabit the extreme south-east corner of South Australia, the first owner of fire was the cockatoo, who kept it jealously hidden in his red crest and produced it from there by scratching his crest whenever he wished to cook his victuals. But he took care to cook his food privately, lest the other cockatoos should learn the secret. However, one little cockatoo contrived to steal some of the fire and communicated it to his fellows.⁴ One of the tribes about Maryborough in Queensland related how men originally obtained fire by knocking off a piece of

¹ In a volume, *The Origin of Fire, and other Essays*, to be published by Messrs. Macmillan & Co., London.

² Walter E. Roth, "Superstition, Magic, and Medicine," *North Queensland Ethnography, Bulletin No. 5* (Brisbane, 1903), p. 11.

³ James Dawson, *Australian Aborigines* (Melbourne, Sydney, and Adelaide, 1881), p. 54.

⁴ Mrs. James Smith, *The Boandik tribe* (Adelaide, 1880), pp. 21 sq.

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the sun when he rose in the east.¹ The natives about Lake Condah in Victoria said that once upon a time a man threw up a spear to the clouds with a string attached to it. Then he climbed up the string and brought down fire from the sun to the earth.²

The natives of the Eastern Islands of Torres Straits, between Australia and New Guinea, say that fire was formerly in possession of an old woman, who kept it in a sixth finger which she had between her finger and thumb. When she wished to kindle a fire, she had only to put this finger under the fuel, and the fuel at once ignited. The animals on another island often saw the smoke of her fire and were envious, for they had no fire of their own. They tried, one after the other, to swim across the channel and get the fire by hook or crook; but they all failed until the big lizard made his way across, bit off the old woman's fiery finger, and swam back with it in his mouth. All the people, or rather all the animals, were very glad to see the fire which he brought to them. They all went into the wood and everyone got a branch from the tree he liked best; they asked each tree to come and get a fire-stick. All the trees came and got fire and have kept it ever since; and men obtain their fire-sticks from the trees.³

The natives of Kiwai, an island off the mouth of the Fly River in New Guinea, say that fire was first produced on the mainland of New Guinea by two men. All animals tried to steal some of the fire and to swim across to Kiwai with it, but they all failed. The birds also failed in the attempt, till at last the black cockatoo succeeded in bringing a burning stick in his beak. But his mouth was terribly burnt by the fire; and he has had a red spot on both sides of his mouth from that day to this. He let the fire-stick drop at last; and the people secured it, and have had fire ever since.⁴

¹ A. W. Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia* (London, 1904), p. 432.

² R. Brough Smyth, *The Aborigines of Victoria* (Melbourne and London, 1878), i. 462.

³ *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, vi. (Cambridge, 1908), pp. 29 sq.

⁴ Rev. J. Chalmers, "Note on the Natives of Kiwai Island," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxiii. (1903) p. 188. For other versions of the same story, see

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The cockatoo here referred to belongs no doubt to the genus *Microglossa*, "whose wholly black plumage is relieved by their bare cheeks of bright red."¹

Some people in Kiwai give a different account of the origin of fire. They say that the method of making fire was discovered accidentally or through the advice of a spirit by sawing wood with a bamboo rope or a bowstring: the friction first made the wood warm and then elicited smoke and flame.²

At Wagawaga, on Milne Bay, near the south-eastern extremity of New Guinea, they say that people used to cook their yams and taro in the sun, because they were ignorant of fire. But a certain old woman had fire in her body and used to draw it out from between her legs when she wished to cook her own food. She carefully kept the secret from other people; but a boy detected her in the act of making fire and contrived to steal a fire-brand from her. This was the beginning of the general use of fire among men.³ A similar story is told by the natives of Dobu, an island belonging to the D'Entrecastaux group which lies to the east of New Guinea,⁴ and also by the natives of the Trobriand Islands, to the north of the D'Entrecastaux Islands.⁵

In the Admiralty Islands, to the north of New Guinea, the natives say that in the beginning there was no fire on

Gunnar Landtman, *The Folk-tales of the Kiwai Papuans* (Helsingfors, 1917), pp. 331 sq. (*Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, vol. xlvii); W. N. Beaver, *Unexplored New Guinea* (London, 1920), p. 174.

¹ Alfred Newton and Hans Gadow, *A Dictionary of Birds* (Cambridge, 1893-1896), p. 93.

² Gunnar Landtman, *op. cit.* pp. 83, 334 sq.

³ C. G. Seligmann, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea* (Cambridge, 1910), pp. 379 sq.

⁴ Rev. W. E. Bromilow, "Dobuan (Papuan) beliefs and folk-lore," *Report of the Thirteenth Meeting of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science, held at Sydney, 1911* (Sydney, 1912), pp. 425 sq.

⁵ The story was recorded in the Trobriands by Dr. B. Malinowski, who was good enough to communicate it to me.

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earth. A woman sent the sea-eagle and the starling to fetch fire from heaven. The two birds brought it, and since then people have cooked their food by fire; were it not for these two birds we should still have to dry our food in the sun. But on their flight down to earth, the two birds shifted the fire between them. The starling took the fire and carried it on the back of his neck, and the wind blew up the flame, so that it singed the bird. That is why the starling is now so small and the fish-eagle so big.¹

The Maoris of New Zealand tell how fire was procured for the earth by the great primordial hero Maui. He got it from his grandmother, Mahuika, the goddess of fire, who at his request produced fire successively from all the nails of her fingers and toes, one after the other. A great conflagration followed, which was extinguished by heavy rain. What little fire escaped extinction took refuge in certain trees, from which it is still elicited by friction.² Substantially the same myth, with local variations, is told in many parts of Polynesia, as in the Chatham Islands,³ Tonga,⁴ Savage Island,⁵ Samoa,⁶ Bowditch Island,⁷ the Union Islands,⁸ the

¹ Josef Meyer, "Mythen und Sagen der Admiralitäts-insulaner," *Anthropos*, ii. (1907), pp. 659 sq.

² Sir George Grey, *Polynesian Mythology* (London, 1855), pp. 45-49. For briefer versions of the story, see R. Taylor, *Te Ika A Maui, or New Zealand and its Inhabitants*² (London, 1870), pp. 130 sq.; John White, *The Ancient History of the Maori*, ii. (London and Wellington, 1889), pp. 108-110.

³ A. Shand, *The Moriori People of the Chatham Islands* (Washington and New Plymouth, 1911), p. 20 (*Memoirs of the Polynesian Society*, vol. ii.).

⁴ Le P. Reiter, "Traditions Tonguiennes," *Anthropos*, xii.-xiii. (1917-1918), pp. 1026-1040; E. E. Collcott, "Legends from Tonga," *Folk-lore*, xxxii. (1921), pp. 45-48.

⁵ G. Turner, *Samoa* (London, 1884), pp. 211 sq.; (Sir) Basil Thomson, *Savage Island* (London, 1902), pp. 86 sq.

⁶ G. Turner, *op. cit.* pp. 209-211; J. B. Stair, *Old Samoa* (London, 1897), pp. 238 sq.

⁷ G. Turner, *op. cit.* p. 270.

⁸ (Sir) Basil Thomson, *op. cit.* p. 87.

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Hervy Islands,¹ and the Marquesas Islands.² Everywhere the fire-bringer is the human or superhuman hero Maui, but there is some variation in regard to the name and sex of the deity from whom he obtained the fire. Sometimes the deity appears as a female and sometimes as a male, sometimes as the grandmother and sometimes as the grandfather of the hero; and her or his name is variously given as Mahuika, Mahuike, Mauika, Mauike, Mauimotua, Mafuie, and Mafuike. In the Maori myth the realm of the fire-goddess would seem to be in the sky, for the hero speaks of fetching down fire for the world. But in almost all the other versions the home of the fire-deity is definitely subterranean, and the hero has to descend into the nether world in order to procure the fire. Sometimes the fire-god only yields the fire on compulsion after a struggle with the hero, in which the deity gets the worst of it. In the Chatham Islands version, as in the Maori version, the fire-god produces the fire from his fingers. In the Marquesas version the fire-goddess produces the fire from her toes, knees, back, and navel; but in the other versions which I have cited nothing is said about the fire being extracted from the body of the deity. While the fire-bringer Maui is clearly conceived as a hero in human form, he is sometimes said to have assumed the form of a bird in order either to obtain access to the realm of the fire-deity or to escape from the conflagration which followed his interview with that potentate. Thus in the Maori version the hero Maui is said to have assumed the form of an eagle; in one of the two Hervy Islands versions he is reported to have entered temporarily into the body of a red pigeon; while in the Marquesas version he concealed himself under the form of a *paiotio* bird. A version of the story which is reported from the Hawaii or Sandwich Islands relates how Maui learned the art of fire-making from an *alae* bird, which used to carry fire about and communicate it to its fellow-birds in order that they might roast bananas or taro with it. Being

¹ W. W. Gill, *Myths and Songs from the South Pacific* (London, 1876), pp. 51-58, 63-69.

² E. Tregear, "Polynesian folk-lore; ii.: The Origin of Fire," *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute*, xx. (1887), pp. 385-387.

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caught by Maui, the bird explained to him how to make fire by rubbing two sticks together, and indicated to him the various sorts of trees from which fire-sticks could be procured. As all but one of these trees proved on trial to be quite unsuitable for the purpose, Maui in a rage applied a burning brand to the bird's head, as you may still see by the red crest on its poll.¹ In one of the Hervey Islands versions the fire-god employed a bird of white plumage, the tern, to hold down the lower fire-stick, while he himself twirled the upper fire-stick in the usual way to elicit fire. But Maui snatched the burning upper stick from the fire-god's hands, and as the bird continued to clutch the lower stick, the hero applied the flaming stick in his hands to either side of the bird's eyes and scorched both places. That is why you see the black marks on either side of the tern's eyes down to this day. Thus, while the human aspect of the fire-bringer certainly prevails in the Polynesian myths of the origin of fire, there are hints that in another and perhaps older version of the tale he may have been a bird rather than a man.

The natives of Nukufetau, one of the Ellice Islands, give a very rationalistic account of the origin of fire. They say that fire was discovered by seeing smoke rise from two crossed branches which were rubbed against each other in the wind.²

The Toradys of Central Celebes say that the Creator gave fire to the first man and woman, but did not teach them how to make it. So when the fire went out, people were at a loss how to boil their rice. Accordingly they resolved to send a messenger to the sky to ask for a little fire, for in those days the sky was much nearer to the earth than it is now. The messenger chosen for the purpose was a certain insect named *tambooya*. When the insect came to the sky and asked for fire, the gods said, "We will give you fire; but you must cover your eyes with your hands, that you may not see how we make it." But the gods did not know that the insect had an eye under each shoulder; so while he lifted up his arms

¹ A. Bastian, *Inselgruppen in Oceanien* (Berlin, 1883), pp. 278 sq.; *id.*, *Allerlei aus Volks- und Menschenkunde* (Berlin, 1888), i. 120 sq.

² G. Turner, *Samoa*, pp. 285 sq.

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to hide his eyes in his head, he saw with his eyes under his arms how the gods made fire by striking a flint with a chopping-knife, and on his return to earth he communicated the secret to mankind, who have made fire in that way ever since.¹

The natives of Nias, an island to the west of Sumatra, say that in the olden time certain evil spirits called Belas used to consort with mankind in a friendly way, but only the Belas knew how to make fire, and they kept the secret to themselves, though they were willing enough to lend fire to men. One day a man, whose fire had gone out, went to borrow it from the wife of a Bela. To prevent him from seeing how she made it, she proposed to cover him up with a garment. But he said, "I can see through a garment; put a basket over me." She did so, but while she made fire, he looked through the interstices of the basket, and so learned the secret.²

The Andaman Islanders say that after the great flood, which extinguished all fires on earth, the ghost of a drowned man assumed the form of a kingfisher and flew up to the sky, where he discovered the Creator seated beside his fire. The bird seized a burning log in its beak, but accidentally dropped it on the Creator, who, smarting with pain, hurled the brand at the awkward bird. The missile missed the kingfisher but dropped near the survivors of the flood, who thus recovered the use of fire.³

¹ A. C. Kruijt, "De legenden der Poso-Alfoeren aangaande de eerste menschen," *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap*, xxxviii. (1894), pp. 340 sq.; N. Adriani en Alb. C. Kruijt, *De Bare'e-sprekende Toradjas van Midden-Celebes* (Batavia, 1912-14), ii. 186 sq.

² L. N. H. A. Chatelin, "Godsdienst en bijgeloof der Niassers," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde*, xxvi. (1880), p. 132; E. Modigliani, *Un Viaggio à Nias* (Milan, 1890), pp. 629 sq. Compare H. Sundermann, *Die Insel Nias* (Barmen, 1905), p. 70.

³ E. H. Man, *On the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands* (London, n. d.), pp. 98 sq. Compare *Census of India*, 1901, vol. iii. *The Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, by Sir Richard C. Temple (Calcutta, 1903), p. 63; M. V. Portman, "The Andaman fire-legend," *The Indian Antiquary*, xxvi. (1897), pp. 14-18.

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The Thay or Tai of Siam have likewise a legend of a great flood which extinguished all fires on earth. The survivors sent three several messengers, a man, a serpent, and an owl, one after the other, to the Spirit of the Sky to procure fire, but none of them succeeded in the task. At last they applied to the gad-fly, and he willingly undertook the duty, only stipulating that if he succeeded in his mission he should be free thenceforth to batten on the thighs of buffaloes and the legs of men. His terms being accepted, the gad-fly flew up to the sky. Now the eyes of a gad-fly are not in its head but at the root of its wings; at least the Thay think so. But when Sky asked the gad-fly, "Where are your eyes?" the cunning insect replied, "They are just where other people's eyes are." "Then," pursued the Sky, "where will you shut yourself up so as to see nothing?" The artful gad-fly answered, "I see through the sides of a pitcher just as if they did not exist; but put me in a basket with interstices, and I see absolutely nothing." The simple-minded Sky accordingly put the gad-fly in a basket with interstices and set about making fire by the process of drawing a cord rapidly to and fro in the notch of a stick. Ensclosed in the basket, the gad-fly saw the whole process and communicated the secret to men.¹ In this story the gad-fly's trick of peeping through the interstices of a basket resembles the trick played by the man in the corresponding story from Nias.²

The Ba-ila, a tribe of Northern Rhodesia, in South Africa, tell how the Mason-Wasp brought fire from God. They say that formerly there was no fire on earth, so all the birds assembled together and asked, "Whence shall we get fire?" Mason-Wasp offered to go to God to get some, and the Vulture, the Fish-Eagle, and the Crow volunteered to go with him. So they all flew off; but first the Vulture, then the Fish-Eagle, and then the Crow expired with the effort, and their bones fell to the earth. Only Mason-Wasp won his way to God and told him that he was come to ask for fire. God gave him fire and his blessing as well, saying, "You shall not have to beget children. When you desire a child, go and look into a grainstalk and you will find an insect

¹ A. Bourlet, "Les Thay," *Anthropos*, ii. (1907), pp. 921-24. ² See above, p. 334.

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whose name is Ngongwa. When you have found him, take and carry him into a house. When you arrive in the house, look out for the fireplace where men cook, and build there a dwelling for your child Ngongwa. When you have finished building, put him in and let him remain there. When many days have elapsed, just go and have a look at him; and one day you will find he has changed and become just as you are yourself." So it is to-day: Mason-Wasp builds a house, looking for the fireplace, just as he was commanded by God.¹

This African account of the origin of fire on earth is explained as follows by the writers who have recorded it: "The Mason-Wasp, the Prometheus of the Ba-ila, with its indigo-blue wings, yellow abdomen, and black and orange legs, is a common object in Central Africa. It builds its cell of mud not only on the fireplaces, as the tale narrates, but also (and this is a great nuisance) on walls, books, and pictures in one's dwelling. In the cell it lays its eggs, together with a caterpillar or grub, and seals them up; then it builds other cells, until quite a large unsightly lump of clay is left on the wall. As the young grubs hatch out they eat the insects which have been benumbed, but not killed, by the sting of their parent. We have here an interesting example of how the observation of natives is correct up to a certain point; but not taking into consideration, because they have not noticed, all the facts, the conclusion they draw is wrong. They suppose Ngongwa to metamorphose into a Mason-Wasp; and this tale is to explain why it is so, as well as to account for the domestic fire."²

A very different story of the origin of fire is told by the Basongo Meno, a group of tribes in the Congo basin, whose territory lies to the north of the Sankuru and Kasai rivers. They say that from the earliest times they have made their fishing-traps out of the ribs of the Raphia palm. One day a man, constructing such a trap, wished to bore a hole in the end of one of the ribs, and he used a small pointed stick for the purpose. In the process of boring fire was elicited, and this method of procuring fire has been employed ever since.

¹ E. W. Smith and A. M. Dale, *The Ila-speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia* (London, 1920), ii. 345 sq.

² E. W. Smith and A. M. Dale, *op. cit.* ii. 346 sq.

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Hence large plantations of *Raphia* palm are maintained by the people to supply them with fire-sticks.¹

In Loango they say that once on a time the spider spun a long, long thread, and that the wind caught one end of the thread and carried it up to the sky. Then the woodpecker climbed up the thread, and pecking at the celestial vault made those holes in it which we call stars. After the woodpecker had thus ascended, man also clambered up the thread to the sky and fetched down fire.²

The Ekoi of Southern Nigeria, on the borders of the Cameroons, say that in the beginning of the world, the Sky God, Obassi Osaw, made everything, but he did not give fire to the people who were on earth. A chief named Etim 'Ne sent the Lame Boy, who at that time was not lame, to the Sky God to ask for fire. The Lame Boy went and proffered the request, but the Sky God refused it angrily and sent him back to earth. Next the chief went himself to the deity and humbled himself before him; but he fared no better and had to return home empty-handed. Thereupon the Lame Boy undertook to steal fire from the Sky God. With that view he went and took service with the Sky God, and after he had served the deity for some days, the god said to him, "Go to the house of my wives, and ask them to send me a lamp." The boy gladly did as he was bidden, for it was in the house of the god's wives that the fire was kept. He waited till the lamp was given him, and then brought it back with all speed. Once, after he had stayed many days among the servants, the Sky God Obassi sent him again for a lamp; and this time one of the wives said, "You can light the lamp at the fire." The boy took a brand and lighted the lamp, then he wrapped the brand in plantain leaves and tied it up in his cloth. He carried the lamp to his master; but that night, when all the people were asleep, he took the fire-brand which he had wrapped in plantain leaves, and carrying it he set out homeward. When he reached the earth once more, he took the fire to his chief and showed it to him. So the first fire was made on earth. But looking down from his house in the sky the god, Obassi Osaw, saw the smoke rising,

¹ E. Torday et T. A. Joyce, *Les Bushongo* (Brussels, 1910), pp. 275 sq.

² *Die Loango-Expedition*, iii. 2, von E. Pechuël-Loesche (Stuttgart, 1907), p. 135.

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and he said to his eldest son, "Go, ask the boy if it is he who has stolen the fire." His eldest son came down to earth and delivered his father's message. The lad confessed, saying, "I was the one who stole the fire. The reason why I hid it was because I feared." The god's eldest son, whose name was Akpan, replied, "I bring you a message. Up till now you have been able to walk. From to-day you will not be able to do so any more." That is the reason why the Lame Boy cannot walk. He it was who first brought fire to earth from Obassi's house in the sky.¹

The Lengua Indians of the Paraguayan Chaco say that in early times men, being unable to produce fire, were compelled to eat their food raw. But one day an Indian found a fire which a certain bird had kindled in order to cook snails. In the bird's absence he stole some of the burning sticks and communicated the fire to his friends, who that night cooked their food for the first time. When the bird, soaring up in the sky, saw the Indians sitting round the stolen fire, he was very angry, and created a great thunderstorm, accompanied by terrible lightning, which terrified the people. Hence, whenever it thunders, it is a sign that the thunder-bird is angry and is seeking to punish the Indians by fire from the sky; for ever since the bird lost its fire it has had to eat its food raw.²

The Tapietes, an Indian tribe of the Gran Chaco, say that of old the black vulture obtained fire by means of lightning from heaven, while as yet the Indians had no fire. However, a frog stole two sparks from the black vulture's fire and brought them in his mouth to the Tapietes. Since then the Tapietes have had fire, and the black vulture has had none. Robbed of his fire, the black vulture sat down with his hands over his head and wept.³

The Tembes, an Indian tribe of north-eastern Brazil, in the province of Grao Para, say that formerly fire was in the possession of the king vulture. The Tembes, being destitute

¹ P. Amaury Talbot, *In the Shadow of the Bush* (London, 1912), pp. 370 *sq.*

² W. B. Grubb, *An Unknown People in an Unknown Land* (London, 1911), pp. 97-99.

³ E. Nordenskiöld, *Indianerleben. El Gran Chaco* (Leipzig, 1912), pp. 313 *sq.* For other stories of the origin of fire, see *id.*, pp. 21 *sq.*, 110 *sq.*

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of fire, had to dry their meat in the sun. So they resolved to steal fire from the king vulture. For this purpose they killed a tapir and let it lie for three days, after which the carcase was rotten and full of maggots. The king vulture and his clan now came down to partake of the feast. They pulled off their garments of feathers and appeared in human form. They had brought with them a fire-brand, and with it they kindled a great fire. They gathered the maggots, wrapped them in leaves, and roasted them. Then the Tembes, who had lain in ambush ran to the spot, but the vultures flew up and bore the fire to a place of safety. Thus the Indians exerted themselves in vain for three days. Then they built a hunting-shelter beside the carrion, and an old medicine-man hid in it. The vultures came again and kindled their fire close to the shelter. And when they had laid aside their feather-garments and were roasting the maggots, the old man jumped out on them. The vultures at once made for their cast-off garments, the old man snatched a fire-brand, and by means of it he put fire into all the trees from which the Indians now extract it by friction.¹

The Arekuna Indians of northern Brazil tell of a certain man named Makunaima, who lived with his brothers long ago before the great flood. They had as yet no fire and were compelled to eat all their food raw. So they sought for fire and found the little green bird called by the natives *mutug* (*Prionites momota*) which was said to be in possession of fire. The bird was in the act of fishing, and Makunaima tied a string to its tail without its knowledge. The string was very long, and following it up the brothers came to the bird's house, from which they carried away fire with them. Afterwards there came a great flood, and a certain rodent, which the natives call *akuli* (*Dasyprocta aguti*), saved itself from drowning by creeping into a hole in a tree and bunging up the hole. There in the hole the creature made fire; but the fire caught the animal's hinder quarters and changed into red hair. Hence the beast has had red hairs on that part of its body to this day.²

¹ Th. Koch-Grünberg, *Indianermärchen aus Südamerika* (Jena, 1920), No. 65, pp. 186 sq.

² Th. Koch-Grünberg, *Vom Roroima zum Orinoco* (Berlin, 1916-17), ii. 33-36. For another story of the origin of fire, told by the Taulipang Indians of the same region, see *id.* ii. 76.

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The Tarumas, an Indian tribe inhabiting the forests in the south-eastern region of British Guiana, say that in the beginning two brothers only lived on earth; there was no woman. Afterwards the younger brother Duid fished up the first woman from a deep pool and married her. The two brothers lived in separate houses near each other. They had always eaten their food raw, having no fire to cook it with; but they noticed that the woman ate nothing raw except fruit. At last, after many years, when she was an old woman and had borne many children, the elder brother forced her by threats of violence to reveal her secret. So she sat down, and spreading her legs wide apart produced fire from her genital canal. From that fire is descended the fire which we now use. One day as Duid was sitting on the bank of the river with his fire beside him, an alligator came and snapped up the fire in its jaws and carried it off. However, Duid's elder brother recalled the alligator and induced it to disgorge its fiery prey. The fire itself was uninjured, but it had burned out the alligator's tongue, and in consequence the alligator has been tongueless ever since. Another day, soon afterwards, a maroudi picked up Duid's fire and flew away with it. Again the elder brother came to the rescue. The bird was recalled and gave back the fire, but her neck was burned and has remained red to this day. Another day, when Duid was absent, a jaguar came along, and stepping on the fire burned his feet so badly that he has never since been able to plant them flat on the ground, but must walk on his toes. A tapir also came along and trod on the fire, and he is so slow in his movements that he was very badly burned and has had hoofs ever since.¹

The Cora Indians of Mexico tell how in former times the iguana, a species of lizard, was in possession of fire, and how, having quarrelled with his wife and his mother-in-law, he retired to the sky, taking the fire with him. Thus there was no more fire on earth, because the iguana had carried it all away and kept it hidden up aloft. So the people assembled and consulted. They determined to send the raven up to the sky to fetch the fire down, but he failed in the attempt; so

¹ W. C. Farabee, *The Central Arawaks* (Philadelphia, 1918), pp. 143-47 (*University of Pennsylvania, Anthropological Publications*, vol. ix.).

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did the humming-bird, and all the other birds. At last the opossum contrived to climb up to the sky. There he found an old man sitting by a fire. When the old man fell asleep, the opossum seized a firebrand and dragged it towards the abyss by which the way to earth went down. Being overtaken by the old man, the opossum threw down the fire. It fell on the ground and set the earth on fire. But the earth goddess extinguished the conflagration with her milk. The people carried away the fire, and it remained with them.¹

The Sia Indians of New Mexico say that Spider was the creator of men and all animals. He lived in a house underground, and there he made fire by rubbing a sharp-pointed stone on a round flat stone. But having kindled the fire, he kept it in his house, setting a snake, a cougar, and a bear to guard the first, second, and third door, that no one might enter and see the fire. So people on earth had no fire and grew weary of browsing on grass like deer. They sent the coyote to steal fire for them from the nether world. He went, passed the warders at the doors of Spider's house, because they were all asleep, and made his way into the room where Spider himself was slumbering beside the fire. Coyote hastened to the fire and lighted at it a cedar brand which was tied to his tail. Then he hurried away, and Spider awoke; but before he could rouse the sleeping warders, coyote was far on his way with the fire to the upper world.²

The Navahoes of New Mexico say that when men first emerged from the earth, they found the animals already in possession of fire, though they themselves had none. But the coyote, the bat, and the squirrel, being friends of men, agreed to aid each other in procuring fire for mankind. So while the animals were busy playing the moccasin game, Coyote appeared on the scene with splinters of resinous pine-wood tied to his tail. While the attention of the animals was absorbed by the game, Coyote dashed through the fire, the splinters attached to his tail took fire, and with his fiery train he fled, pursued by all the animals. When he was exhausted, he passed the fire to the bat, and when the bat in

¹ K. Th. Preuss, *Die Nayarit-Expedition*, i. (Leipsic, 1912), pp 177-81.

² Mrs. Matilda Coxe Stevenson. "The Sia," *Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1894), pp. 26 sq., 70, 72 sq.

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turn could run no more, he transmitted the fire to the squirrel, who contrived to carry it safe to the Navahoes.¹

This arrangement of relays of animal runners, who pass the stolen fire from one to another, is a common feature in North American myths of the origin of fire. A typical story of this sort, for example, is told by the Uintah Utes of north-eastern Utah. They relate how Coyote and his people the Eagle, the Humming-bird, the Hawk-Moth, the Chicken-Hawk, and so on, had no fire, and how, led by Coyote, they started out in search of it, till at last they came to the village of people who had fire. There, dancing round the fire, Coyote contrived to ignite the shredded bark which he had stuck on his head in imitation of hair. Having thus secured the fire, he ran off with it, pursued by the people whose fire he had stolen. Growing tired, he passed the fire first to Eagle, who in turn transmitted it to Humming-bird, and so on. Finally, Coyote succeeded in bringing the precious fire, in a tube of old dry sagebrush, to his people, and explained to them how to make fire by boring a hole in a piece of sagebrush with a piece of greasewood.² In this tale, as in many others of the same sort, the actors bear the names of animals or birds but are conceived in some measure as human. The confusion is not necessarily a product of totemism; the lack of the power to discriminate clearly between animals and men is rather a cause than an effect of totemism.

The Sioux, Menomonis, Foxes, and several other Indian tribes in the valley of the Mississippi, used to relate, like many other peoples, that the few survivors of the great flood were left without fire. To remedy this inconvenience the Master of Life sent a white raven to carry fire to them. But the bird stopped by the way to batten on carrion and allowed the fire to go out. For this negligence the Great Spirit punished him by making him black instead of white. Then the Great Spirit sent a little grey bird (the *erbette*) as his messenger to carry fire to the man and woman, who alone had escaped from the flood. The bird did as he was bidden, and the

¹ Major E. Backus, "An account of the Navajoes of New Mexico," in H. R. Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes of the United States* (Philadelphia, 1853-1856), iv. 281 sq.

² A. L. Kroeber, "Uteh Tales," *Journal of American Folk-lore*, xiv. (1901), pp. 252-260.

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Great Spirit rewarded him by giving him two little black bars on each side of his eyes. Hence the Indians regard the bird with great respect; they never kill it themselves, and they forbid their children to shoot it. Moreover, they imitate the bird by painting two little black bars on each side of their own eyes.¹

The Karok Indians of California say that in the early ages of the world men were without fire. For the Creator had hidden the fire and given it to two old hags to guard jealously. However, the Coyote, who was friendly to men, contrived to procure fire for them by stealing it from the two hags and passing it along a line of animal runners. Amongst the runners was the ground-squirrel, and the black spot which you see to this day just behind his fore-shoulders is the mark of the fire which burned him there when he was carrying it. Another of the runners was the frog. In those days he had a tail, but as he could not hop fast enough, one of the old hags, who came tearing after the fire-thief, caught him up and tweaked off his tail. That is why frogs have no tails down to this day.²

The Tolowa Indians of California say that after the great flood there was no fire left on earth. However, the Spider Indians and the Snake Indians contrived by means of a captive balloon to ascend to the moon and to steal fire from the Indians who inhabited the lunar orb.³ The Maidu Indians of California relate how once Thunder carried off all the fire and kept it in his house, setting Woswosim (a small bird) to guard it and to prevent people from stealing it. However, with the help of two Lizards the people discovered the house of Thunder by its smoke, and they sent Mouse, Deer, Dog, and Coyote to get the fire, and they took a flute with them in which to carry the fire when they should get it. Mouse contrived to steal the fire while the watcher slept, and the stolen element was given to the

¹ François-Vincent Badin, in *Annales de l'Association de la Propagation de la Foi*, iv. (Lyons and Paris, 1830), pp. 537 sq.

² S. Powers, *Tribes of California* (Washington, 1877), pp. 38 sq. (*Contributions to North American Ethnology*, vol. iii.).

³ S. Powers, *op. cit.* pp. 70 sq. For other stories of the origin of fire, see *id.*, pp. 161, 182, 273, 343 sq.

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swiftest runner to carry in the tube. But Deer carried some of it in the hock of his leg, and that is why there is a reddish spot in his hock to this day. While they were making off with the fire, Thunder awoke, jumped up with a roar like thunder, and came tearing after the thieves. But Skunk shot him dead. So the people got home safely with the fire, and they have had it ever since.¹

While in the more southern tribes of North America the animal which is most commonly supposed to have procured fire for men is the coyote, in the more northerly tribe the place of the coyote in the myth is taken by other animals or birds, such as the deer, the beaver, the mink, and the raven. For example, among the tribes of Vancouver Island the thief of fire is usually the deer, who steals it in much the same way as the coyote, by tying resinous shavings of pine-wood to his tail or his head and then whisking his tail or butting with his head through the fire, so that the shavings ignite and the animal makes off with its tail or head ablaze and with the usual hue and cry after it. Such stories are told, for example, by the Nootkas or Alts,² the Catloltq,³ the Tlatlasikoala,⁴ and the Kwakiutl⁵ Indians, all of Van-

¹ Rowland B. Dixon, "Maidu Myths," *Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History*, xvii. part ii. (New York, 1902), pp. 65-67.

² G. M. Sproat, *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life* (London, 1868), pp. 178 sq. ; George Hunt, "Myths of the Nootka," in "Tsimshian Mythology," by Franz Boas, *Thirty-first Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1916), pp. 894-896. Compare Franz Boas, *Indianische Sagen von der Nord-Pacifischen Küste Amerikas* (Berlin, 1895), p. 102. In this last version Deer fails in his attempt to steal fire from the Wolves, its owners; but the theft is successfully perpetrated by Woodpecker and a creature called Kwatiath, who, in carrying the fire, inadvertently put it to his cheek and so burned a hole in his cheek, which may be seen there to this day.

³ Franz Boas, *Indianische Sagen von der Nord-Pacifischen Küste Amerikas*, pp. 80 sq.

⁴ Franz Boas, *Indianische Sagen von der Nord-Pacifischen Küste Amerikas*, p. 187.

⁵ George M. Dawson, "Notes and Observations on the Kwakiol people of Vancouver Island," *Transactions of the*

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couver Island. Myths of the same sort are current among the tribes on the adjacent coast of British Columbia, such as the Awikenoq¹ and the Tsimshian.² Among the Heiltsuk, another tribe on the coast of British Columbia, the Deer is said to have borne a title meaning the Torch-bearer, because he stole the fire by means of wood tied to his tail.³

In a myth told by the Thompson Indians, who inhabit the interior of British Columbia, the Coyote reappears as the first thief of fire, who stole it in the usual way by dancing round a fire with a head-dress of combustible shavings and then running away as soon as the shavings ignited. The parallel with the southern myths is completed by a chain of animals, including Fox, Wolf, and Antelope, to which Coyote passed the fire, and who ran with it till they succumbed, one after the other.⁴ But in other versions of the myth told by the Thompson Indians the thief of fire is the Beaver, assisted by the Eagle or by the Eagle and the Weasel together.⁵ A very similar story of the theft of fire is told by the Lillooet Indians, who are neighbours of the Thompson Indians. In

Royal Society of Canada, vol. v. section ii. (1887), p. 22. In another Kwakiutl version of the myth the thief is not the Deer but the Mink, who stole the first fire for men from the ghosts. See Franz Boas, *Indianische Sagen von der Nord-Pacifischen Küste Amerikas*, p. 158.

¹ Franz Boas, *Indianische Sagen von der Nord-Pacifischen Küste Amerikas*, pp. 213 sq.

² Franz Boas, "Tsimshian Mythology," *Thirty-first Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1916), p. 63.

³ Franz Boas, *Indianische Sagen von der Nord-Pacifischen Küste Amerikas*, p. 241.

⁴ James A. Teit, "Thompson Tales," in *Folk-tales of Salishan and Sahaptin Tribes*, edited by Franz Boas (Lancaster, Pa., and New York, 1917), p. 2 (*Memoirs of the American Folk-lore Society*, vol. xi.).

⁵ James Teit, "Mythology of the Thompson Indians," *The Jesup North Pacific Expedition*, vol. viii. part ii. (Leyden and New York, 1912), pp. 229 sq. 338 sq. (*Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History*); *id. Traditions of the Thompson River Indians of British Columbia* (Boston and New York, 1898), pp. 56 sq.

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their version also the thief is the Beaver, and his accomplice is the Eagle, who diverts the attention of the owners of the fire, while Beaver conveys it away in a clam-shell.¹ A like tale is told by the Okanaken Indians, who form the most easterly division of the Salish stock in British Columbia. In their version the fire is stolen from the sky people by the animals who climb up to the sky along a chain of arrows constructed in the way which has been already described.² Having reached the upper world in this manner, Beaver and Eagle are deputed to secure the fire, and they do so as before, Eagle attracting the attention of the Sky people, while Beaver makes off with the fire, which he has stowed away for safety under his skin. On reaching the top of the ladder of arrows in order to descend to earth, the animals scuffle among themselves as to who should go down first, and in the scuffle the ladder breaks before they could all descend by it. Hence some of them had to jump down, and Catfish and Sucker broke their heads in leaping, which explains why their heads are so funny to this day.³ An almost precisely similar story is told by the Sanpoil Indians, another tribe of the Salish stock who live in Washington State.⁴

The Chilcotin Indians, in the interior of British Columbia, tell how in the old days there was no fire in the world except in the house of one man, who would not give it to anybody. But Raven contrived to steal fire from him by the familiar device of tying pitchwood shavings in his hair, dancing round the man's fire, and then poking his head in the fire, so that the shavings ignited. Thus Raven got fire and used it to kindle conflagrations all over the country. When the woods began to burn, the animals ran for their

¹ James Teit, "Traditions of the Lillooet Indians of British Columbia," *Journal of American Folk-lore*, xxv. (1912), pp. 299 *sq.*

² See above, Appendix, "War of Earth on Heaven," pp. 318 *sqq.*

³ C. Hill Tout, "Report on the Ethnology of the Okanaken of British Columbia," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xli. (1911), p. 146.

⁴ See above, Appendix, "War of Earth on Heaven," pp. 325 *sq.*

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lives and most of them escaped ; but the rabbit did not run fast enough, and the fire caught him up, and burned his feet. That is why rabbits have black spots on the soles of their feet to this day. And after the trees had caught fire, the fire remained in them, which is the reason why wood burns to-day, and why you can get fire by rubbing two sticks together.¹

The Haida Indians of Queen Charlotte Islands say that long ago people had neither fire, nor daylight, nor fresh water, nor the olachen fish, all these good things being in the possession of a great chief or deity who lived where is now the Nasse River, and who kept them all to himself. But the cunning Raven contrived to steal all these boons from the selfish chief or deity and to communicate them to mankind. The way in which he stole fire was this. He did not dare to appear in his proper shape in the chief's house ; but assuming the form of a leaf of the spruce fir he floated on the water near the house. Now the chief had a daughter, and when she went down to draw water, she drew up the leaf along with it, and afterwards, taking a draught of the water, she swallowed the leaf. Shortly afterwards she conceived and bore a child, who was no other than the subtle Raven. Thus Raven gained an entry into the lodge. Watching his chance, he one day picked up a burning brand, and donning his coat of feathers (for he could don and doff his plumage at will) he flew out of the smoke-hole, carrying fire with him and spreading it wherever he went.²

The Tlingit Indians of Alaska also tell of the wonderful doings of Raven in the early days of the world. They say that fire did not then exist on the earth, but only on an island in the sea. Raven flew thither, and picking up a

¹ Livingston Farrand, "Traditions of the Chilcotin Indians." *The Jesup North Pacific Expedition*, vol. ii. part i. ([New York], 1900), p. 3 (*Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History*).

² G. M. Dawson, *Report on the Queen Charlotte Islands*, 1878 (Montreal, 1880), pp. 149B-151B (*Geological Surv.y of Canada*). A less romantic version of the Haida story is current in the Masset dialect. See John R. Swanton, "Haida texts—Masset dialect," *The Jesup North Pacific Expedition*, vol. x. part ii. (Leyden and New York, 1908), pp. 315 sq.

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firebrand in his bill returned. But so great was the distance that when he came to land the brand was almost consumed, and even Raven's bill was half burnt off. As soon as he reached the shore, he dropped the glowing embers on the ground, and the scattered sparks fell on stones and wood. And that, the Tlingit say, is the reason why both stones and wood still contain fire; for you can strike sparks from stones by striking them with steel, and you can produce fire from wood by rubbing two sticks together.¹

In another Tlingit version of the myth it is said that in the beginning men had no fire. But Raven (Yetl) knew that Snow-Owl, who lived far out in the ocean, guarded the fire. He commanded all men, who in those days still had the form of animals, to go, one after the other, to fetch fire; but none of them succeeded in bringing it. At last the Deer, who then had a long tail, said, "I will take fir-wood and tie it to my tail. With that I will fetch fire." So he ran to the house of Snow-Owl, danced round the fire, and at last whisked his tail close to the flames. Then the wood on his tail caught fire, and he ran away. Thus it came about that his tail was burnt off, and since that time the Deer has had only a stumpy tail.²

In Normandy they say that long ago there was no fire on earth and it was necessary to fetch fire from heaven. The people applied to the big birds, but they refused to undertake the task. At last the little wren offered to go, and succeeded in bringing back the fire to earth. But on the return journey all the wren's feathers were burnt by the fire; and to supply their place the other birds out of gratitude gave each a feather from his own plumage. Since that time the wren's plumage has been speckled. The only bird that would not give a feather to clothe the wren was the screech-owl. All the birds attacked him to punish him for his

¹ H. J. Holmberg, "Ueber die Völker des Russischen Amerika," *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, iv. (Helsingfors, 1856), p. 339; Alph. Pinart, "Notes sur les Koloches," *Bulletins de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*, II^me série, vii. (1872), pp. 798 sq.; Aurel Krause, *Die Tlinkit-Indianer* (Jena, 1885), p. 263.

² Franz Boas, *Indianische Sagen von der Nord-Pacifischen Küste Amerikas*, p. 314.

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hardness of heart. Hence he is forced to hide himself by day and only comes out at night.¹ Hence in Normandy the wren is much respected, and people believe that some misfortune would befall him who should kill the bird.² Some say that fire from heaven would strike the house of any bad boy who should kill a wren or rob its nest.³

In Brittany the same story is told of the wren, and there is the same unwillingness to hurt the bird. At Saint Donan they say that if little children touch a wren's young ones, they will catch St. Lawrence's fire: that is, they will suffer from pimples or pustules on the face, legs, and other parts of the body.⁴ But in some parts of Brittany the same story is told of the robin redbreast. They say it was he who fetched the fire, and in doing so he burnt all his feathers, whereupon the other birds reclothed him by each one giving him a feather. Only the screech-owl refused to lend a feather; hence, if he shows himself by day, all the little birds cry out on him.⁵ In Guernsey they say that robin redbreast was the first who brought fire to the island. But while he was crossing the water, the fire singed his feathers, and hence his breast has been red ever since.⁶

At Le Charme, in the Département of Loiret, the story goes that the wren stole the fire of heaven and was descending with it to earth, but his wings caught fire and he was obliged to entrust his precious burden to robin redbreast. But robin burned his breast by hugging the fire to it; hence he in turn had to resign the office of fire-bearer. Then the lark took up the sacred fire, and carrying it safe to earth

¹ Jean Fleury, *Littérature orale de la Basse Normandie* (Paris, 1883), pp. 108 sq. Compare Anélie Bosquet, *La Normandie Romanesque et Merveilleuse* (Paris and Rouen, 1845), pp. 220 sq.

² Alfred de Nore, *Coutumes, Mythes, et Traditions des Provinces de France* (Paris and Lyons, 1846), p. 271.

³ Amélie Bosquet, *op. cit.* p. 221.

⁴ P. Sébillot, *Traditions et Superstitions de la Haute-Bretagne* (Paris, 1882), ii. 214 sq.

⁵ P. Sébillot, *Traditions et Superstitions de la Haute-Bretagne*, ii. 209 sq.

⁶ Charles Swainson, *The Folk-lore and Provincial Names of British Birds* (London, 1886), p. 16.

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delivered the treasure to mankind.¹ This story resembles the American fire-myths in which the stolen fire is said to have been passed on from one to another along a line of animal runners.²

IV.—MELAMPUS AND THE KINE OF PHYLACUS

(*Apollodorus* I. ix. 12)

The story of Melampus and the kine of Phylacus or of Iphiclus is told by the Scholiast on Homer, who cites as his authority the seventh book of Pherecydes.³ Since this version of the legend contains some picturesque details, which are omitted by Apollodorus, and probably affords a fair specimen of the manner of the early mythographer Pherecydes, it may be worth while to submit it to the reader in a translation. As printed by Dindorf in his edition of the Scholia on Homer, the tale runs as follows⁴:

“Neleus, son of Poseidon, had a daughter named Pero, of surpassing beauty, but he would give her in marriage to none except to him who should first drive away from Iphiclus at Phylace the cows of his (that is, of Neleus's) mother Tyro.⁵ When all hesitated, Bias, son of Talauis,⁶ alone undertook to do it, and he persuaded his brother Melampus

¹ E. Rolland, *Faune Populaire de la France*, ii. (Paris, 1879), p. 294; P. Sébillot, *Le Folk-lore de France* (Paris, 1904-1907), iii. 156. ² See above, pp. 341 *sqq.*

³ Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* xi. 287.

⁴ *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Odysseam*, ed. G. Dindorf (Oxford, 1855), vol. ii. pp. 498 *sq.*

⁵ The cows belonged originally to Tyro, the mother of Neleus. But when Neleus was under age, Iphiclus stole the kine and kept them. On growing up, Neleus demanded back the cattle, but Iphiclus refused to return them. Hence Neleus was driven to promise the hand of his beautiful daughter Pero to anyone who should succeed in recovering the stolen kine. See Eustathius, on Homer, *Od.* xi. 292, p. 1685. Phylace was in Thessaly (Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* xi. 290).

⁶ According to Apollodorus (i. 9. 13), Talauis was not the father but the son of Bias.

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to achieve the task. And he, although as a soothsayer he knew that he should be kept a prisoner for a year, went to Othrys¹ to get the cows. The watchmen there and the herdsmen caught him in the act of stealing, and handed him over to Iphiclus. And he was kept in bonds with two servants, a man and a woman, who were put in charge of him. Now the man treated him kindly, but the woman treated him scurvily. But when the year was nearly up, Melampus heard some worms overhead saying among themselves that they had gnawed through the beam. On hearing that, he called the attendants and bade them carry him out, the woman taking hold of the bed by the foot, and the man by the head. So they took him up and carried him out. But meantime the beam broke and fell on the woman and killed her. The man reported to Phylacus what had happened, and Phylacus reported it to Iphiclus. And they came to Melampus and asked him who he was. He said he was a soothsayer. And they promised to give him the cows if he should discover some means whereby Iphiclus might beget children. On this subject they gave mutual pledges. And Melampus sacrificed an ox to Zeus and cut it into portions for all the birds, and they all came, save one vulture. And Melampus asked all the birds if any of them knew means whereby Iphiclus might have children. And being all puzzled, they brought the vulture. He at once discovered the cause of the inability to beget children. For while Iphiclus was still a child, Phylacus had pursued him with a knife because he saw him misbehaving; then not catching him up, Phylacus stuck the knife in a certain wild pear-tree and the bark had grown round it, and on account of his fright Iphiclus had no longer the power to get children. So the vulture advised them to get the knife from the wild pear-tree, and wiping off the rust from it to give it in wine to Iphiclus to drink for ten days; for by that means he would get children. And having done so, Iphiclus recovered his virility and got a son Podarces. And he gave the cows

¹ Accepting the correction 'Οθρυν, proposed by Barnes and approved by Buttman, for the MS. reading 'Οφρήν or 'Οφρύν. For Othrys, see Theocritus, iii. 43:

τὰν ἀγέλαν χά μάντις ἀπ' 'Οθρυνος ἀγε Μελάμπους
ἐς Πύλον.

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to Melampus, who took them and brought them to Pylus and gave them to Neleus as a bridal gift for Pero; and he got her as a bride for his brother Bias. And children were born to him, namely, Perialces and Aretus and Alpheisiboea. The story is to be found in the seventh book of Pherecydes."

The story is told in a nearly identical form by Eustathius, but without mentioning his authority.¹ He adds, however, one or two touches to the narrative which deserve to be noticed. Thus he says that when Melampus heard the worms conversing overhead, he pretended to be ill and availed himself of this pretence in order to have himself transported from the house which was so soon to collapse; and again he tells us that Melampus invited all the birds to the sacrifice except the vulture, and that he questioned them all as to the means by which Iphiclus could beget children, but that none of them could answer, until last of all the vulture appeared and explained the matter. After concluding his version of the story, Eustathius calls attention to a scholium on Theocritus which adds a notable feature to the tale. According to the scholium, Phylacus, the father of Iphiclus, was gelding animals at the time when he frightened his little son by threatening him with the knife; nay, in lifting up the knife to stick it in the tree he accidentally touched his son's genital organs with it.² This incident, though it is not mentioned in the scholium on Theocritus as that scholium now appears in our editions,³ is recorded in a scholium on Homer,⁴ and it has all the

¹ Commentary on Homer, *Od.* xi. 292, p. 1685.

² ἐκτέμοντί ποτε τῷ φυλάκῳ ὥσα παρειστήκει καὶς ὧν Ἰφικλος, ὃν ἐκπλήξαι θέλων ὁ πατήρ καὶ ἀνατείνας ἦν κατεῖχε μάχαιραν, εἶτα εἰς τὸ πλησίον δένδρον ἐμπήξαι θελήσας, ἐπήνεγκεν αὐτοῦ τοῖς μορίοις οὕτω σύμβαν. If the last two words are not corrupt, they seem to mean "by accident."

³ Schol. on Theocritus, iii. 43. In this scholium, as it now stands, Phylacus is said to have been engaged in cutting a tree (ἐκτέμοντί ποτε τῷ πατρὶ φυλάκῳ δένδρον) instead of gelding animals.

⁴ Schol. on Homer, *Od.* xi. 290 ἦν [scil. μάχαιραν] ἐπήνεγκε φύλακος τῷ Ἰφίκλῳ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐκτέμοντι τὰ τετράποδα. Here τῶν ἀγρῶν seems to support the reading τῶν ἀγρῶν

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appearance of being an original and vital part of the narrative. It was, in fact, the contact of the gelding knife with the boy's genitals which, on the principle of sympathetic magic, was supposed to have deprived him of his virility because it had just deprived the rams of their generative power. The incident is reported by Apollodorus, except that he does not mention the actual contact of the knife with the boy's genital organs. We can hardly doubt that the incident also formed part of the story as told by Pherecydes, though the scholiast on Homer, who professes to reproduce the narrative of Pherecydes, has passed it over in silence, perhaps out of delicacy. The mode of cure recommended by the vulture, which undoubtedly was recorded by Pherecydes, furnishes another good example of sympathetic or, in the strict sense, homoeopathic magic. The lad recovered his virility by swallowing the rust of the knife which had deprived him of his generative powers, exactly as the wounded Telephus was healed by the rust of the spear which had wounded him.¹

On one point of the story our authorities are not agreed. Were the cattle which Melampus went to steal in possession of Phylacus or of his son Iphiclus? In one passage² Homer plainly says that the cattle were in possession of Iphiclus, and that it was Iphiclus who released Melampus after a forcible detention of a year. This is the version of the story accepted, doubtless on Homer's authority, by Pausanias, by the scholiasts on Homer, Theocritus, and Apollonius Rhodius, and by Propertius.³ But in another passage Homer affirms that Melampus was detained a prisoner in the house, not of Iphiclus, but of Phylacus.⁴ This latter version is clearly the one accepted by Apollodorus, who speaks of the cows as in possession of Phylacus, and ascribes the release of Melampus to Phylacus and not to

against the reading *τῶν αἰδολῶν* in the parallel passage of Apollodorus (i. 9. 12). See the Critical Note on that passage, vol. i. p. 88, note ⁵.

¹ See Apollodorus, *Epitome*, iii. 20.

² Homer, *Od.* xi. 288 *sqq.*

³ Pausanias, iv. 36. 3; Scholiasts on Homer, *Od.* xi. 287 and 290; Scholiast on Theocritus, iii. 43; Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 118; Propertius, ii. 3. 51 *sqq.*

⁴ Homer, *Od.* xv. 231 *sq.*

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Iphiclus. Hence his text ought not to be altered, as it has been altered by some editors,¹ in order to bring it forcibly into accord with the passages of Homer and the other writers in which the ownership, or rather the possession, of the cows is assigned to Iphiclus instead of to his father Phylacus.

Apollodorus also differs from Eustathius and the Scholiast on Homer in describing as a sacred oak the tree into which Phylacus stuck the bloody knife with which he had been gelding the rams; whereas according to these other writers the tree was a wild pear-tree.² It is tempting to connect the sacred oak of which Apollodorus here speaks with the oak which a little before he had described as standing in front of the house of Melampus and as harbouring the brood of serpents to which Melampus owed his prophetic powers.³ But the two trees can hardly have been the same, if Melampus lived at Pylus and Phylacus in Thessaly. No doubt oaks were common in ancient Greece as they still are in some parts of modern Greece, especially in the secluded highlands of Northern Arcadia. But why was the oak in which Phylacus stuck the knife a sacred tree? Thereby perhaps hangs a tale, which, like so many other stories of the olden time in Greece, is lost to us.

The calling of all the birds together for a consultation, their profession of ignorance, and the subsequent information given by the bird which was the last to arrive, are common incidents of folk-tales. Thus in a Rumanian story all the storks are assembled by the King of the Storks to say where the water of life and the water of death are to be found; but none of them can say, until at last a blind old stork comes forward from the rear and supplies the desired information.⁴ So in a Hungarian story a twelve-headed dragon calls all his beasts together to tell him where White-land is; but none of them know. At last a lame wolf limps

¹ See Apollodorus, i. 9. 12, with the Critical Note, vol. i. p. 88, note ¹.

² The Scholiast on Theocritus iii. 43 adopts an attitude of judicial impartiality by describing the tree simply as a tree.

³ Apollodorus, i. 9. 11.

⁴ M. Gaster, *Rumanian Bird and Beast Stories* (London, 1915), pp. 263 sq. See below, pp. 356 sq.

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forward and acts as a guide to Whiteland.¹ In another Hungarian story the Queen of Mice summons all the mice to tell her where a certain castle is situated; but none of them can tell her. However, soon afterwards an old bald mouse appears who knows all about it.² So in a modern Greek story an old woman calls all the birds together to learn where the Glass City is; but none of them know. At last she consults a lame bird, whom she had at first neglected to summon, and he knows where the Glass City is situated.³ In another modern Greek story the eagle summons all the birds to tell him where the *Ilinen Vilinen* are to be found, but none of them can tell him. Then he remembers a lame hawk whom he had not summoned to the assembly; so he sends for the lame hawk, who, as usual, gives the desired information.⁴

In a German story the King of the Golden Castle has lost his way and comes to the Queen of Birds to ask if she can direct him to the Golden Castle. The Queen has never heard of it, and summons all her birds to inquire whether they know where the castle is; but not one of them can tell. At last, after all the rest of the birds had assembled, up comes a stork. The Queen chides him for being so late, but he answers that he had come from far, being perched on the Golden Castle when he heard the Queen's whistle summoning him home. So the stork takes the King on his back and flies with him to the Golden Castle.⁵

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(*Apollodorus* I. ix. 22)

In folk-tales the water of life is sometimes said to be found between two huge cliffs, which dash together and separate again, barely allowing the hero or his messenger

¹ G. Stier, *Ungarische Volksmärchen* (Pesth, n.d.), p. 9.

² G. Stier, *op. cit.* pp. 142 sq.

³ J. G. von Hahn, *Griechische und Albanesische Märchen* (Leipsic, 1864), i. 138.

⁴ J. G. von Hahn, *op. cit.*, i. 184 sq.

⁵ P. Zaunert, *Deutsche Märchen seit Grimm* (Jena, 1919), pp. 32-35. For more examples, see E. Cosquin, *Contes Populaires de Lorraine*, i. 48.

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time to snatch the precious liquid before they close on each other once more. Thus in a Russian story "the hero is sent in search of 'a healing and vivifying water,' preserved between two lofty mountains which cleave closely together, except during 'two or three minutes' of each day. He follows his instructions, rides to a certain spot, and there awaits the hour at which the mountains fly apart. 'Suddenly a terrible hurricane arose, a mighty thunder smote, and the two mountains were torn asunder. Prince Ivan spurred his heroic steed, flew like a dart between the mountains, dipped two flasks in the waters, and instantly turned back.' He himself escapes safe and sound, but the hind legs of his horse are caught between the closing cliffs and smashed to pieces. The magic waters, of course, soon remedy this temporary inconvenience."¹

In a Rumanian story the hero Floria is ordered by a king to procure for him the water of life and the water of death. In this difficulty the hero applies to a stork who, grateful for a kindness that Floria had done him, was ready to assist him to the best of his power. Accordingly the stork, who happened to be the king of storks, returned to his palace, called all the storks together, and asked them whether they had seen or heard or been near the mountains that knock against one another, at the bottom of which are the fountains of the water of life and the water of death. None of the young strong storks could tell, but at last there came from the rear a stork, lame on one foot, blind in one eye, with a shrivelled body and half his feathers plucked out. This maimed bird said, "May it please your majesty, I have been there, and the proofs of it are my blinded eye and my crooked leg." Notwithstanding these painful experiences the gallant bird undertook once more to put his life to hazard and to fetch the water of life and death. After providing himself with fresh meat and two bottles, the stork flew straight to the place where the mountains were knocking against one another, thus preventing anyone from approaching the fountains of life and death. It was when the sun had risen as high as a lance that he espied in the distance those huge mountains which, when they knocked against

¹ W. R. S. Ralston, *Russian Folk-tales* (London, 1873), pp. 235 sq.

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each other, shook the earth and made a noise that struck fear and terror into the hearts of those even who were far away. When the mountains had recoiled a little, the stork was about to swoop down between them and get the water, when suddenly a swallow flew to him from the heart of the mountain and warned him, on peril of his life, to wait till noon, when the mountains rested for half an hour. "As soon as thou seest," said the swallow, "that a short time has passed and they do not move, then rise up as high as possible into the air, and drop down straight to the bottom of the mountain. There, standing on the ledge of the stone between the two waters, dip thy bottles into the fountains and wait until they are filled. Then rise as thou hast got down, but beware lest thou touchest the walls of the mountain or even a pebble, or thou art lost." The stork did as the swallow had told him; he waited till noontide, and when he saw that the mountains had gone to sleep, he soared up into the air, then shooting down into the depth, he settled on the ledge of stone and filled his bottles. Having done so he rose with them again, but when he had almost reached the top of the mountains, he touched a pebble. Immediately the mountains closed on him with a snap, but all they caught of him was the tail, which remained fast wedged between the two peaks of the mountains. With a great wrench he tore himself away, leaving his tail behind, but glad to escape with his life and with the two bottles of precious water.¹

Here the nipping off of the stork's tail resembles the nipping off of the dove's tail in the Argonaut story. In a modern Greek story a girl fetches the water of life from a spring in a mountain which opens for a short time every day at noon. In issuing from the cleft she barely escapes, for the mountain closes on her and catches the skirt of her dress. But she draws her sword, severs the skirt, and having thus freed herself, she carries away the water of life and by means of it restores to life her two brothers, who had been turned to stone by the glance of a certain bird.² In

¹ M. Gaster, *Rumanian Bird and Beast Stories* (London, 1915), pp. 263-265.

² J. G. v. Hahn, *Griechische und albanesische Märchen* (Leipsic, 1864), ii. 46 sq.

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another modern Greek story a young man is directed to the water of life by an old woman. She tells him that within a certain mountain, which opens every day at noon, there are many springs, and that he must draw only from the particular spring to which he should be guided by a bee, otherwise he would be lost.¹

An Eskimo story, which relates the adventurous voyage of a certain hero named Giviok, describes how "he continued paddling until he came in sight of two icebergs, with a narrow passage between them; and he observed that the passage alternately opened and closed again. He tried to pass the icebergs by paddling round outside them, but they always kept ahead of him; and at length he ventured to go right between them. With great speed and alacrity he pushed on, and had just passed when the bergs closed together, and the stern-point of his kayak got bruised between them."²

Tylor proposed to explain the passage of the Argo between the Clashing Rocks "as derived from a broken-down fancy of solar-myth";³ but the analogies on which he based the hypothesis seem dubious, and the episode, like the whole story of the voyage of the Argo, savours more of a simple folk-tale than of a solar myth. In spite of the resemblance of the incident in the Eskimo story it would be rash to suppose that the Greek tale of the Clashing Rocks was suggested by a sailor's reminiscence of an encounter with icebergs in some far northern sea. More probably it is a mere creation of a story-teller's fancy.

¹ J. G. v. Hahn, *op. cit.*, ii. 280 *sq.* For other stories of the water of life enclosed between two clashing mountains or in a mountain that only opens for a short time, see J. G. v. Hahn, *op. cit.* i. 238, ii. 195, 284; A. Leskien und K. Brugman, *Litauische Volkslieder und Märchen* (Strasbourg, 1882), p. 551.

² H. Rink, *Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo* (Edinburgh and London, 1875), pp. 158 *sq.*

³ (Sir) E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*² (London, 1873), i. 349.

VI.—THE RENEWAL OF YOUTH

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(*Apollodorus* i. ix. 27)

Stories like that of Medea and Pelias have been recorded among European peasantry in Scandinavia, Germany, Russia, and Italy. They tell how Christ, or St. Peter, or the Devil, going about on earth in disguise, restored an old person to youth or a dead person to life by boiling him in a kettle or burning him in a smith's forge, and how a bungler (generally a smith) tried to perform the same feat but failed.¹ A similar story is told of a certain mythical king of Cambodia, named Pra T'hong Rat Koma, who in his later years was afflicted with leprosy. "A learned Brahmin offered to cure him of his malady; but first it was necessary that he should be killed, and thrown into a cauldron of boiling medicine, from which he would emerge alive and clean. The King refused to believe in the Brahmin's power, but the Brahmin took a dog, which he killed and threw into the boiling cauldron, when it immediately jumped out and frisked about. Still the King doubted. Thereupon the Brahmin offered to slay himself, and he gave the King three drugs which were to be thrown successively into the cauldron. The first would give form to the dead body; the second, beauty; the third, life. Then the Brahmin flung himself into the boiling medicine, but the King, forgetful of his instructions, threw in all the drugs at once, and the Brahmin was changed to a stone statue."² The Shans of Lakon tell a similar story of one of

¹ (Sir) G. W. Dasent, *Popular Tales from the Norse* (Edinburgh, 1859), pp. 106 *sqq.*, "The Master-Smith"; Grimm, *Household Tales*, No. 81, "Brother Lustig," vol. i. pp. 312 *sqq.*, 440 *sq.* (English translation by M. Hunt); W. R. S. Ralston, *Russian Folk-tales* (London, 1873), pp. 57 *sqq.*, "The Smith and the Demon"; T. F. Crane, *Italian Popular Tales* (London, 1885), pp. 188 *sq.*, "The Lord, St. Peter and the Blacksmith."

² P. A. Thompson, *Lotus Land* (London, 1906), pp. 300 *sq.* The story is told, with some unimportant variations, by Adolf Bastian, who calls the king Krung Phala. See A. Bastian, *Die Voelker des oestlichen Asien*, I (Leipsic, 1866), pp. 444 *sqq.*

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their early kings, who lived in the time of Buddha. They say that Kom-ma Rattsee, "a famous magician, demigod, and doctor, visited Lakon, and informed the princes and people that by his medicines and charms he could add beauty and restore youth and life to anyone, however he might have been dismembered and mangled. A decrepit old prince, who was verging on dotage, and longed for a renewal of his youth, begged the magician to experiment upon him. The doctor, after mincing him up, prepared a magic broth, and, throwing the fragments into it, placed it over the fire. After performing the necessary incantations, the prince, rejuvenated and a perfect beau, was handed out of the pot. He was so pleased with his new appearance, and the new spirit of youth and joy pervading him, that he entreated the magician to re-perform the operation, as he thought the first chopping up having been so successful, still greater benefits would accrue from its repetition. On the magician refusing, he clamorously persisted in his request. The demigod, annoyed at his persistence and his covetousness, accordingly minced him up and put him into the pot, where he remains to this day. The hill where the Phya, or prince, was dipped, is called Loi Phya Cheh (the hill of the dipped Phya); and a hill near it is known as Loi Rattsee (Russi), after the magician."¹

The Papuans of Geelvink Bay, on the northern coast of Dutch New Guinea, tell of an old man who used to earn his living by selling the intoxicating juice of the sago-palm. But to his vexation he often found that the vessels, which he had set overnight to catch the dripping juice of the tapped palms, were drained dry in the morning. As the people in his village denied all knowledge of the theft, he resolved to watch, and was lucky enough to catch the thief in the very act, and who should the thief be but the Morning Star? To ransom herself from his clutches she bestowed on him a magical stick or wand, the possession of which ensured to its owner the fulfilment of every wish. In time the old man married a wife, but she was not pleased that her husband was so old and so covered with scabs. So one day he resolved to give her a joyful surprise by renewing

¹ Holt S. Hallett, *A Thousand Miles on an Elephant in the Shan States* (Edinburgh and London, 1890), pp. 269 sq.

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his youth with the help of his magic wand. For this purpose he retired into the forest and kindled a great fire of iron-wood. When the flames blazed up he flung himself among the glowing embers, and immediately his shrivelled skin peeled off, and all the scabs were turned into copper trinkets, beautiful corals, and gold and silver bracelets. He himself came forth from the fire a handsome young man, decked himself with some of the ornaments and returned to his house. But there neither his wife nor her sister recognised him; and only his little son cried out, "There comes father!" However, when he explained to the women how he had been made young again, and convinced them of the truth of his story by conducting them to the place in the wood where the remains of the fire were still to be seen, with the rest of the trinkets lying about, their joy knew no bounds.¹

We may conjecture that these stories reflect a real belief in the possibility of renewing youth and prolonging life by means of the genial influence of fire. The conjecture derives some support from a custom observed by the Wajagga of Mount Kilimandjaro in East Africa. Among them "the wizards boast of possessing the power to protect people against sickness and death. A peculiar custom may be quoted as an example. It is called *ndumo woika ndu nnini*: 'custom of boiling a nobleman.' When a great man desires to make himself a name, and also to prolong his life, he has this ceremony performed over him. He invites all his relations to come who desire to take part in it. The wizard arrives early in the morning, and first of all causes a trench to be dug large enough to allow a man to lie on one side of it with his legs drawn up; and his wife or a girl of the family lies down beside him. The wizard usually says to him, 'Step in with your favourite wife.' Only in case she refuses does he ask a girl to do him this service. When the man with his female companion has laid himself down in the

¹ J. B. van Hasselt, "Die Noeforezen," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, viii. (1876), pp. 176-178; J. L. van Hasselt "Die Papuastämme an der Geelvinkbai (Neuguinea)," *Mitteilungen der Geographischen Gesellschaft zu Jena*, ix. (Jena, 1891), pp. 103-105. The story is told more briefly by A. Goudswaard, *Die Papoewa's van de Geelvinksbaai* (Schiedam, 1863), pp. 84-87.

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trench, poles are placed over it, and on the poles banana-bark and earth. After the trench has thus been covered in, the man's three hearthstones are set over them at the heads (of the pair), a fire is kindled between them, a pot is placed on the fire, and food is boiled in it. This fire is kept up till evening, and the boiled food is eaten by those who take part in the ceremony, while the two who lie in the trench get none of it. Not till evening are they liberated from their confinement. In the heat they have been obliged to sweat profusely. The wizard now spits on them and says moreover, 'Long life! Even in war thou shalt not be slain, even a musket-ball will not hit thee.'" ¹ Here the process of boiling a pot on a man's own hearthstones over his own head, while he sweats at every pore below, is perhaps the nearest approach that can safely be made to boiling him in person, and the beneficial effect of it is supposed to be a prolongation of the "boiled nobleman's" life. But we have seen that the process of roasting, applied to babies, was believed by the ancient Greeks to be equally effectual in prolonging the lives of the infants, or rather in rendering them immortal, by stripping off their mortal flesh and leaving only the immortal element. ² Thus the Greeks apparently reposed a robust faith in the renovating virtue both of roasting and boiling, but they drew a delicate distinction between the two, for while they roasted babies, they boiled old people, at least theoretically, like the Wajagga of Mount Kilimandjaro. Nor are these the only modes in which the primitive natural philosopher has attempted to repair the decaying energies of human and animal life by a judicious application of what we may call thermodynamics: for this purpose he has often either leaped over fire or walked deliberately over glowing stones and has driven his flocks and herds through the smoke and the flames. These experiments in the art of prolonging life, by cauterising, so to say, the germs that threaten its continuation, have been described by me elsewhere. ³

¹ Bruno Gutman, *Dichten und Denken der Dschagganeger* (Leipsic, 1906), p. 162.

² Above, pp. 311 *sqq.*

³ *Balder the Beautiful*, vol. ii. pp. 1 *sqq.*, "The-Fire-walk." Compare *Adonis*, *Attis*, *Osiris*, vol. i. pp. 179 *sqq.*, "Purification by Fire."

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(*Apollodorus* III. iii. 1)

Other ancient writers relate, like Apollodorus, how the seer Polyidus restored the dead Glaucus to life by laying on him a magical herb which he had seen a serpent apply with similar effect to a dead serpent.¹ A similar story was told of the resurrection of a Lydian legendary hero named Tylon or Tylus. It is said that one day as he was walking on the banks of the Hermus a serpent stung and killed him. His distressed sister, Moire, had recourse to a giant called Damasen, who attacked and slew the serpent. But the serpent's mate culled a herb, "the flower of Zeus," in the woods, and bringing it in her mouth put it to the lips of the dead serpent, which immediately revived. In her turn Moire took the hint and restored her brother, Tylon or Tylus, to life by touching him with the same plant.² The story seems to have been associated with Sardes, since it is clearly alluded to on the coins of that city.³

The fisherman, Glaucus of Anthedon, whom the ancients distinguished from Glaucus, the son of Minos, is said to have learned in like manner the life-giving property of a certain herb or grass by observing that when a dead or dying fish or, according to another account, hare was brought into contact

¹ Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 811 (perhaps following Apollodorus); Apostolius, *Cent.* v. 48; Palaephatus, *De incredib.* 27; Hyginus, *Fab.* 136; *id. Astronom.* ii. 14. The story is told allusively by Claudian, *De bello Getico*, 442-446:

*Cretaque, si verax narratur fabula, vidit
Minoum rupto puerum prodire sepulchro:
Quem senior vates avium clangore repertum
Gramine restituit: mirae nam munere sortis
Dulcia mella necem, vitam dedit horridus anguis.*

² Nonnus, *Dionys.* xxv. 451-551; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxv. 14. The story, as we learn from Pliny, was told by Xanthus, an early historian of Lydia.

³ B. V. Head, *Catalogue of the Greek coins of Lydia*, pp. cxi.-cxiii., with pl. xxvii. 12. As to Tylon and the "herb of Zeus," see further *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*³, i. 186 sq.

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with it, the creature at once revived or came to life again ; having tasted the herb Glaucus became himself immortal and leaped into the sea, where he continued to dwell as a marine deity.¹

The magical herb, which brings the dead to life again by simple contact, meets us elsewhere in folk-tales. Thus a modern Greek story relates how a mother, going in search of her dead son, killed a serpent by the way ; how another serpent brought the dead serpent to life by laying a herb on its body ; and how the mother, taking the hint, restored her dead son to life by means of the same herb.² In another modern Greek story a husband and wife, going in search of their dead son, see two serpents fighting and one of them killing the other. The husband says to his wife, "Cover up the dead serpent with leaves, that no man may see it." The wife does so, and immediately the dead serpent comes to life again. Thereupon the husband says to his wife, "Fill your pocket full of that herb, for it is a good medicine." Afterwards by means of the herb they restore their dead son to life.³ Another modern Greek story tells how three ogres, as they sat talking together at a spring, saw two serpents fighting. One of the serpents struck the other such a violent blow with its tail that it cut the body of the other clean through. But the two pieces wriggled to a herb that grew near, and wrapping themselves up in it were united into one body as before. When the youngest of the three ogres saw that, he said to his brothers, "That forebodes ill to us. Let us take some of this herb and go home, to see what is doing there." So they returned to the crystal tower in which they dwelt, and found it dark and deserted ; and not far off they discovered the

¹ Nicander, in the first book of his *Aetolian History*, cited by Athenaeus, vii. 48, pp. 296 F-297 A ; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 754 ; Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 1310 ; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xiii. 924 sqq. ; Ausonius, *Mosella*, 276 sqq. ; Servius on Virgil, *Georg.* i. 437. According to Nicander, it was a hare that was revived by the herb ; according to the other writers it was the fish which Glaucus had just caught.

² J. G. von Hahn, *Griechische und albanesische Märchen* (Leipzig, 1864), ii. 204.

³ J. G. von Hahn, *op. cit.* ii. 260.

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headless body of the young prince who had married their sister. A little search revealed the missing head, and by applying it to the body and rubbing the herb on the severed neck, they soon joined the two together. The prince started up, saying, "Ah, brothers, how deep has been my sleep and how light my awakening!"¹

Again, a German folk-tale relates how a young man of humble birth married a princess on condition that, if she died before him, he should be buried alive with her. She did die before him, and accordingly her young husband was conducted down into the royal vault, there to stay with the body of his dead wife till he died. While he sat there watching by the corpse and gloomily expecting death, he saw a snake creep out of a corner of the vault and crawl towards the dead body. Thinking that the creature had come to gnaw the corpse, he drew his sword and hewed the snake in three pieces. After a time a second snake crawled out of the hole, and seeing the first snake cut in pieces, it went back again, but soon returned with three green leaves in its mouth. These leaves it laid on the three severed pieces of the dead snake, and immediately the pieces joined together, and the dead snake came to life. Thereupon the two snakes retired together, but the leaves remained lying on the ground. The young man picked them up, and by applying them to the mouth and eyes of his dead wife he resuscitated her. After that they knocked on the door of the vault and called out, till they attracted the notice of the sentinels and were released from confinement by the King in person. But the provident young man kept the three snake-leaves carefully, and it was lucky for him that he did so; for they afterwards served to restore himself to life, when he had been treacherously done to death by his ungrateful wife with the assistance of an unscrupulous skipper.²

Again, in a Lithuanian story a young man on his travels sees two snakes fighting with such fury that both of them were wounded and mangled, and the young man thought they would die on the spot. But after the fight the snakes crawled to a certain bush, and plucking leaves from it applied

¹ J. G. von Hahn, *op. cit.* ii. 274.

² Grimm, *Household Tales*, No. 16 (vol. i. pp. 70 sq., Margaret Hunt's translation).

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them to their wounded bodies, which were immediately made whole. Afterwards, when the young man had been foully murdered, he was brought to life again by some helpful animals, whose life he had spared, and which now repaid his kindness by fetching leaves from the snakes' bush and laying them on his body. No sooner had they done so than he revived and asked, "Why have you wakened me? I was sleeping so soundly."¹

In a Walachian story the hero, lying asleep, is beheaded by a gipsy, whereupon three friendly animals, a bear, a wolf, and a fox, consult how they may bring him to life again. After they have laid their heads together in vain, the fox meets a serpent which is carrying a herb in its mouth. The fox asks, "What sort of herb is that which you are carrying there?" The serpent answers, "It is a magic herb; I will restore my son's head, which has been cut off." "Let me see it nearer," says the fox. The simple serpent complies with the request, and the fox seizes the herb in his mouth and makes off with it. By means of the herb he attaches the hero's severed head to his body, and the application of a jugful of water of life, borrowed, or rather stolen, by the wolf from an old woman, soon completes the hero's resurrection.²

In a Russian story a mother is wandering in a wood with her dead baby at her breast. She sees an old serpent creep up to a dead serpent and restore it to life by rubbing it with a leaf. The mother snatches the leaf, and by touching her dead baby with it she resuscitates the infant.³

In some stories the secret of the life-giving plant is learned, not from a serpent, but from some other animal. Thus in an Irish tale a woman, whose husband has been killed in single combat, sees two birds fighting and one of them killing the other. Then birds come and put leaves of a tree on the dead bird, and in half an hour the dead bird comes to life. The widow puts the leaves on her dead husband, who had assumed

¹ A. Schleicher, *Litauische Märchen, Sprichworte, Rätsel und Lieder* (Weimar, 1857), pp. 57-59.

² Arthur und Albert Schott, *Walachische Märchen* (Stuttgart and Tubingen, 1845), p. 142.

³ G. Polivka, "Zu der Erzählung von der undaukbaren Gattin," *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*, xiii. (1903), p. 408.

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the form of a bird for the purpose of the single combat; and as usual the application of the magic plant effects the resurrection of the corpse.¹

In a mediæval romance, a weasel having been killed by the blow of a stick, his mate brings a red flower and places it in the mouth of the dead weasel, which at once returns to life. The same flower thereafter, applied to a dead maiden, works on her the same miracle of resurrection.²

In a story told by the Baraba, a Turkish tribe of Southern Siberia, the hero has his legs cut off through the treachery of his two elder brothers. Sitting disconsolate propped up against the wall of the house, he sees the mice gather about his severed limbs and begin to nibble them. He seizes a mouse and breaks one of its legs, saying, "If I am lame, you shall be lame too." The other mice now gather about the lame mouse, and grubbing up a little white root out of the earth, give it to the lame mouse to eat. The mouse eats it, and after a time its broken leg is made whole, and the little creature runs away. The hero takes the hint, digs up the root with his nails, and eats it. After a time his two legs join on to his body again, and you could not detect so much as a scar at the joining.³

In a Polish story a girl kills her too importunate lover and is buried with him in a vault. There she sees two ravens fighting and one of them killed by the other; whereupon a third raven brings a herb in its bill, and by means of it brings the dead raven to life. As usual, the girl restores her dead lover to life by an application of the herb.⁴

In an Italian story a hero rescues a princess from a horrible seven-headed dragon, which was about to devour her. In the combat the hero began by cutting off one of the dragon's heads; but so soon as this happened, the dragon rubbed the headless neck on a herb that grew near, and at once the

¹ W. Larminie, *West Irish Folk-tales and Romances* (London, 1893), pp. 82 sq.

² P. Sébillot, *Le Folk-lore de France*, iii. 529, referring to Marie de France, *Poésies*, ed. Roquefort, i. 475.

³ W. Radloff, *Proben der Volkslitteratur der Türkischen Stämme Süd-Sibiriens* iv. (St. Petersburg, 1872), pp. 77 sq.

⁴ G. Polivka, "Zu der Erzählung von der undankbaren Gattin," *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*, xiii. (1903), pp. 408 sq.

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severed head was reunited to the body. Seeing this, the hero killed the dragon by slicing off all his seven heads at one stroke, and after that he plucked a handful of the herb which had healed the dragon's dreadful wound. As usual, the magical herb thus acquired is afterwards turned to good account by the hero; for having the misfortune to decapitate his own brother, "like a pumpkin," in consequence of a painful misunderstanding, he soon mended matters by rubbing the bleeding neck with the miraculous herb, where upon the head immediately rejoined its body, and the dead brother was restored to vigorous life.¹

In a Kabyle story a man sees two large spiders (tarantulas) fighting; one of them kills the other and then restores it to life by pressing into its nose the sap of a herb; the man takes the herb and by means of it restores to life his dead brother, who had been devoured by an ogress.²

A Jewish story, in the *Midrash Tanchuma*, tells of a man who, travelling from Palestine to Babylon, saw two birds fighting with each other. In the fight one of the birds killed the other, but immediately brought it to life again by fetching a herb and laying it on the beak of the dead bird. As the herb dropped from the bird's beak, the man picked it up and took it with him, intending to raise the dead by its means. When he came to the staircase leading up to Tyre, he found a dead lion by the wayside, and experimented on the animal by laying the herb on its mouth. The experiment was perfectly successful. The dead lion came to life and devoured its benefactor. The story ends with the moral, Do not good to the wicked, lest evil befall thee. The same story is told at greater length in the *Alphabet of Ben-Sirah*.³

We may compare, also, an episode in a Socotran story which bears a close resemblance to the ancient Egyptian story of "The Two Brothers." One of two brothers finds

¹ Giambattista Basile, *Der Pentamerone*, übertragen von Felix Liebrecht (Breslau, 1846), vol. i. pp. 99-109 (First Day, Seventh Story, "Der Kaufmann").

² J. Rivière, *Contes populaires de la Kabylie du Djurdjura* (Paris, 1882), pp. 193-197.

³ *Südarabische Expedition*, vol. iv. 1. *Die Mehri- und Soqotri-Sprache*, von D. H. Müller (Vienna, 1902), pp. 201-203.

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his brother dead in the castle of the Daughter of the Sunrise. As he sits weeping with the corpse on his lap, he sees a raven take a dead raven and plunge with it into the water, from which both birds emerge alive. The brother took the hint, tied his dead brother on his back, and leaped with him into the water, which had the effect of restoring the dead man to life.¹ Here the life-giving agent is not a magical plant, but a magical water; but the mode of its discovery by observation of animals is similar.

A belief in the actual existence of a plant endowed with such magical virtue appears to survive in some parts of Germany to this day; at least it is said to have survived down to the middle of the nineteenth century. At Holzhausen, near Dillingen in Swabia, an informant reported as follows: "In our country there are many large snakes in the wood. If you hew a snake in three pieces with a shovel or a hoe, without smashing the head, and go away at once, the snake seeks a herb, lays it between the wounds, and is immediately whole again. I have often searched diligently after the healing herb, but have never been able to get it; for so long as you stand by the severed snake, it is never made whole, and after sundown never at all. But if you leave the spot, the snake quickly fetches the unknown herb and heals itself. I have often seen such snakes as have been cut in pieces and made whole again; for a scar remains right round the parts at the point where they cohered and healed."²

That serpents possess a knowledge of plants which confer immortality is a popular belief among the Armenians. They think that "the springs and flowers actually confer immortality, but not on men. The belief is that snakes, if they are not killed, live for ever. There are 'wells of immortality,' the springs of which are surrounded with various flowers and herbs. Old, sick, and wounded snakes are acquainted with such springs and herbs. They come to these springs, slough their skins, eat a leaf of a flower, then crawl to the spring, bathe in it, and drink three sips of the water. Then they

¹ *Südarabische Expedition*, vol. iv. 1. *Die Mehri- und Soqotri-Sprache*, von D. H. Müller, p. 88.

² Fried. Panzer, *Beitrag zur deutschen Mythologie* (Munich, 1848-1855), ii. 206, § 360.

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crawl out, and are healed, and renew their youth. If any-one knows that spring and flower, drinks three handfuls of the water, and eats the flower, he will be himself immortal."¹

VIII.—THE LEGEND OF OEDIPUS

(*Apollodorus* III. v. 7)

According to the legend, Oedipus committed a twofold crime in ignorance: he killed his father and married his mother. The same double tragedy meets us in a Finnish tale, which runs as follows:—

Two wizards arrived at the cottage of a peasant and were hospitably entertained by him. During the night a she-goat dropped a kid, and the younger of the two wizards proposed to assist the mother-goat in her travail, but the elder of the two would not hear of it, "Because," said he, "the kid is fated to be swallowed by a wolf." At the same time the peasant's wife was overtaken by the pangs of childbirth, and the younger of the two wizards would have gone to her help, but was dissuaded by the elder, who told him that the boy who was about to be born would kill his father and marry his mother. The peasant overheard this conversation and reported it to his wife, but they could not make up their minds to kill the child. One day, when they were making merry in the peasant's cottage, they put the kid to roast on a spit, and then laid the roasted meat near the window; but it fell out of the window and was devoured by a passing wolf. Seeing that one of the two predictions made by the wizards was thus fulfilled, the peasant and his wife were sore afraid and thought how they could get rid of their child. Not having the courage to kill him outright, they wounded him in the breast, tied him to a table, and threw him into the sea. The forsaken child drifted to an island, where he was picked up and carried to the abbot of a monastery. There he grew up and became a clever young man. But he wearied of the monastic life, and the abbot advised him to go out into the world and seek his fortune. So he went. One day he

¹ Manuk Abeghian, *Der armenische Volksglaube* (Leipsic, 1899), p. 59.

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came to a peasant's cottage. The peasant was out, but his wife was at home, and the young man asked her for work. She told him, "Go and guard the fields against robbers." So he hid under the shadow of a rock, and seeing a man enter the field and gather grass, he struck and killed him. Then he returned to his mistress, who was uneasy because her husband did not come home to dinner. So they discovered that the supposed thief, whom the young man had killed, was no other than the husband of his mistress; but as the homicide had not been committed with any evil intent, the widow, after weeping and wailing, forgave the young man and kept him in her service; nay, in time she consoled herself by marrying him. However, one day she noticed the scar on her second husband's breast and began to have her suspicions. Inquiry elicited the fatal truth that her husband was also her son. What were they to do? The woman sent him to seek out wise men, who might teach him how to expiate his great sin. He went and found a monk with a book in his hand. To him the conscience-stricken husband put his question; but when the monk, on consulting his book, replied that no expiation was possible for guilt so atrocious, the sinner in a rage killed the holy man. The same thing happened to another monk who had the misfortune to receive the confession of the penitent. But a third monk proved more compliant, and answered very obligingly that there was no sin which could not be atoned for by repentance. Accordingly he advised the repentant sinner to dig a well in the rock till he struck water; and his mother was to stand beside him holding a black sheep in her arms, until the sheep should turn white. This attracted public attention, and passers-by used to stop and ask the pair what they were doing. One day a gentleman, after putting the usual question and receiving the usual answer, was asked by the penitent, "And who are you?" He answered, "I am he who makes straight what was crooked, and I summon you to the bar of justice." Seeing no hope of escaping from the arm of the law, the penitent took the bull by the horns and killed the gentleman. At the same moment the rock opened, the water gushed out, and the black sheep turned white. But his fourth homicide lying heavy on his soul, the murderer returned to the monk to learn how he could expiate his latest crime. But the holy man reassured him. "The gentleman whom you

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killed," said he, "offended God more than you by his professions. Your penance has been shortened; no expiation is required." So the repentant sinner was able to pass the rest of his days in peace and quietness.¹

The same story is told, with some variations of detail, in the Ukraine:

There was a man and his wife, and they had a son. One day they dreamed that when their son should be grown up, he would kill his father, marry his mother, and afterwards kill her also. They told each other their dream. "Well," said the father, "let us cut open his belly, put him into a barrel, and throw the barrel into the sea." They did so, and the barrel with the boy in it floated away on the sea. Some sailors found it, and hearing the squalling of a child in the barrel, they opened it, rescued the boy, sewed up his wound, and reared him. When he was grown to manhood, he bid the sailors good-bye and went away to earn his bread. He came to the house of his father, but his father did not recognize him and took him into his service. The duty laid on the son by his father was to watch the garden; and if anyone entered it, he was to challenge the intruder thrice, and if he received no answer, he was to fire on him. After the young man had served some time, his master said, "Go to, let us see whether he obeys my orders." So he entered the garden. The young man challenged him thrice, and receiving no answer, he shot him dead, and on coming up to his victim he recognized his master. Then he went to his mistress in her chamber, married her, and lived with her. One Sunday morning, when he was changing his shirt, she saw the scar on his body and asked him what it was. "When I was small," answered he, "some sailors found me at sea with my belly cut open, and they sewed it up." "Then I am your mother!" she cried. He killed her on the spot and went away. He walked and walked till he came to a priest and asked him to inflict some penance on him by way of atonement for his sins. "What are your sins?" asked the priest. He told the priest, and the priest refused him

¹ L. Constans, *La légende d'Oedipe* (Paris, 1881), pp. 106-108. The story is told more briefly by Gustav Meyer, in his preface to E. Schreck's *Finnische Märchen* (Weimar, 1887), p. xxv., referring to Erman's *Archiv*, xvii. 14 sqq.

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absolution. So he killed the priest and came to another priest, who, proving equally recalcitrant, was disposed of by the young man in the same summary fashion. The third priest to whom he applied was kind or prudent enough to explain to him how he might expiate his sins. "Take this staff of apple-tree wood," said the priest; "plant it on yonder mountain, and morning and evening go to it on your knees with your mouth full of water, and water the staff. When it shall have sprouted and the apples on it are ripe, then shake it; as soon as the apples shall have fallen, your sins will be forgiven you." After twenty-five years, the staff budded and the apples ripened. The sinner, no longer young, shook the tree, and all the apples fell but two. So he returned and reported to the priest. "Very good," said the priest, "I will throw you into a well." He was as good as his word, and when the sinner was at the bottom of the well, the priest shut down the iron trap door, locked it, covered it up with earth, and threw the keys into the sea. Thirty years passed, and one day, the priest's fishermen caught a jack, cut it open, and found the keys in its belly. They brought the keys to the priest. "Ah!" said the priest laconically, "my man is saved." They ran at once to the well, and on opening it they found the sinner dead, but with a taper burning above his body. Thus all his sins were forgiven and he was gathered to the saints in bliss.¹

The same double crime of parricide and incest with a mother, both committed in ignorance, occurs in a very savage story which the Javanese of the Residency of Pekalongan tell to account for the origin of the Kalangs, an indigenous tribe of Java. In it a woman, who is a daughter of a sow, marries her son unwittingly, and the son kills a dog, who is really his father, though the man is ignorant of the relation in which he stands to the animal. In one version of the story the woman has twin sons by the dog, and afterwards unwittingly marries them both; finally she recognizes one of her sons by the scar of a wound which she had formerly inflicted on his

¹ Eugène Hins, "Légendes chrétiennes de l'Oukraine," *Revue des Traditions Populaires*, iv. (1889), pp. 117 sq., from *Traditions et Contes populaires de la petite Russie*, by Michel Dragomanof.

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head with a wooden spoon.¹ According to the Javanese, such incestuous unions are still not uncommon among the Kalangs: mother and son often live together as man and wife, and the Kalangs think that worldly prosperity and riches flow from these marriages.² However, it is to be observed that the story of the descent of the Kalangs from a dog and a pig is not told by the people themselves, but by the Javanese, who apparently look down with contempt on the Kalangs as an inferior race. Similar stories of descent from a dog and a pig are commonly told of alien races in the Indian Archipelago, and they are usually further embellished by accounts of incest practised by the ancestors of these races in days gone by. For example, the Achinese of Sumatra tell such a tale of the natives of the Nias, an island lying off the west coast of Sumatra; and the natives of Bantam tell a similar story of the Dutch.³ Probably, therefore, many stories of incest told of alien peoples, whether in the past or in the present, are no more than expressions of racial hatred and contempt, and it would be unsafe to rely upon them as evidence of an actual practice of incest among the peoples in question.

In the Middle Ages the story of Oedipus was told, with variations, of Judas Iscarioth. It is thus related in *The Golden Legend* :—

There lived at Jerusalem a certain Ruben Simeon, of the race of David. His wife, Cyborea, dreamed that she gave birth to a son, who would be fatal to the family. On waking, she told her dream to her husband, who endeavoured to comfort her by saying that she had been deceived by the evil spirit. But perceiving that she was with child from that very night, she began to be very uneasy, and her husband with her. When the child was born, they shrank from killing him, but put him in a little ark and committed it to the sea. The waves washed up the ark on the shore of the island of Iscarioth. The queen of the island found it, and having no

¹ E. Ketjen, "De Kalangers," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, xxiv. (1877), pp. 430-435.

² E. Ketjen, *op. cit.* p. 427.

³ J. C. van Eerde, "De Kalanglegende op Lombok," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, xlv. (1902), pp. 30 sq.

VIII.—THE LEGEND OF OEDIPUS

child of her own, she adopted the little foundling. But soon afterwards she was with child and gave birth to a son. When the two boys were grown up, Judas Iscariot behaved very ill to his supposed brother, and the queen, seeing that expostulations had no effect on him, upbraided him with being a foundling. In a rage, Judas murdered his brother and took ship for Jerusalem. There he found a congenial soul in the governor of Judea, Pontius Pilate, who appointed him to a high office in his court. One day the governor, looking down from his balcony on the garden of a neighbour, was seized with a great longing to eat some apples which he saw hanging there from the boughs. The obsequious Judas hastened to gratify his master's desire by procuring, not to say stealing, the apples. But the old man who owned the garden, and who chanced to be no other than Judas's father, resisted the attempt, and Judas knocked him on the head with a stone. As one good turn deserves another, the governor rewarded Judas by bestowing on him the property of the deceased, together with the hand of his widow, who was no other than Cyborea, the mother of Judas. Thus it came about that Judas, without knowing it, killed his father and married his mother. Still the widow, now again a wife, was not consoled, and one day Judas found her sighing heavily. When he questioned her as to the reason of her sadness, she replied, "Wretch that I am, I drowned my son, my husband is dead, and in my affliction Pilate gave me in marriage against my will." The answer set Judas thinking, and a few more questions elicited the melancholy truth. Struck with remorse and anxious to comfort his mother, Judas flung himself at the feet of Christ, confessed his sins, and became his disciple. But being entrusted with the bag, he allowed his old evil nature to get the better of him, with the tragical consequences with which we are all familiar.¹ This monkish legend may have been concocted by a mediæval writer who, having read the story of Oedipus, turned it to the purpose of edification by casting a still deeper shade of infamy on the character of the apostate and traitor.

It has been argued that traditions of incest, of which the Oedipus legend is only one instance out of many, are derived from a former custom of incestuous unions among mankind,

¹ L. Constans, *La légende d'Oedipe*, pp. 95-97.

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such as some inquirers believe to have prevailed at an early period in the evolution of society.¹ But this interpretation, like another which would explain the legend as a solar myth,² appears to be somewhat far-fetched and improbable.

IX.—APOLLO AND THE KINE OF ADMETUS

(*Apollodorus* III. x. 4)

Apollodorus tells us that when Apollo herded the cattle of Admetus, he caused all the cows to bear twins. So Callimachus says that the she-goats which Apollo tended for Admetus could not lack kids, and that the ewes could not be milkless, but that all must have had their lambs; and if any had borne but a single young one before, she would then bear twins.³

Perhaps, as himself a twin, Apollo may have been supposed to possess a special power of promoting the birth of twins in animals. A similar faculty may possibly have been ascribed to the patriarch and herdsman, Jacob, himself a twin, who

¹ L. J. B. Béranger-Feraud, *Superstitions et Survivances*, iii. (Paris, 1896), pp. 467-514.

² This explanation of the story of Oedipus, put forward by the French scholar Michel Bréal, has been criticized and rightly rejected by Domenico Comparetti in his essay, *Edipo e la Mitologia Comparata* (Pisa, 1867). It was not to be expected that the parricidal and incestuous Oedipus should escape the solar net in which Sir George Cox caught so many much better men. According to him, Oedipus was the sun, his father Laius was the darkness of night, and his mother Jocasta was the violet-tinted sky; while his daughter Antigone may have been, as M. Bréal thought, "the light which sometimes flushes the eastern sky as the sun sinks to sleep in the west." Thus the old tragic story of crime and sorrow is wiped out, and an agreeable picture of sunrise and sunset is painted, in roseate hues, on the empty canvas. See Sir George W. Cox, *The Mythology of the Aryan Nations* (London, 1882), pp. 312 *sqq.*

³ Callimachus, *Hymn to Apollo*, 47-54.

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is said to have resorted to peculiar devices for the multiplication of Laban's flocks, of which he was in charge.¹ We know that a fertilizing power was ascribed to the mound which covered the grave of the twins, Amphion and Zethus, near Thebes; for every year, at the time when the sun was in Taurus, the people of Tithorea in Phocis used to try to steal earth from the mound, believing that with the earth they would transfer the fertility of the Theban land to their own.²

Similarly some savages ascribe to twins and their parents a power of multiplying animals and plants, so as to ensure a good catch to the fisherman and a plentiful crop to the farmer.³ Thus the Tsimahian Indians of British Columbia believe that all the wishes of twins are fulfilled. Therefore twins are feared, as they can harm the man whom they hate. They can call the salmon and olachen, hence they are called *Sewihan*, that is, "making plentiful."⁴ Among the Nootkas of Vancouver Island "numerous regulations refer to the birth of twins. The parents of twins must build a small hut in the woods, far from the village. There they have to stay two years. The father must continue to clean himself by bathing in ponds for a whole year, and must keep his face painted red. While bathing he sings certain songs that are only used on this occasion. Both parents must keep away from the people. They must not eat, or even touch, fresh food, particularly

¹ Genesis, xxx. 37-43.

² Pausanias, ix. 17. 4 sq.

³ The customs and superstitions relating to twins are discussed with great learning and ingenuity by my friend Dr. Rendel Harris in his book *Boaneryes* (Cambridge, 1913); see particularly pp. 73, 122, 123, 124, 143 sq. for the belief in the fertilizing powers of twins. The same writer has dealt more briefly with other aspects of the subject in two treatises, *The Dioscuri in the Christian Legends* (London, 1903), and *The Cult of the Heavenly Twins* (Cambridge, 1906). On this curious department of folk-lore I have also collected some facts, on which I will draw in what follows.

⁴ Franz Boas, in *Fifth Report of the Committee of the British Association on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 51 (separate reprint from the *Report of the British Association, Newcastle-upon-Tyne Meeting, 1889*); *id.* "Tsimshian Mythology," *Thirty-first Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1916), p. 545.

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salmon. Wooden images and masks, representing birds and fish, are placed around the hut, and others, representing fish near the river, on the bank of which the hut stands. The object of these masks is to invite all birds and fish to come and see the twins and to be friendly to them. They are in constant danger of being carried away by spirits, and the masks and images—or rather the animals which they represent—will avert this danger. The twins are believed to be in some way related to salmon, although they are not considered identical with them, as is the case among the Kwakiutl. The father's song which he sings when cleaning himself is an invitation for the salmon to come, and is sung in their praise. On hearing this song, and seeing the images and masks, the salmon are believed to come in great numbers to see the twins. Therefore the birth of twins is believed to indicate a good salmon year. If the salmon should fail to come in large numbers it is considered proof that the children will soon die, Twins are forbidden to catch salmon, nor must [may] they eat or handle fresh salmon."¹

In this custom the twins and their father rather attract than multiply the fish, but for the purpose of the fisherman the two things come to the same. The reason why the twins and their parents are forbidden to eat or even touch fresh salmon is probably a fear of thereby deterring the salmon from coming to see the twins; for the fish would hardly come if they knew that they were to be eaten. They visit the twins for the pleasure of seeing them, but in the innocence of their hearts they have no inkling of the fate that awaits them from the wily fisherman lurking in the background.

The Kwakiutl, another Indian tribe of British Columbia, "believe that twins are salmon that have assumed the form of men, and that they are able to bring salmon."² A story told by one branch of the tribe illustrates the belief in the

¹ Franz Boas, in *Sixth Report of the Committee of the British Association on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 39 (separate reprint from *Report of the British Association, Leeds Meeting*, 1890).

² Franz Boas and George Hunt, *Kwakiutl Texts*, II. (1902), p. 322 note (*The Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History* [New York] vol. V.).

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power of twins to attract or multiply salmon. They say that a certain old woman, who died some thirty years ago, was one of twins, and when she came to die she warned the people not to cry for her after she was gone. "If you cry," said she to her sorrowing relatives, "no more salmon will come here. Hang the box into which you will put my body on to a tree near the river after having painted it. When you pass by, ask me for salmon, and I shall send them."¹

Another Kwakiutl story brings out the same belief still more clearly. Once upon a time, we are told, a certain chief called Chief of the Ancients wished to marry a twin woman in order that the various kinds of salmon might come to him for the sake of his wife. His aunt, the Star-Woman, advised him to go to the graves and search among them for a dead twin woman to be his wife. So he went to the graves and asked, "Is there a twin here?" But the graves answered, "There is none here." From grave to grave he went, but there was no twin in them, till at last one of the graves answered him, saying, "I am a twin." So the chief gathered the bones from the grave, and sprinkled them with the water of life, and the dead twin became a living woman. She was a very pretty woman, and Chief of the Ancients married her. But she warned him, saying, "Just take care, Chief of the Ancients! I am Salmon-Maker. Don't do me any harm." Then Salmon-Maker made many salmon for her husband. When she put her finger in a kettle of water, a large spring-salmon would at once be there in the water, jumping about, and when she put two fingers into the kettle, there would be two large spring-salmon jumping about in the water. When she walked into the river with the water only up to the instep of her foot, the salmon at once came jumping; and if she were to walk right into the river, it would dry up, so full would it be of salmon. Thus the salmon-traps of the people were full of salmon, and their houses were full of dried and roasted salmon. Then Chief of the Ancients grew proud and his heart was lifted up because he had much food to eat. When the backbone of the spring-salmon caught in the hair of his head, he took it and threw it into the corner of the house. He said, "You come from the ghosts, and you catch

¹ Franz Boas, in *Sixth Report of the Committee*, etc. (see note ¹, p. 378), p. 62.

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me!" His wife, Salmon-Maker, hung her head and cried, but he laughed at her and spoke angrily to her. At last she could bear his unkindness no more. She arose. She spoke, weeping, to the dried salmon, saying, "Come, my tribe, let us go back." Thus she spoke to them. Then she started and led her tribe, the dried salmon, and they all went into the water. Chief of the Ancients tried to put his arm round his wife; but her body was like smoke, and his arms went through her. Then Chief of the Ancients and his younger brothers became poor again. They had nothing to eat.¹

Among the Baganda of Central Africa twins were believed to be sent by Mukasa, the great god whose blessing on the crops and on the people was ensured at an annual festival. The twins were thought to be under the special protection of the god, and they bore his name, the boys being called Mukasa, and the girls Namukasa. After the birth of twins the parents, with the infants, used to make a round of visits to friends and relations. They were received with dances and rejoicing, for "the people whom they visited thought that, not only they themselves would be blessed and given children, but that their herds and crops also would be multiplied." A ceremony performed by the father and mother of the twins over a flower of the plantain indicated in the plainest,

¹ Franz Boas and G. Hunt, *Kwakiutl Texts*, II. pp. 322-330 (*Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History, The Jesup North Pacific Expedition*, vol. III. [New York] 1902). Compare Franz Boas, *Kwakiutl Tales* (New York and Leyden, 1910), pp. 491 sq. (*Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology*, vol. II.). Similar tales are told more briefly by the Tlatlasikoala and Awikyenog Indians of the same region. See Franz Boas, *Indianische Sagen von der Nord-Pazifischen Küste Amerikas* (Berlin, 1895), pp. 174, 209 sq. The Awikyenog Indians, whose territory is situated on the coast of British Columbia immediately to the north of the Kwakiutl, also believe that twins were salmon before they were born as human beings, and that they can turn into salmon again (F. Boas, *op. cit.* p. 209 note). For other versions of the story told by the Indians of this region, see Franz Boas, "Tsimshian Mythology," *Thirty-first Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1916), pp. 667 sq.

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if the grossest, manner the belief of the Baganda that parents of twins possessed a power of magically fertilizing the plantains which form the staple food of the people.¹

Among the Bateso, a tribe of the Uganda Protectorate, "the birth of twins is a welcome event. The midwife announces the fact to the father, who immediately orders the special drum-rhythm to be beaten to make the fact known, and women soon gather at the house uttering a peculiar shrill cry of pleasure. The mother remains secluded for three months, and during this time the father pays visits to members of his own and of his wife's clans, from whom he receives presents of food and animals for a special feast to be held when the period of seclusion is ended and the twins are presented to the members of the clans. Should no hospitality be offered to the father and no present be given at a place when he is making his round of visits, he refuses to enter the house and passes on elsewhere. This is regarded by its occupants as a loss, because the blessing of increase which rests upon the father of twins is not communicated to the inhospitable family."²

Among the Basoga, another tribe of the Uganda Protectorate, the birth of twins is ascribed to the intervention of the god, Gasani. When such a birth has taken place, a shrine is built near the house in which the twins live, and two fowls and a basket, containing a few beans, a little sesame, a little millet, and some earth from a cross-road, are deposited in the shrine, after they have been solemnly offered to the god, Gasani. This shrine is the place to which barren women go to make offerings to the god, to ask his blessing, and to seek the gift of children.³ Moreover, in the Central District of Busoga, the land of the Basoga, "when a woman has twins, the people to whose clan she belongs do not sow any seed until the twins have been brought to the field. A pot of cooked grain is set before the children with a cake of sesame

¹ Rev. J. Roscoe, *The Baganda* (London, 1911), pp. 64-72. As to the annual festival in honour of Mukasa, see *id.* pp. 298 sq. At it the priest of the god gave the blessing to the people, their wives, children, cattle, and crops.

² Rev. J. Roscoe, *The Northern Bantu* (Cambridge, 1915), p. 265.

³ Rev. J. Roscoe, *The Northern Bantu*, p. 249.

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and all the seed that is to be sown. The food is eaten by the people assembled and afterwards the field is sown in the presence of the twins; the plot is then said to be the field of the twins. The mother of twins must sow her seed before any person of her clan will sow theirs."¹

These customs seem clearly to imply that twins and their mother are endowed with a special power of quickening the seed.

But though a belief in the fertilizing virtue of twins is found among peoples so far apart as the red men of North-western America and the black men of Central Africa, it would be rash to assume that such a belief is universal or even common; on the contrary, it appears to be rare and exceptional. Far more usually the birth of twins is viewed with horror and dismay as a portent which must be expiated by the death of the twins and sometimes by that of the mother also. To adduce the evidence at large would be out of place here; I will only cite a few instances in which a directly contrary influence is ascribed to twins or their mother. For example, in Unyoro, a district of the Uganda Protectorate, the explorer, Speke, was told by one of his men, who was a twin, that "in Ngura, one of the sister provinces to Unyanyembé, twins are ordered to be killed and thrown into water the moment they are born, lest droughts and famines or floods should oppress the land. Should anyone attempt to conceal twins, the whole family would be murdered by the chief."² Among the Nandi of British East Africa "the birth of twins is looked upon as an inauspicious event, and the mother is considered unclean for the rest of her life. She is given her own cow and may not touch the milk or blood of any other animal. She may enter nobody's house until she has sprinkled a calabash full of water on the ground, and she may never cross the threshold of a cattle kraal again."³ Indeed, if a mother of twins goes near the cattle, the Nandi believe that the animals will die.⁴

¹ Rev. J. Roscoe, *The Northern Bantu*, p. 235.

² J. H. Speke, *Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile*, ch. xviii. p. 426 (*Everyman's Library*).

³ A. C. Hollis, *The Nandi* (Oxford, 1909), p. 68.

⁴ C. W. Hobley, *Eastern Uganda, an Ethnological Study* (London, 1902), p. 40.

X.—MARRIAGE OF PELEUS AND THETIS

Again, among the Bassari of Togo, in Western Africa, women who have given birth to twins are not allowed to go into the cornfields at the time of sowing and harvest, because it is believed that, if they did so, they might spoil the crop. Only after such a woman has again been brought to bed and given birth to a single child may she once more take part in field labour.¹ Among the natives of Nias, an island to the west of Sumatra, the birth of twins is regarded as a misfortune which portends failure of the crops, epidemics, sickness among the cattle, conflagrations, and other ills; it used, therefore, to be customary to expose one or both of the infants and leave them to perish; sometimes, it is said, the mother would strangle one of the twins with her own hand.² A German missionary reports a case in Nias of a woman who gave birth to twins twice in successive years; both sets of children were exposed by the father in a tree and left to die; but on the second occasion the spirits were supposed to demand another victim, so the father bought a slave, a poor young man, tied him up near the village beside a river, and killed him with his own hand.³

Thus contrary and equally baseless, though not equally mischievous, are the superstitions of savages touching the birth of twins.

X.—THE MARRIAGE OF PELEUS AND THETIS

(*Apollodorus*, III. xiii. 5)

The story how Peleus won the sea-goddess for his wife has its parallel in a modern Cretan tale. It is said that a young man, who played the lyre beautifully, was carried off by the sea nymphs (Nereids) to their cave, where they listened with delight to his music. But he fell in love with one of them,

¹ H. Klose, *Togo unter deutscher Flagge* (Berlin, 1899), p. 510.

² J. P. Kleiweg de Zwaan, *De Geneeskunde der Menangkabau-Maleiers* (Amsterdam, 1910), p. 149; *id.* *Die Heilkunde der Niassers* (The Hague, 1913), p. 178. Compare E. Modigliani, *Un Viaggio a Nias* (Milan, 1890), p. 555.

³ A. Fehr, *Der Niasser im Leben und Sterben* (Barmen, 1901), pp. 14 sq.

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and not knowing how to win her for his wife, he asked the advice of an old woman who dwelt in his village. She advised him to seize his darling by the hair when the hour of cock-crow was near, and though she should turn into diverse shapes, he was not to be frightened or to let her go, but to hold fast till the cocks crew. He took the advice, and though the wild sea-maiden turned into a dog, a serpent, a camel, and fire, he held her by the hair till the cocks crew and the other sea-maidens vanished. Then she changed back into her own beautiful shape and followed him meekly to the village. There they lived as man and wife for a year, and she bore him a son, but she never spoke a word. Her strange silence weighed on him, and in his perplexity he again betook him to the old woman, and she gave him a piece of advice, which in an unhappy hour he followed. He heated the stove and taking up their child in his arms, he threatened to throw it into the fire if his wife would not speak to him. At that she started up, crying, "Leave my child alone, you dog!" and snatching the infant from him she vanished before his eyes. But as the other Nereids would not receive her back among them because she was a mother, she took up her abode at a spring not far from the sea-nymphs' cave, and there you may see her twice or thrice a year with her baby in her arms.¹

This modern Greek story serves to explain a feature in the ancient story which is known only through an incidental allusion of Sophocles. In his play *Troilus* the poet spoke of the marriage of Peleus and Thetis as voiceless or silent (*ἄφθόγγους γάμους*).² In the original form of the tale it is probable that the sea-bride of Peleus remained strangely and obstinately silent until Peleus detected her in the act of placing their child on the fire to make him immortal.³ At that sight the father cried out, no doubt reproaching his sea-wife for murdering, as he supposed, their infant; and she, offended at the interruption and hurt at the unmerited reproach, spoke to him once for all, and then, vanishing before his eyes, returned to her old home in the sea. This conjecture is

¹ B. Schmidt, *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* (Leipsic, 1871), pp. 115-117.

² Scholiast on Pindar, *Nem.* iii. 35 (60); *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. ii. pp. 255 sq.

³ See Apollodorus, iii. 13. 6, with the note.

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partially confirmed by a fragment of Sophocles, in which the poet said that Thetis deserted Peleus because she was reproached by him.¹ The silence of the bride in the folk-tale is probably to be explained as a reminiscence of a custom of imposing silence on brides for some time after marriage. For example, among the Tedas of Tibesti, a region of the Central Sudan, a bride is shut up after marriage for seven days in a special compartment of her husband's house and does not utter a word.² Again, among the Wabende, of Lake Tanganyika, a wife does not speak to her husband for several days after marriage; she waits till he has made her a present.³

The story of Peleus and Thetis seems to belong to a familiar type of popular tale known as the Swan Maiden type. A number of swans are in the habit of divesting themselves of their plumage and appearing as beautiful maidens. In that temporary state they are seen by a young man, who falls in love with one of them, and by concealing the bird's skin, which she has stripped off, he prevents the Swan Maiden from resuming her wings and flying away. Thus placed at his mercy, she consents to marry him, and for some time they live together as husband and wife, and she bears him a child. But one day she finds by accident the bird-skin which her husband had hidden; a longing for her old life in the air comes over her; she puts on the feathery coat, and leaving husband and child behind, she flies away to return no more. The story recurs with many minor variations in many lands.

¹ Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 816; Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 1068, p. 443, ed. Fr. Dübner; *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. i. pp. 106 *sq.*

² P. Noel, "Éthnographie et Anthropologie des Tedas du Tibesti," *L'Anthropologie*, xxx. (1920), p. 121.

³ Avon, "Vie sociale des Wabende au Tanganika," *Anthropos*, x.-xi. (1915-1916), p. 101. For more instances, see *Totemism and Exogamy*, i. 63, note⁵, iv. 233-237. Compare Andrew Lang, *Custom and Myth* (London, 1884), p. 74, "M. Dozon, who has collected the Bulgarian songs, says that this custom of prolonged silence on the part of the bride is very common in Bulgaria, though it is beginning to yield to a sense of the ludicrous."

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Often the fairy wife is not a bird but a beast, who doffs her beast skin to be a human wife for a time, till in like manner she discovers the cast skin, and resuming with it her beast shape returns to her old life in the woods or the wilderness. Sometimes she is a fish or other marine creature, and then the resemblance to the story of Peleus and Thetis is particularly close, for she comes from the sea to be married as a human maid to her human lover, and after the last unhappy parting she returns as a fish to dwell with her finny kindred in the depths of the sea. To increase the resemblance with the tale of Peleus and Thetis, the cause of the parting is often some unkindness done to the wife or to her animal kinsfolk, or simply some cruel taunt reflecting on her relationship to the fish or the birds or the beasts.

For example, "in the Farö Islands the superstition is current that the seal casts off its skin every ninth night, assumes a human form, and dances and amuses itself like a human being until it resumes its skin, and again becomes a seal. It once happened that a man, passing during one of these transformations, and seeing the skin, took possession of it, when the seal, which was a female, not finding her skin to creep into, was obliged to continue in a human form, and being a comely person, the man made her his wife, had several children by her, and they lived happily together, until, after a lapse of several years, she chanced to find her hidden skin, which she could not refrain from creeping into, and so became a seal again."¹ A similar notion prevailed among the people of Shetland regarding mermaids, about whom it is said that "they dwell among the fishes, in the depth of the ocean, in habitations of pearl and coral; that they resemble human beings, but greatly excel them in beauty. When they wish to visit the upper world, they put on the *ham* or garb of some fish, but woe to those who lose their *ham*, for then are all hopes of return annihilated, and they must stay where they are. . . . It has also happened that earthly men have married mermaids, having taken possession of their *ham*, and thus got them into their power."²

¹ B. Thorpe, *Northern Mythology* (London, 1851-1852), ii. 173.

² B. Thorpe, *l.c.*, referring to Hibbert's *Shetland*, quoted by Faye, pp. 60, 61.

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Again, in the Pelew Islands, in the Pacific, they tell how a man used to hang bowls on palm-trees to collect the palm-wine which oozed from incisions in the trunks. Every night he examined the bowls, but every night he found that they had been emptied by somebody. So he set himself to watch, and one night he saw a fish come out of the sea, lay aside its tail, and then in human shape climb a palm-tree. The man snatched up the tail, and taking it home with him hung it up in the storeroom. Next morning when he went to the palm-tree to collect the wine, he found a woman under the tree, who called out to him that she was naked and begged him to bring her an apron. They returned to his house together, and the unknown woman became his wife. She bore him a child, who grew up to be a very beautiful maiden. But one day, in her husband's absence, she received a visit from some chiefs. For their entertainment she needed the pestle with which to mash sweet potatoes, and searching for it in the storeroom she discovered her old tail. At sight of it a great longing for her old home came over her. She told her daughter to cleave to her father if she herself were long away, and that same evening she secretly took down the tail, ran to the beach, and plunged into the sea.¹

The stories of "Beauty and the Beast" and "Cupid and Psyche" belong to the same type of tale, though in them it is the husband and not the wife who is the fairy spouse and is liable to vanish away from his mortal wife whenever she offends him by breaking some rule, the observance of which he had enjoined on her as a condition of their wedded bliss.²

¹ J. Kubary, "Die Religion der Pelauer," in A. Bastian's *Allerlei aus Volks- und Menschenkunde* (Berlin, 1888), i. 60 sq. The Kwakiutl story of Chief of the Ancients and his wife Salmon-Maker is another instance of this class of tales. See above, pp. 379 sq.

² As to these stories, see Theodor Benfey, *Pantschatantra* (Leipsic, 1859), i. 254 sqq.; A. Lang, *Custom and Myth* (London, 1884), pp. 64 sqq.; S. Baring-Gould, *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages* (London, 1884), pp. 561 sqq.; W. A. Clouston, *Popular Tales and Fictions*, i. 182 sqq.; E. Cosquin, *Contes populaires de Lorraine*, ii. 215 sqq.; E. S. Hartland, *The Science of Fairy Tales* (London, 1891), pp. 255 sqq.; Miss M. R. Cox, *Introduction to Folk-lore*,

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The folk-lore element in the marriage of Peleus and Thetis was fully recognized and clearly brought out by W. Mannhardt in his admirable study of the Peleus saga. He was probably right in holding that the modern Cretan story¹ is not a reminiscence of the story of the marriage of Thetis, but an independent folk-tale, of which the Peleus and Thetis story was merely a localized version.²

XI.—PHAETHON AND THE CHARIOT OF THE SUN

(*Apollodorus* III. xiv. 3)

Some Indian tribes of North-western America tell a story which bears a close resemblance to the story of Phaethon and the chariot of the Sun, his father. The tale of Phaethon is related most fully by Ovid. According to the poet, the sea-nymph, Clymene, daughter of Tethys, bore a son, Phaethon, to the Sun. When the lad grew up, he one day boasted of his illustrious parentage to a companion, who

New Edition (London, 1904), pp. 120 *sqq.*; *Totemism and Exogamy*, ii. 205 *sq.*, 565–571, iii. 60–64; *The Dying God*, pp. 124–131. To the stories of this type quoted or referred to in these passages add E. Stack and Sir Charles Lyall, *The Mikirs* (London, 1908), pp. 55 *sqq.*; A. Playfair, *The Garos* (London, 1909), pp. 123 *sqq.*; S. Endle, *The Kacháris* (London, 1911), pp. 119 *sqq.*; R. Neuhauss, *Deutsch Neu-Guinea* (Berlin, 1911), iii. 564 *sqq.*; N. Adriani en A. C. Kruijt, *De Bare'e-sprekende Toradja's van Midden-Celebes* (Batavia, 1912–1914), iii. 401; D. Macdonald, "Efate, New Hebrides," *Report of the Fourth Meeting of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science, held at Hobart, Tasmania, in January, 1892*, p. 731; [D.] Macdonald, "The mythology of the Efatese," *Report of the Seventh Meeting of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science, held at Sydney, 1898*, pp. 765–767; Elsdon Best, "Maori Folk-lore," *Report of the Tenth Meeting of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science, held at Dunedin, 1904*, pp. 450 *sq.*

¹ See above, pp. 383 *sq.*

² See his *Antike Wald- und Feldkulte*, pp. 60 *sqq.*

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ridiculed the notion and told Phaethon that he was a fool to believe such a cock-and-bull story. In great distress Phaethon repaired to his mother and begged her to tell him truly whether his father was really the Sun or not. His mother reassured him on this point. Stretching her arms towards the Sun, she solemnly swore that the great luminary was indeed his father; but if he had any lingering doubts on the question, she advised him to apply to the Sun himself. "You can easily do so," she said. "The house of the Sun, from which he rises, is near our land. Go and question the Sun himself." So Phaethon journeyed to the house of the Sun and found the deity clad in purple and seated on a throne resplendent with emeralds in the midst of a gorgeous palace. At first the youth could not bear the fierce light that beat on him, so he halted afar off. But the god received him kindly, and freely acknowledged him as his truly begotten son. More than that, he promised by the Stygian marsh to grant him any boon he might ask. Thus encouraged, Phaethon requested to be allowed to drive the Sun's chariot for a single day. The Sun, foreseeing the fatal consequences of granting the request, endeavoured to dissuade his son from the hazardous enterprise, by pointing out its difficulties and dangers. But all in vain; the rash youth insisted, and bound by his oath the deity had no choice but to comply. Even as they talked, the rosy light of dawn flushed the eastern sky, the starry host fled away, with Lucifer bringing up the rear, and the horned moon grew pale. There was no time to delay. The Sun commanded the Hours to yoke the horses, and forth from their stalls clattered the fire-breathing steeds. As Phaethon prepared to mount the car, his Heavenly Sire invested him with his own beamy crown, and sighing, said: "Spare the whip, my boy, and use the reins; the horses need to be held in rather than urged to speed. Drive not too high, or you will kindle the celestial vault; drive not too low, or you will set the earth on fire. The middle is the safest course." But the father's warnings were wasted on his imprudent son. Once started on his mad career, Phaethon soon lost all control of the horses, which, not feeling the master's hand, quickly ran wild, dragging the chariot out of its course, now to the icy north, now to the torrid south, now high, now low, now crashing into the fixed stars and colliding with the constellations, now brushing the earth and setting

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it all on flame. The forests blazed, the rivers boiled and steamed: the Ethiopians, who had been fair before, were scorched and blackened in the heat: the Nile in terror hid his head, dry was his channel, and his seven mouths were choked with dust; and southward an arid desert stretched far in the waste Sudan. Heaven and earth might have perished in one vast conflagration if the Omnipotent Father himself, the mighty Jove, had not hurled a thunderbolt from the zenith and struck dead the helpless charioteer. Down, down he crashed, his burning hair streaming behind him like the trail of light left by a falling star; so he dropped plump into the waters of the Eridanus, which laved his charred and smoking limbs. There the Naiads of the West buried his mangled remains, and over his grave they set a stone with an inscription recording his ambitious attempt and its disastrous issue.¹

The corresponding story as told by the Bella Coola Indians of British Columbia runs as follows:

A young woman had been married against her will by a man of the name of Stump. But their connubial bliss was short, for Stump's hair was full of toads and he expected his wife to pick them out for him. This was more than she could bear, and she fled, pursued by the too faithful Stump. He gained on her, but she delayed his pursuit by throwing over her shoulder successively a bladder full of liquid, a comb, and a grindstone. The liquid turned into a lake, the comb into a thicket, and the grindstone into a great mountain, which carried her up to heaven. There she came to the house of the Sun, and peeping in through a chink she saw the Sun sitting inside in the likeness of a man. He said, "Come in"; but the doorway was blazing with fire and she hung back. The Sun told her to jump through the fire. She did so and entered the house safely. After her up came Stump, and endeavouring to pass the fiery doorway was consumed in the flames. The woman now lived in a corner of the house of the Sun, and after a while she gave birth to a boy, the son of the Sun. His name was Totqoaya. He was very ugly, and his face was covered with sores. In time his mother longed to return to her father on earth; so, instructed by the Sun, she took her boy on her back and walked down the eyelashes

¹ Ovid, *Metamorph.* i. 750-ii. 328.

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of the Sun, which are the sunbeams, till she came in the evening to her father's house. Her parents and friends were very glad to see her.

"The next morning the boy went out of the house, and began to play with the other children, who made fun of him. Then he told them that his father was the Sun; but they merely laughed at him, until he grew very angry. Then he told his mother that he intended to return to his father in heaven. He made a great many arrows and a bow, went outside, and began to shoot his arrows upward. The first one struck the sky. The second one struck the notch of the first one. And thus he continued until a chain of arrows was formed which reached the ground. Then he climbed up; and after reaching heaven, he went into the Sun's house. There he said, 'Father, I wish to take your place to-morrow.' The Sun consented, but said, 'Take care that you do not burn the people. I use only one torch in the morning, and increase the number of torches until noon. In the afternoon I extinguish the torches one by one.' On the following morning the boy took his father's torches and went along the path of the Sun; but very soon he lighted all the torches. It became very hot on the earth. The woods began to burn, and the rocks to crack, and many people died. But his mother waved her hands, and thus kept her own house cool. The people who had entered her house were safe. When the Sun saw what the boy was doing, he caught him and threw him down to the earth, and said, 'Henceforth you shall be the mink.'"¹

The story is told, with variations of details, by the Kwakiutl Indians of British Columbia as follows :

¹ Franz Boas, *The Mythology of the Bella Coola Indians* [New York] (1898), pp. 100-103 (*Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History*, vol. ii., *The Jesup North Pacific Expedition*). For another version of the Bella Coolan story, see Franz Boas, *Indianische Sagen von der Nord-Pacifischen Küste Amerikas* (Berlin, 1895), p. 246. In this other version the Sun says to his son Totqoaya, "I am old. Henceforth carry the sun in my place. But take care. Go straight on, bend not down, else will the earth burn." The catastrophe follows as before, and the American Phaethon is finally turned, as before, into a mink.

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"The future mother of Born-to-be-the-Sun was weaving wool, facing the rear of the house. Then the sun was in the sky, and the sun was shining through the holes in the house; and the rays struck her back while she sat facing the rear of the house, on her bed. Thus she became pregnant. There was no husband of this woman. She gave birth, and Born-to-be-the-Sun (Mink) became a child. Therefore it had immediately the name Born-to-be-the-Sun, because it was known that its mother became pregnant by the sun shining on her back.

"The Born-to-be-the-Sun was fighting with his friend Bluebird. Then Bluebird made fun of Born-to-be-the-Sun because he had no father. Then Born-to-be-the-Sun cried in the house to his mother, telling his mother that he was called an orphan because he had no father. Therefore his mother said to him that his father was the Sun.

"Immediately Born-to-be-the-Sun said he would go and visit his father. Then his mother made a request of the uncle of Born-to-be-the-Sun: 'Make arrows for this child, that he may go and see his father.' He made four arrows for him. Then Born-to-be-the-Sun shot one of the arrows upward. It is said it struck our sky. Then he shot another one upward. It struck the nock of the one that he had shot upward first; then again another one, and it hit the end of his arrow. His arrows came down sticking together. Then he shot the last one, and it hit the end of the one he had shot before. They came to the ground.

"Then the mother of Born-to-be-the-Sun took the end of the arrows and shook them, and they became a rope. Then she cautioned her child, (saying,) 'Don't be foolish at the place where you are going.' Thus Born-to-be-the-Sun was told by his mother. Then Born-to-be-the-Sun climbed the rope, going upward. He went to visit his father. He arrived, and went through to the upper side of the sky. Then Born-to-be-the-Sun sat on the ground next to his father's house. Then Born-to-be-the-Sun was seen by a boy. Then he was asked by the boy, 'Why are you sitting there?' 'I came to see my father.' Then the boy entered, and reported to the chief, 'This boy sitting on the ground near the house comes to see his father.' 'Ah, ah, ah! indeed! I obtained him by shining through. Go ask him if he will come in.'

"Then the boy went out and called Born-to-be-the-Sun. Born-to-be-the-Sun entered and sat down. Immediately he

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was taken care of by his father. 'Thank you, child, that you will change feet with me. I have tried not to be tired from walking to and fro every day. Now you shall go, child.' Thus said the chief to his son.

"Then he was cautioned by his father. 'Don't walk fast where you are walking along. Don't look right down to those below us, else you will do mischief.' Then he dressed him up with his ear-ornaments. Then he put on his mask. Then he walked on the trail that was pointed out. He walked along. 'My dear master, don't sweep too much when you are walking along. Don't show yourself [through] entirely when you are peeping through.' Then he started in the morning. He passed noon. Then in the afternoon the sun was warm. Then he desired to peep through. He swept away his aunts (the clouds). Already this world began to burn. There was noise of the cracking of mountains, and the sea began to boil. The trees of the mountains caught fire. Therefore there are no good trees on the mountains, and therefore the rocks are cracked.

"That was the reason of the fury of Born-to-be-the-Sun's father. The chief pursued his child. He reached him when the sun was not low. Then the clothing of Born-to-be-the-Sun was taken away. 'Is that what I told you? You have come only once.' Born-to-be-the-Sun was just taken by the neck by his father, and was thrown through the hole. Born-to-be-the-Sun came down. A canoe was paddling along, and came right to Born-to-be-the-Sun. 'Is this our chief, Born-to-be-the-Sun, floating about?' Then he raised his head on the water when they touched him with the paddle. Born-to-be-the-Sun awoke and puffed. 'Indeed, I have been asleep on the water a long time.' He went ashore and went inland."¹

¹ Franz Boas *Kwakiutl Tales* (New York and Leyden, 1910), pp. 123, 125, 127 (*Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology*, vol. ii.). For a briefer Kwakiutl version of the story, see Franz Boas, *Indianische Sagen von der Nord-Pazifischen Küste Amerikas*, p. 157. In this latter version there is no mention of the mother of the son of the Sun, but the narrator describes how the Sun's ear-rings and nose-plug were made of glittering haliotis shell, and how, when his son wore these borrowed ornaments, the light flashed from them so fiercely that it caused the rocks to split and the water to boil.

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The story is told more briefly, but in similar form, by the Tlatlasikoala, the Awikyenog, and the Heiltsuk Indians of British Columbia. In the first of these three versions the Sun, as in Ovid's narrative, warns his son to go neither too high nor too low, for otherwise it would be either too cold or too hot on earth.¹

Whether the remarkable resemblances between the Greek and the Indian versions of the tale are to be explained as due to independent invention or to European influence, is a question which, so far as I know, there is no evidence to determine, and on which therefore it would be rash to pronounce an opinion. In the Indian versions the unlucky hero always appears, sooner or later, as a mink, an animal about which the Indians of this part of America tell many stories. I have spoken of the Greek version of the story because it is probable that Ovid drew the main outlines of his narrative from Greek originals, though doubtless many of the picturesque particulars with which he embellished it are due to the poet's own imagination. But the more we compare the *Metamorphoses* with the parallel stories in extant Greek literature, the more, I think, we shall be inclined to admire his learning and the fidelity with which he followed his sources, always, however, embroidering their usually plain substance with the many-coloured threads of his exuberant fancy.

XII.—THE VOW OF IDOMENEUS

(*Apollodorus, Epitome, vi. 10*)

Apollodorus tells us that while Idomeneus, king of Crete, was away with his army at the siege of Troy, his wife Meda at home was debauched by a certain Leucus, who afterwards murdered her and her daughter, and, having seduced ten cities of Crete from their allegiance, made himself lord of the island and expelled the lawful king Idomeneus when, on his return from Troy, he endeavoured to reinstate himself in the kingdom. The same story is told, almost in the same words, by Tzetzes, who doubtless here, as in so many places, drew his information

¹ Franz Boas, *Indianische Sagen von der Nord-Pacifischen Küste Amerikas*, pp. 173, 215 sq., 234.

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direct from Apollodorus.¹ The exile of Idomeneus is mentioned by Virgil, who says that the king, driven from his ancestral dominions, settled in the Sallentine land, a district of Calabria at the south-eastern extremity of Italy.² The poet says nothing about the cause of the king's exile; but his old commentator Servius explains it by a story which differs entirely from the account given by Apollodorus. The story is this. When Idomeneus, king of Crete, was returning home after the destruction of Troy, he was caught in a storm and vowed to sacrifice to Neptune whatever should first meet him; it chanced that the first to meet him was his own son, and Idomeneus sacrificed him or, according to others, only wished or attempted to do so; subsequently a pestilence broke out, and the people, apparently regarding it as a divine judgment on their king's cruelty, banished him the realm.³ The same story is repeated almost in the same words by the First and Second Vatican Mythographers, who clearly here, as in many places, either copied Servius or borrowed from the same source which he followed.⁴ But on one point the First Vatican Mythographer presents an interesting variation; for according to him it was not his son but his daughter whom the king first met and sacrificed, or attempted to sacrifice.

A similar story of a rash vow is told of a certain Maeander, son of Cercaphus and Anaxibia, who gave his name to the river Maeander. It is recorded of him that, being at war with the people of Pessinus in Phrygia, he vowed to the Mother of the Gods that, if he were victorious, he would sacrifice the first person who should congratulate him on his triumph. On his return the first who met and congratulated him was his son Archelaus, with his mother and sister. In fulfilment of his vow, Maeander sacrificed them at the altar, and thereafter, broken-hearted at what he had done, threw himself into the

¹ Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 384–386, compare *Schol. on id.* 1093.

² Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 121 sq., 400 sq.; compare *id.*, xi. 264 sq.

³ Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 121 and on xi. 264. The two passages supplement each other on some points, and in the text I have combined them.

⁴ *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 59, 145 sq. (First Vatican Mythographer, 195; Second Vatican Mythographer, 210).

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river, which before had been called Anabaenon, but which henceforth was named Maeander after him. The story is told by the Pseudo-Plutarch, who cites as his authorities Timolaus, in the first book of his treatise on Phrygia, and Agathocles the Samian, in his work, *The Constitution of Pessinus*.¹

In this last story, according to the only possible interpretation of the words,² Maeander clearly intended from the outset to offer a human sacrifice, though he had not anticipated that the victims would be his son, his daughter, and his wife. Similarly in the parallel Israelitish legend of Jephthah's vow it seems that Jephthah purposed to sacrifice a human victim, though he did not expect that the victim would be his daughter: "And Jephthah vowed a vow unto the Lord, and said, If thou wilt indeed deliver the children of Ammon into mine hand, then it shall be, that whosoever cometh forth of the doors of my house to meet me, when I return in peace from the children of Ammon, he shall be the Lord's, and I will offer him up for a burnt offering."³ For so the passage runs in the Hebrew original,⁴ in the Septuagint,⁵ and in the Vulgate⁶ and so it has been understood by the best modern commentators.⁷ In the sequel Jephthah did to his daughter

¹ Pseudo-Plutarch, *De fluviiis*, ix. 1.

² ηθέατο τῇ Μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν, ἐὰν ἐγκρατὴς γένηται τῆς νίκης, θύσειν τὸν πρῶτον αὐτῷ συγχαρέντα [ἐπι] ταῖς ἀνδραγαθλαῖς τρόπαια φέροντι. ³ Judges, xi. 30 sq.

⁴ Judges, xi. 31, וַיִּשָּׁבַע יֵפְתָה בְּיַד יְהוָה וַיֹּאמֶר כִּי־יֵצֵא מִבְּעַד דְּלָתַי וְיִפְגַּע בִּי בַיּוֹם הַהוּא וְהָיָה כִּי־יֵצֵא מִבְּעַד דְּלָתַי וְיִפְגַּע בִּי בַיּוֹם הַהוּא . . .

⁵ καὶ ἔσται ὁ ἐκπορευόμενος ὃς ἂν ἐξέλθῃ ἀπὸ τῆς θύρας τοῦ οἴκου μου εἰς συνάντησίν μου . . . ἀνοίσω αὐτὸν ὀλοκαύτωμα.

⁶ *Quicumque primus fuerit egressus de foribus domus meae, mihi que occurrerit . . . eum holocaustum offeram Domino.*

⁷ J. S. Black (*The Smaller Cambridge Bible for Schools*, 1892), G. W. Thatcher (*The Century Bible*, n.d.), G. F. Moore (*The International Commentary*, Second Edition, 1903), G. A. Cooke (*The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges*, 1913), C. F. Burney (1918). Professor G. F. Moore observes, "That a human victim is intended is, in fact, as plain as words can make it; the language is inapplicable to

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according to his vow,¹ in other words he consummated the sacrifice. "Early Arabian religion before Mohammed furnishes a parallel: 'Al-Mundhir [king of al-Hirah] had made a vow that on a certain day in each year he would sacrifice the first person he saw; 'Abid came in sight on the unlucky day, and was accordingly killed, and the altar smeared with his blood.'"²

Similar vows meet us in folk-tales. Thus in a German story from Hesse we read how a man, setting out on a long journey, promised his three daughters to bring back a present for each, whatever they should desire. The youngest of them, his favourite child, asked him to bring back a singing, soaring lark. On his way through a forest, he saw a singing, soaring lark perched on the top of a tree, and he called to his servant to climb up and catch the bird. But as he approached the tree, a lion leaped from under it, saying that he would devour whoever tried to steal his singing, soaring lark. The man prayed the lion to spare his life and to take a large sum of money instead. But the animal replied, "Nothing can save thee, unless thou wilt promise to give me for my own what first meets thee on thy return home; but if thou wilt do that, I will grant thee thy life, and thou shalt have the bird for thy daughter, into the bargain." The man accepted the offer, and on his return home the first who met him was his youngest and dearest daughter, who came running up, kissed and embraced him, and when she saw that he had brought with him a singing, soaring lark, she was beside herself with joy. But her father wept and said, "My dearest child, I have bought the little bird dear. In return for it I have been obliged to promise thee to a savage lion, and when he has thee, he will tear thee in pieces and devour thee." But the brave damsel, like Jephthah's daughter, consoled her sorrowful father, saying that he must keep his word, and that she would go to the lion and try to mollify him. The story ends happily, for the lion turned out to be no real lion but an

an animal, and a vow to offer the first sheep or goat that he comes across—not to mention the possibility of an unclean animal—is trivial to absurdity."

¹ Judges, xi. 39.

² G. A. Cooke, on Judges, xi. 31, quoting Lyall, *Ancient Arabian Poetry*, p. xxviii.

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enchanted prince, who married the girl, and after a series of adventures the two lived happily together.¹

A similar tale is reported from Lorraine. Its substance is as follows : Once upon a time there was a man who had three daughters. One day he told them that he was setting out on a journey and promised to bring each of them back a present, whatever they pleased. The youngest, whom he loved the best, said she would like to have the talking rose. So one day on his travels the man came to a fine castle from which issued a sound of voices speaking and singing. On entering the castle he found himself in a courtyard, in the middle of which was a rose-bush covered with roses. It was the roses which he had heard speaking and singing. "At last," thought he, "I have found the talking rose." He was just about to pluck one of the roses, when a white wolf ran at him, crying, "Who gave you leave to enter my castle and to pluck my roses? You shall be punished with death. All who intrude here must die." The poor man offered to give back the talking rose, if only the white wolf would let him go. At first the wolf would not consent, but, on hearing that the man's daughter had begged for the talking rose, he said, "Look here. I will pardon you, and more than that I will let you keep the rose, but on one condition : it is that you will bring me the first person you meet on returning home." The poor man promised and went away back to his own country. The first person he saw on entering his house was his youngest daughter. "Ah, my daughter," said he, "what a sad journey!" "Have you not found the talking rose?" quoth she. "I found it," quoth he, "to my sorrow. In the castle of the white wolf I found it, and I must die." When he explained to her that the white wolf had granted him his life on condition of his bringing the first person he should meet on entering his house, she bravely declared herself ready to go with him. So together they came to the castle. There the white wolf received them very civilly and assured them that he would do them no harm. "This castle," said he, "belongs to the fairies; we who dwell in it are all fairies; I myself am condemned to be a white wolf by day. If you keep the secret, it will go well with you." That night the white wolf appeared to the maiden in her

¹ Grimm's *Household Tales*, No. 88 (vol. ii. pp. 5-10 of Margaret Hunt's translation).

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chamber in the form of a handsome gentleman and promised that, if only she followed his directions, he would marry her and make her his queen, and she should be mistress of the castle. All went well till one day the girl received a visit from one of her sisters, and, yielding to her importunity, revealed the wondrous secret. A frightful howl at once rang through the castle; the maiden started up affrighted, but hardly had she passed the doorway when the white wolf fell dead at her feet. She now rued her fatal compliance, but it was too late, and she was wretched for the rest of her life.¹

So in a Lithuanian story we read of a king who had three fair daughters, but the youngest was the fairest of them all. Once on a time the king wished to go on business to Wilna, there to engage a maid who would look after his royal household, sweep the rooms, and feed the pigs. But his youngest daughter told him that she needed no maid-servant, for she would herself discharge these domestic duties, if only he brought her back from Wilna a mat woven of living flowers. So the king went to Wilna and bought presents for his two elder daughters, but though he searched the whole town and went into every shop, he could not find a mat woven of living flowers. His way home led him through a forest, and there in the wood, a few miles from his castle, what should he see but a white wolf sitting by the side of the path with a hood of living flowers on his head. The king said to the coachman, "Get down from the box, and fetch me that hood." But the white wolf opened his mouth and said, "My lord and king, you may not get the flowery hood for nothing." The king asked him, "What would you have? I will gladly load you with treasures in return for the hood." But the wolf answered, "I want not your treasures. Promise to give me whatever you shall first meet. In three days I will come to your castle to fetch it." The king thought to himself, "It is still a long way to home. I am quite sure to meet some wild beast or bird. I'll promise it." And so he did. Then he drove away with the flowery hood in the carriage, and on the whole way home he met just nothing at all. But no sooner had he entered the courtyard of his castle than his youngest daughter came forth to meet him. The king and likewise the queen wept bitter tears. Their daughter asked, "Father and

¹ E. Cosquin, *Contes populaires de Lorraine* (Paris, n.d.), ii. 215-217.

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mother, why do you weep so?" Her father answered, "Alas, I have promised you to a white wolf; in three days he will come to the castle, and you must go with him." Sure enough the white wolf came on the third day and carried off the princess to his castle; for he was really a prince who was a wolf by day, but put off the wolf skin by night and appeared in his true form as a handsome young man. After a series of adventures, in the course of which the wolf-skin is burnt by the mother of the princess and the prince in consequence disappears for a time, the rediscovered and now transformed prince marries the princess in his fine castle.¹

In a Tyrolese story of the same type, a merchant, setting out on his travels, asks his three daughters what he shall bring them back from the city. The youngest asks him to bring her a leaf that dances, sings, and plays. In the city, as usual, he buys the presents for his elder daughters but cannot find the leaf on which his youngest daughter had set her heart. However, on his way home he comes to a palace with a beautiful garden; and in the middle of the garden is a tree on which all the leaves are dancing and singing and playing delightfully. Thinking that one of these leaves is just the thing his daughter wants, he plucks one; but no sooner has he done so than a great serpent appears and says: "Since you have taken a leaf, I demand of you that you send me within three days the first person whom you shall meet at home. Woe to you if you do not!" With a foreboding of evil he goes home, and the first person that meets him there is his youngest daughter. "Father," she asks, "have you brought the leaf?" "I have," he answers sadly, "but it will cost you dear." He then tells her on what condition he had received the leaf from the serpent. But his daughter goes cheerfully to the serpent, who, as usual, turns out to be an enchanted nobleman. Dancing with him at the wedding of her sisters, the young lady inadvertently treads on his tail and crushes it; this suffices to break the spell: he turns into a handsome young man in her arms: the two are married, and he introduces his bride to his noble and overjoyed parents.²

¹ A. Leskien und K. Brugman, *Litauische Volkslieder und Märchen* (Strasbourg, 1882), No. 23, pp. 438-443.

² Chr. Schneller *Märchen und Sagen aus Wälschtirol* (Innsbruck, 1867), No. 25, pp. 63-65.

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A Hanoverian story relates how once upon a time a king had three daughters, but the youngest was the apple of his eye. Setting out one day to make some purchases at the yearly fair, he asked his daughters what presents he should bring them back. The youngest asked for a tinkling lion-leaf.¹ At the fair the king easily bought the presents for his elder daughters, but do what he would, he could not find the tinkling lion-leaf. Riding dejectedly home, he had to traverse a wide, wide wood, and in the wood he came to a great birch-tree, and under the birch-tree lay a great black poodle dog. Seeing the king so sad, the poodle asked him what ailed him, and on learning the cause of his sadness the dog said, "I can help you. The tinkling lion-leaf grows on this very tree, and you shall have it if in a year and a day from now you will give me what to-day shall first come out of your house to meet you." The king thought to himself, "What should that be but my dog?" So he gave his word. Then the poodle wagged his tail, climbed up the birch-tree, broke the leaf off with his paw, and gave it to the king, who took it and rode merrily home. But when he came near the house, his youngest daughter sprang joyfully out to meet him. Struck with horror he pushed her from him. She wept and thought, "What can be the matter that my father thus repels me?" And she went and complained to her mother. The queen asked her husband why he had so treated his youngest daughter; but he would not tell her, and for a whole year he continued in the dumps and pined away. At last, when the year was all but up, he let the cat out of the bag. At first the queen was thunder-struck, but soon she pulled herself together, and concerted with her husband a device to cheat the black poodle by palming off the goose-girl instead of their daughter on him when he came to fetch away the princess. The deception succeeded at first, but when the poodle had carried off the goose-girl to the wood, he detected the fraud and brought her back. A second time a false princess was fobbed off on him, and a second time detected. At last the parents had, amid the loud lamentation of the courtiers, to give up their real daughter to the black poodle, who led her away and lodged her, all alone, in a little cottage in the depth of a great forest. There

¹ *Ein klinkesklankes Lowesblatt.* I am not sure of the meaning.

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she learned from an old hag that the poodle was an enchanted prince, the cottage an enchanted castle, the wood an enchanted city, and the wild beasts enchanted men, and that every day at midnight the black poodle stripped off his shaggy hide and became an ordinary man. Following the directions of the hag, the princess waited till the third night, and when the enchanted prince had laid aside the black dog-skin and was fast asleep, she got hold of the skin and threw it on the fire. That broke the spell. The prince now appeared before her eyes in his true, his handsome form; the cottage turned into a palace, the wood into a city, and the wild beasts into men and women. The prince and princess were married, and at the wedding feast the bride showed great honour to the old hag, who thereupon blessed her and, vanishing away, was never seen or heard of again.¹

Two stories of the same general type have been recorded in Schleswig-Holstein. In one of them a king has three daughters, and when he is about to set out on a journey he asks them what presents he should bring them back. The eldest daughter wished for a golden spinning-wheel, the second for a golden reel, and the youngest for a golden jingle-jangle.² When the king had procured the golden spinning-wheel and the golden reel, and was about to set out for home, he was very sad, for he did not know how to get a golden jingle-jangle. While he sat and wept, an old man came up to him and inquired the cause of his sorrow. On hearing it he said, "The golden jingle-jangles are on a great tall tree in the forest, and a big bear watches over them; but if you promise the bear something, he will give you one." So the king went and found the big bear under the big tree, and begged him to let him have a golden jingle-jangle. The bear answered, "You shall have a golden jingle-jangle if you will give me whatever first meets me in your castle." The king consented, and the bear promised to come next morning to the castle and bring the golden jingle-jangle. But when the bear appeared in the castle next morning, who should first meet him but the king's youngest daughter? The bear would have carried her off at once, but the king was sore troubled and said to the bear, "Go away ;

¹ Carl und Theodor Colshorn, *Märchen und Sagen* (Hanover, 1854), No. 20, pp. 64-69.

² "Einen goldenen Klingelklangel."

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she will soon follow you." But instead of his own daughter the king dressed up the shepherd's daughter and sent her to the bear, who detected the fraud and returned her to the king. The same thing happened to the swineherd's daughter, whom the king next attempted to palm off on the bear instead of the princess. Last of all the king was forced to send his youngest daughter, and with her the bear was content. Afterwards the bear brought her back on a visit to her father's castle and danced with her there. In the dance she trod heavily on one of his paws, and immediately he was changed into a rich and handsome prince and took her to wife.¹

Another story, recorded in Schleswig-Holstein, relates how a king lost his way and wandered in a great forest, till a little black man appeared and offered to guide him home if the king would promise to give him whatever should first come out of the king's house to meet him. The king accepted the offer, and on his return to the castle the first to run out to meet him was his daughter. He told her with tears of his promise; but she answered, "Since I have been the means of saving your life, I will willingly go away thither." Accordingly she is fetched away by a white wolf, who, as usual, turns out to be an enchanted prince, and marries her as soon as the spell which bound him is broken.²

In a German story of the same type a nobleman loses his way in a wood and meets a poodle who promises to guide him home if the nobleman will give the poodle whatever on his return should first come forth from the nobleman's house to meet him. As usual, the nobleman's daughter is the first to come forth to meet him; and, as usual, the seeming calamity ends in the girl's marriage with a prince.³

Similarly in a Swedish story we hear of a king who had three daughters, but he loved the youngest best of all. One day he lost his way in the forest, and, whichever way he turned, he always met a man in a grey cloak, who said to him, "If you would make your way out of the forest, you must give me the

¹ K. Müllenhoff, *Sagen Märchen und Lieder der Herzogthümer Schleswig-Holstein und Lauenburg* (Kiel, 1845), pp. 384 sq.

² K. Müllenhoff, *op. cit.* pp. 385-388.

P. Zaunert, *Deutsche Märchen seit Grimm* (Jena, 1919), pp. 303 sqq.

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first living thing that meets you at your home-coming." The king thought to himself, "That will be my greyhound as usual"; so he promised. But it was his youngest and dearest daughter who met him first. The king sent his two elder daughters, one after the other, into the forest; but the man in the grey cloak sent them both back with rich presents. At last the king sent his youngest daughter, and after various adventures she was happily wedded to the man in the grey cloak, who, as usual, turned out to be an enchanted prince or nobleman, the owner of a fine castle.¹

Thus in most of the folk-tales the rash vow turns out fortunately for the victim, who, instead of being sacrificed or killed, obtains a princely husband and wedded bliss. Yet we may suspect that these happy conclusions were simply devised by the story-teller for the sake of pleasing his hearers, and that in real life the custom, of which the stories preserve a reminiscence, often ended in the sacrifice of the victim at the altar. Of such a custom a record seems to survive in the legends of Idomeneus, Maeander, al-Mundhir, and Jephthah.

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(*Apollodorus, Epitome, VII. 4-9*)

Stories like that of Ulysses and Polyphemus have been recorded in modern times among many widely separated peoples. So close is the resemblance between the various versions of the tale that they must all apparently be derived from a common original, whether that original was the narrative in the *Odyssey*, or, more probably, a still older folk-tale which Homer incorporated in his epic. Some of these parallel versions were collected by Wilhelm Grimm about

¹ J. Bolte und G. Polívka, *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm*, i. (Leipsic, 1913), pp. 16 sq. As to stories of this type, see further E. Cosquin, *Contes populaires de Lorraine*, ii. 218 sqq.; W. Baumgartner, "Jephtas Gelübde," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, xviii. (1915), pp. 240-249.

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the middle of the nineteenth century,¹ but many others have since come to light.²

(1) The oldest of the modern versions of the Polyphemus story occurs in a mediæval collection of tales which was written in or soon after 1184 A.D. by a monk, John, of the Cistercian Abbey of Haute-Seille (Alta Silva) in Lorraine. The book, dedicated to Bertrand, Bishop of Metz, is composed in very fair Latin and bears the title of *Dolopathos sive de Rege et Septem Sapientibus*. It was lost for centuries, but in 1864 a manuscript copy of the work was discovered by A. Mussafia in the Royal Library at Vienna. Subsequent research brought to light several other manuscripts at Vienna, Innsbruck, and Luxemburg, and in 1873 a complete edition of the book was published by H. Oesterley at Strasbourg.³ Meantime the work had long been known to scholars

¹ Wilhelm Grimm, *Die Sage von Polyphem* (Berlin, 1857) (reprinted from the *Abhandlungen der königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1857). The versions recorded by Grimm are summarized by W. W. Merry in his edition of Homer, *The Odyssey, Books I–XII* (Oxford, 1876), pp. 546–550.

² See A. van Gennep, "La Légende de Polyphème," *Religions, Mœurs, et Légendes* (Paris, 1908), pp. 155–164. In this essay the learned author reviews a work by O. Hackman, *Die Polyphemsage in der Volksüberlieferung* (Helsingfors, 1904), which I have not seen. From M. van Gennep's notice of it, I gather that Mr. Hackman has collected, analysed, and classified no less than two hundred and twenty-one popular variations of the tale. Very many versions are referred to by Messrs. J. Bolte and G. Polívka in their erudite *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm* iii. (Leipzig, 1918), pp. 374–378. Thus the versions quoted by me in the following pages form apparently only a small part of those which are on record. But they may suffice to illustrate the wide diffusion of the tale and the general similarity of the versions.

³ Joannes de Alta Silva, *Dolopathos sive de Rege et Septem Sapientibus*, herausgegeben von Hermann Oesterley (Strassburg, Karl J. Trübner, 1873). A more recent edition is that of A. Hilka (Heidelberg, 1913). Of the manuscripts the one now in the Athenæum at Luxemburg is the oldest and most complete; it was written in the thirteenth century and

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through a metrical French translation which was written somewhere between the years 1222 and 1226 A.D. by a certain trouvère named Herbers. Considerable extracts from the poem, amounting to about a third of the whole, were published, with a prose analysis, by Le Roux de Lincy in 1838;¹ but the complete poem was first edited, from two manuscripts in the Imperial (now the National) Library in Paris, by Charles Brunet and Anatole de Montaiglon in 1856.²

This mediæval collection of stories, called *Dolopathos*, whether in its original Latin form or in the metrical French translation, is clearly based, directly or indirectly, on an older mediæval collection of tales called *The Book of Sindibad* or *The Seven Sages*, of which versions exist in many languages, both Oriental and European;³ for not only is the general

alone contains the author's dedication and preface. It formerly belonged to the Abbey of Orval (Aurea Vallis) in the diocese of Trèves and was removed, with the rest of the library, for safety to Luxemburg at the time when the Abbey was sacked by the French in 1793. As to the date of *Dolopathos*, see Oesterley's preface, p. xi. The monkish author's orthography is not equal to his diction and style. He uses such forms as *michi* for *mihi*, *nichil* for *nihil*, *herbe* for *herbae*, *nephas* for *nefas*, *etas* for *aetas*, *que* for *quae*, &c.

¹ Le Roux de Lincy, *Roman de Sept Sages de Rome*, printed as an appendix or introduction to A. Loiseleur Deslongchamps's *Essai sur les Fables Indiennes et sur leur Introduction en Europe* (Paris, 1838), but paged separately. The analysis and the extracts include the tale of Polyphemus (pp. 133-135, 239-251), who, however, is not mentioned by name, being simply referred to as "the giant."

² *Li Romans de Dolopathos, publié pour la première fois par Charles Brunet et Anatole de Montaiglon* (Paris, 1856). For the story of Polyphemus (who is not mentioned by name), see pp. 284-295. As to the date of this metrical translation see the editors' preface, pp. xvii-xix.

³ As to *The Book of Sindibad* or *The Seven Sages*, see A. Loiseleur Deslongchamps, *Essai sur les Fables Indiennes et sur leur Introduction en Europe*, pp. 80 sqq.; J. Dunlop, *Geschichte der Prosadichtungen, übertragen von Felix Liebrecht* (Berlin, 1851), pp. 196 sqq.; D. Comparetti, *Researches concerning the Book of Sindibad* (London, 1882), pp. 1 sqq.

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framework or plan of *Dolopathos* the same with that of *Sindibad* or *The Seven Sages*, but out of the eight stories which it contains, three are identical with those included in the earlier work.¹ Among the tales which the two collections have in common the story of Polyphemus is not one, for it appears only in *Dolopathos*.

As told by the author of *Dolopathos* the story of Polyphemus diverges in certain remarkable features from the Homeric account, and since some of these divergences occur in popular versions of the story recorded among various peoples, we may reasonably infer that John de Haute-Seille herein followed oral tradition rather than the Homeric version of the tale.² At the same time he certainly appears to have been acquainted with the *Odyssey*; for he not only mentions Polyphemus

The fullest of the versions is the mediaeval Greek version known as *Syntipas*, of which a critical edition was published by A. Eberhard at Leipsic in 1872 (*Fabulae Romanenses Graece conscriptae*, volumen prius, Leipsic, Teubner, 1872). This version purports to be translated from the Syriac, and a Syriac version was published with a German translation by Fr. Baethgen in 1879 (*Sindban oder Die Sieben Weisen Meister, syrisch und deutsch*, von Friederich Baethgen, Leipsic, 1879); but this version can hardly be the one which Andreopoulos translated into Greek, since it is somewhat shorter. Compare D. Comparetti, *op. cit.* p. 63 note, who has made it probable (pp. 53 *sqq.*) that the Greek version (*Syntipas*) was made towards the end of the eleventh century by order of Gabriel, Duke of Melitene. A French translation of the Syriac version was published by F. Macler in 1903 (*Contes Syriaques, Histoire de Sindban, mise en français* par Frédéric Macler, Paris, 1903). The same scholar has since published a French translation of an Armenian version, which seems to have been made from the Latin. See *La version Arménienne de l'Histoire des Sept Sages de Rome, mise en français* par Frédéric Macler (Paris, 1919).

¹ H. Oesterley, preface to his edition of *Dolopathos*, pp. xiii *sqq.*

² It is the opinion of Oesterley, his editor, that in general John drew the materials for his work rather from oral tradition than from literary sources. See H. Oesterley's preface, pp. xii *sqq.*

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by name but speaks of Circe, daughter of the Sun, and how she transformed the companions of Ulysses into diverse beasts.¹

The story of Polyphemus, as recorded in *Dolopathos*, runs as follows :—

A famous robber, who had lived to old age and accumulated vast riches in the exercise of his profession, resolved to devote the remainder of his days to the practice of virtue, and in pursuance of that laudable resolution he excited by his exemplary conduct the wonder and admiration of all who remembered the crimes and atrocities of his earlier life. Being invited by the queen to recount the greatest perils and adventures which he had met with in his career of brigandage, he spoke thus : “ Once on a time we heard that a giant, who owned great sums of gold and silver, dwelt in a solitary place about twenty miles distant from the abodes of men. Lured by the thirst for gold, a hundred of us robbers assembled together and proceeded with much ado to his dwelling. Arrived there, we had the pleasure of finding him not at home, so we carried off all the gold and silver on which we could lay hands. We were returning home, easy in our minds, when all of a sudden the giant with nine others comes upon us and takes us prisoners, the more shame to us that a hundred men should be captured by ten. They divided us among them, and, as ill luck would have it, I and nine others fell to the share of the one whose riches we had just been lifting. So he tied our hands behind our backs and drove us like so many sheep to his cave ; now his stature exceeded thirteen cubits. We offered to pay a great sum as ransom, but he mockingly replied that the only ransom he would accept was our flesh. With that he seized the fattest of our number, cut his throat, and rending him limb by limb, threw him into the pot to boil. He treated the rest of us, all but me, in the same fashion, and to crown it all he forced me to eat of every one of them. Why dwell on the painful subject ? When it came to my turn to have my throat cut, I pretended to be a doctor and promised that, if he spared my life, I would heal his eyes, which ached dreadfully. He agreed to these terms for my medical services, and told me to be quick about it. So I

¹ Joannes de Alta Silva, *Dolopathos sive de Rege et Septem Sapientibus*, herausgegeben von H. Oesterley, pp. 71, 99.

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took a pint of oil and set it on the fire, and stirring it up with a good dose of lime, salt, sulphur, arsenic, and anything else I could think of that was most injurious and destructive to the eyes, I compounded a salve, and when it was nicely on the boil, I tipped the whole of it on the patient's head. The boiling oil, streaming over every inch of his body, peeled him like an onion; his skin shrivelled up, his sinews stiffened, and what little sight he had left he lost completely. And there he was, like a man in a fit, rolling his huge body about on the floor, roaring like a lion and bellowing like a bull—a really horrid sight. After long rolling about and finding no ease to his pain, he grips his cudgel like a madman and goes groping and fumbling about for me, thumping the walls and the floor like a battering-ram. Meantime what was I to do? and whither could I fly? On every side the house was walled in by the most solid masonry, the only way out was by the door, and even that was barred with bolts of iron. So while he was tearing about after me in every corner, the only thing for me to do was to climb up a ladder to the roof and catch hold of a beam, and there I hung to it by my hands for a whole day and night. When I could bear it no longer, I had just to come down and dodge between the giant's legs and among his flock of sheep. For you must know that he had a thousand sheep and counted them every day. And while he kept a fat one he used to let the others go to grass; and whether it was his skill or his witchery I know not, but at evening they would all come trooping back of themselves, and he got the full tale. So when he was counting them and letting them out as usual, I tried to escape by wrapping me in the shaggy fleece of a ram and fixing his horns on my head; and in that guise I mingled with the flock that was going out. On my turn coming to be counted, he feels me all over, and finding me fat, he keeps me back, saying, 'To-day I'll fill my empty belly on you.' Seven times did I thus pass under his hands, seven times did he keep me back, yet every time I gave him the slip. At last, when I came under his hand once more, he drove me in a rage out of the door, saying, 'Go and be food for the wolves, you who have so often deceived your master.' When I was about a stone's throw off, I began to mock him because I had outwitted him so often and made my escape. But he drew a gold ring from his finger and said, 'Take that for a reward; for it is not meet

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that a guest should go without a gift from a man like me.' I took the proffered ring and put it on my finger, and at once I was bewitched by some devilry or other and began to shout, 'Here I am! Here I am!' Thereupon, blind though he was, guided by the sound of my voice, he came tearing along, bounding over the smaller bushes, sometimes stumbling and collapsing like a landslide. When he was nearly up to me, and I could neither stop shouting nor tear the ring from my finger, I was forced to cut off the finger with the ring and to fling it at him. Thus by the loss of a finger did I save my whole body from imminent destruction."¹

This version differs from the Homeric account in several important respects. It represents the giant as merely bleary-eyed instead of one-eyed; it describes the blinding of him as effected by a stratagem which the hero of the tale practises on the giant with his own consent instead of as a violence done to him in his sleep; and it adds an entirely new episode in the trick of the magic ring and the consequent sacrifice of the hero's finger. These discrepancies, which recur, as we shall see, in other versions, confirm the view that the source from which the monk John drew the story was oral tradition rather than the narrative in the *Odyssey*.

(2) All the distinctive features which we have just remarked in the version of John of Haute-Seille meet us again in a West Highland version of the story, which was told by a blind fiddler in the island of Islay. It runs thus: A certain man called Conall Cra Bhuidhe undertook with the help of his sons to steal the brown horse of the King of Lochlann; but in the attempt they were caught by the king, who would have hanged them, if Conall had not saved their lives by telling the story of his adventures. One of his adventures was like

¹ Joannes de Alta Silva, *Dolopathos sive de Rege et Septem Sapientibus*, herausgegeben von H. Oesterley, pp. 66-68; *id.*, herausgegeben von A. Hilka (Heidelberg, 1913), pp. 73-75. There are a few minor discrepancies in the texts of these editions. According to Oesterley's text, the hero was obliged to cut off (*abscidere*) his finger; according to Hilka's text, he was compelled to bite it off (*dentibus abscidere*). The word *dentibus* is wanting in the Luxemburg manuscript. The parallel versions are in favour of cutting off, as against biting off, the finger. See below, pp. 412, 413 *sq.*, 415, 416, 418, 419, 421, 422.

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that of Ulysses in the cave of Polyphemus. "I was there as a young lad," said Conall, "and I went out hunting, and my father's land was beside the sea, and it was rough with rocks and caves and chasms. When I was going on the shore, I saw a smoke curling up between two rocks, and while I was looking at it, I fell; but the place was so full of manure that neither skin nor bone was broken. Then I heard a great clattering, and what was there but a great giant and two dozen of goats with him, and a buck at their head? And when the giant had tied the goats, he came up and he said to me, 'Ho, Conall, it's long since my knife is rusting in my pouch waiting for thy tender flesh.' 'Och,' said I, 'it's not much thou wilt be bettered by me, though thou shouldst tear me asunder; I will make but one meal for thee. But I see thou art one-eyed. I am a good leech, and I will give thee the sight of the other eye.' The giant went and he drew the great cauldron on the site of the fire. I told him how to heat the water so that I should give its sight to the other eye. I got heather, and I made a rubber of it, and I set him upright in the cauldron. I began at the eye that was well, pretending to him that I would give its sight to the other one, till I left them as bad as each other; and surely it was easier to spoil the one that was well than to give sight to the other.

"When he saw that he could not see at all, and when I myself said to him that I would get out in spite of him, he gave a spring out of the water and stood at the mouth of the cave, and he said that he would have revenge for the sight of his eye. I had to stay there crouched all night, holding my breath that he might not feel where I was. When he heard the birds calling in the morning, and knew that it was day, he said, 'Art thou sleeping? Awake and let out my goats.' I killed the buck. He cried, 'I will not believe that thou art killing my buck.' 'I am not,' said I, 'but the ropes are so tight that I take long to loose them.' I let out one of the goats, and he caressed her, and he said to her, 'There thou art, thou shaggy white goat, and thou seest me, but I see thee not.' I let them out one by one, as I flayed the buck, and before the last one was out I had flayed him bag-wise. Then I put my legs in place of his legs, and my hands in place of his fore legs, and my head in place of his head, and the horns on top of my head, so that the brute might think that it was the buck. I went out. When I

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was going out, the giant laid his hand on me, and he said, 'There thou art, my pretty buck; thou seest me, but I see thee not.' When I myself got out, and I saw the world about me, surely, oh King! joy was on me.

"When I was out and had shaken the skin off me, I said to the brute, 'I am out now in spite of thee.' 'Aha!' said he, 'hast thou done this to me? Since thou wert so stalwart that thou hast got out, I will give thee a ring that I have here, and keep the ring, and it will do thee good.' 'I will not take the ring from thee,' said I, 'but throw it, and I will take it with me.' He threw the ring on the flat ground, I went myself and I lifted the ring, and I put it on my finger. Then he said, 'Does the ring fit thee?' I said to him, 'It does.' He said, 'Where art thou, ring?' And the ring said, 'I am here.' The brute came towards where the ring was speaking, and now I saw that I was in a harder case than ever I was. I drew a dirk. I cut off my finger, and I threw it from me as far as I could on the loch, and the place was very deep. He shouted, 'Where art thou, ring?' And the ring said, 'I am here,' though it was at the bottom of the ocean. He gave a leap after the ring, and down he went in the sea. I was pleased when I saw him drowning, and when he was drowned I went in, and I took with me all he had of gold and silver, and I went home, and surely great joy was on my people when I arrived. And as a sign for thee, look thou, the finger is off me."¹

(3) In another Highland story, recorded in Argyllshire, a one-eyed giant carries the hero of the tale into his cave, intending to devour him; but with the help of a king's daughter, whom the giant had detained for seven years, the hero contrives to blind the monster by thrusting a red-hot bar into his single eye while he sleeps. There is no mention of sheep or goats in this story, and the episode of the talking ring is also absent.²

¹ J. F. Campbell, *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, New Edition, I (Paisley and London, 1890), pp. 105-114 (Tale V). I have slightly abridged the story and changed a few words for the sake of the English idiom.

² D. MacInnes, *Folk and Hero Tales* (London, 1890), pp. 263, 265, 267 (*Waijs and Strays of Celtic Tradition*, *Argyllshire Series*, No. II).

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(4) The incident of the ring and the severed finger occurs also in two Basque stories of the same type. One of them was told by the parish priest of Esquiule, in La Soule, as follows :

“ In my infancy I often heard from my mother the story of the Tartaro. He was a Colossus, with only one eye in the middle of his forehead. He was a shepherd and a hunter, but a hunter of men. Every day he ate a sheep ; then, after a snooze, everyone who had the misfortune to fall into his hands. His dwelling was a huge barn, with thick walls, a high roof, and a very strong door, which he alone knew how to open. His mother, an old witch, lived in one corner of the garden, in a hut constructed of turf.

“ One day a powerful young man was caught in the snares of the Tartaro, who carried him off to his house. This young man saw the Tartaro eat a whole sheep, and he knew that he was accustomed to take a snooze, and then after that his own turn would come. In his despair he said to himself that he must do something. Directly the Tartaro began to snore he put the spit into the fire, made it red-hot, and plunged it into the giant's one eye. Immediately he leapt up, and began to run after the man who had injured him ; but it was impossible to find him. ‘ You shall not escape. It is all very well to hide yourself,’ said he, ‘ but I alone know the secret how to open this door.’

“ The Tartaro opened the door half-way, and let the sheep out between his legs. The young man takes the big bell off the ram, and puts it round his neck, and throws over his body the skin of the sheep which the giant had just eaten, and walks on all fours to the door. The Tartaro examines him by feeling him, perceives the trick, and clutches hold of the skin ; but the young man slips off the skin, dives between his legs, and runs off.

“ Immediately the mother of the Tartaro meets him, and says to him : ‘ O, you lucky young fellow ! You have escaped the cruel tyrant ; take this ring as a remembrance of your escape.’ He accepts, puts the ring on his finger, and immediately the ring begins to cry out, ‘ *Heben nuk ! Heben nuk !* ’ (‘ Thou hast me here ! Thou hast me here ! ’) The Tartaro pursues, and is on the point of catching him, when the young man, maddened with fright, and not being able to pull off the ring, takes out his knife, and cuts off his

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own finger, and throws it away, and thus escapes the pursuit of the Tartaro."¹

(5) Another Basque story of the same sort was told by Jean Sallaber of Aussurucq as follows :

Two soldiers of the same district, having got their furlough, were returning home on foot together. Night fell as they were traversing a great forest. But in the twilight they perceived a smoke in the distance, so they turned their steps towards it and discovered a poor hovel. They knocked at the door, and a voice from within answered, "Who is there?" "Two friends," they answered. "What do you want?" asked the voice. "A lodging for the night," they replied. The door opened, they were admitted, and then the door closed. Brave as the soldiers were, they were yet terrified at finding themselves in the presence of a Basa-Jaun. He had the figure of a man, but was all covered with hair, and had a single eye in the middle of his forehead.

The Basa-Jaun set food before them, and when they had finished their supper, he weighed them and said to the heavier, "You will do for to-night, and the other for to-morrow"; and without more ado he ran a big spit through the fatter of the two, without even stripping him of his clothes, and after setting him to roast on the spit before a great fire, he ate him up. The other was in a sad fright, not knowing what to do to save his life.

Having made a hearty meal, the Basa-Jaun fell asleep. Immediately the soldier laid hold of the spit which had served to roast his comrade, heated it red-hot in the fire, and plunging it into the eye of the Basa-Jaun, blinded him. Howling aloud, the Basa-Jaun ran about everywhere to find the stranger; but the soldier had made haste to hide in the fold, among the sheep of the Basa-Jaun; for he could not get out, because the door was shut.

Next morning the Basa-Jaun opened the door of the fold, and, wishing to catch the soldier, he made all the sheep, on their way out, pass one by one between his legs. But the soldier had conceived the idea of skinning a sheep and clothing himself in its fleece, in order that the blinded giant should not catch him. As the Basa-Jaun felt all the sheep,

¹ Wentworth Webster, *Basque Legends* (London, 1879), pp. 4 sq.

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the skin of the flayed one remained in his hands, and he thought that the man had passed out under it.

The soldier did escape, and very glad he was to do so. But the Basa-Jaun ran after him as well as he could, crying, "Hold, take this ring, in order that, when you are at home, you may be able to tell what a marvel you have done!" And with that he threw him the ring. The soldier picked it up and put it on his finger; but the ring began to speak and to say, "Here I am! Here I am!" Away ran the soldier, and the blinded monster after him. At last, worn out with his flight, and fearing to be overtaken by the Basa-Jaun, the soldier would have thrown the ring into a stream, but he could not wrench it from his finger. So he cut off the finger and threw it with the ring into the stream. From the bottom of the river the ring continued to cry, "Here I am! Here I am!" and hearing the cry the Basa-Jaun rushed into the water and was drowned. Then the soldier crossed the stream on a bridge and escaped, very happy, to his home.¹

(6) The episode of the talking ring and the severed finger occurs also in a Rumanian story of the same type. In it a man sends his three sons out with the flock of sheep and warns them not to answer if anyone should hail them by night. But they neglect his warning, and in the night, when a voice has hailed them thrice, they all answer, "Here we are." A giant now appears and calls to them to roast their fattest wether for him, because he is hungry. When the wether is roasted, the giant swallows it at a gulp, and orders the three brothers to follow him with the flock. He leads them to his home, where they are obliged to leave the sheep in the walled courtyard. When they enter the giant's house, they bid him good evening, but he answers that the eldest brother will serve him for supper that same evening, that the second brother will do the same the next evening, and that the youngest brother will be kept for the next day but one. He then made up a big fire, hung a huge kettle over it, and lay down to sleep, after telling the brothers to wake him when the water should boil. They did so accordingly, whereupon he seized the eldest brother, threw him into the kettle, boiled him till he was tender, and then ate

¹ J. Vinson, *Le Folk-lore du pays Basque* (Paris, 1883), pp. 42-45.

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him. Thereupon he put water to boil on the fire again and lay down, with an injunction to wake him at the time appointed. But the youngest brother skimmed off the fat of his boiled brother as it floated on the water, and having got it he secreted it. The giant slept till evening, then waking from his nap he seized the second brother and devoured him. A third time he set water on the fire, ordering the surviving brother to waken him as usual. Meantime the survivor found a tripod in the kitchen, set his brother's fat on it, and roasted it over the fire. Then he flung the roasted fat and the tripod at the sleeping giant, thus putting out both his eyes. Up started the giant in a fury and tried to catch the young man, but the youth threw him off the scent by dropping nuts, which he had in his wallet, one after the other on the floor. In his blind rage the giant seized the latch and wrenched the door open. The young man darted out into the courtyard, slaughtered a ram, and crept into its skin. Not suspecting the trick, the giant now opened the gate of the courtyard and let the sheep out one by one in the hope of catching his prisoner when he should attempt to escape. But the disguised youth slipped through and called out mockingly to the giant, "Now you can do nothing to me." Then the giant, making believe to be friendly, called after him, "Take this ring from my little finger for a memorial." The young man picked it up and put it on. Then the ring began to call out, "This way, blind man, this way!" Away ran the youth and the giant after him. The fugitive reached the water first, but the giant was close on his heels; so the young man cut off his own finger with the ring on it, and threw it into the waves. As the ring continued to call out, "This way, blind man, this way!" the giant leaped into the water and was drowned.¹

(7) The episode of an enchanted, though not talking, ring and a severed finger, meets us in two Italian stories of this type. One of them, recorded in the Abruzzo, tells of two brothers who were going to a fair. As they were crossing a rugged mountain, night overtook them. They saw a gleam of light in a cave, and approaching they called out, "Master of the house, will you give us shelter?" A voice

¹ W. Grimm, *Die Sage von Polyphem*, pp. 15 sq., referring to Franz Obert (*Ausland*, 29, 717).

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from within answered, "Wait." They waited, and out came a giant who had an eye in his forehead. He said, "Pray come in. Here there is no lack of anything." The two brothers went in, but they were all of a tremble, all the more because Eye-in-his-forehead shut the door with a bolt which not a hundred men could lift. Standing in front of the fire, Eye-in-his-forehead said to the two brothers, "I have a hundred sheep, but the year is long, and we must be as thrifty as may be. So which shall we eat first? Little Brother or Big Brother? You may cast lots for it." The two brothers cast lots, and the lot fell on Big Brother. So Big Brother was stuck on a spit and set on the hot coals. While Eye-in-his-forehead turned the spit, he said in an undertone, "Big Brother to-day, Little Brother to-morrow." Little Brother racked his brains to think how he could escape from the danger. Meantime Big Brother was roasted, and Eye-in-his-forehead began to eat him. He wished Little Brother to eat too, and Little Brother pretended to eat, but he threw the meat behind his back. Dinner over, Eye-in-his-forehead went to sleep in the straw, but Little Brother remained beside the fire. When he perceived that Eye-in-his-forehead snored, he heated the point of the spit red-hot and thrust it, fizzing, into the giant's eye. The giant started up to catch Little Brother, but Little Brother nimbly mixed with the sheep, and though the giant searched the sheep, feeling them one by one, he could not discover the fugitive. However, he said, "I'll catch him at break of day." Little Brother thought it was all up with him unless he could hit on some dodge or other. So he killed the ram, skinned it, and dressed himself in the skin. At break of day Eye-in-his-forehead removed the bolt and stood straddling in the doorway. And first of all he called for the ram with the bell on its neck. Little Brother came forward, jingling the bell and going on all fours. As he passed between the legs of Eye-in-his-forehead, the giant caressed him, and so he did to the rest of the sheep. But groping about in the cave he lighted on the carcass of the ram which Little Brother had killed and skinned. Then he perceived the trick which Little Brother had played him, and sniffing about in his direction he threw him an enchanted ring. Little Brother picked it up and put it on his finger, but having done so he found himself compelled, instead of running away, to draw

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near to the giant. In vain he tried to pull the ring from his finger; the ring would not budge. So in order not to fall into the hands of Eye-in-his-forehead he cut off the finger on which was the ring, and threw it in the face of the giant who ate it and said to Little Brother, "At least I have tasted you."¹

(8) Another Italian version of the story, recorded at Pisa, tells of a man of Florence who set out on his travels. On the way he picked up a curate and a workman, and the three agreed to try their fortunes together. Walking through a wood for a long time, they came at last to a very fine palace and knocked at the door. A giant opened the door in person and asked them where they were going. "Oh, just taking a turn," said they. "Very well," said the giant, "just turn in here. There's a vacancy in the curacy of my parish, and a vacancy in my workshop, and I'll find some job or other for him," alluding to the Florentine. All three closed with the offer, and put up in the giant's house. He gave them a room and said, "To-morrow I'll give you your jobs to do." Next day the giant came to them, took the curate, and led him away to another chamber. Instigated by the passion of curiosity, the Florentine followed on tiptoe, and applying his eye to the keyhole of the chamber in which the curate was getting his job, he saw the giant showing him some leaves, and while the clergyman was looking at them, what does the giant do but whip out a scimitar, and in less than no time he had the curate's head off and his body in a grave, which was in the chamber. "Good idea of mine to come here," thought the Florentine to himself. When they were at dinner, the giant said, "The curate has got his job. Now I'll give the workman his." So after dinner he led the workman to the same chamber. The Florentine followed as before, and again applying his eye to the keyhole, he saw the giant taking some leaves from his writing-desk and showing them to the workman, and while the workman was gazing at them, the giant performed the sword-trick once more. "My turn next," thought the Florentine to himself.

That evening at supper the giant remarked that the work-

¹ Antonio de Nino, *Usi e Costumi Abruzzesi* (Florence, 1879-1883), III. 305-307.

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man had got his job, and that he, the giant, would soon find a job for the Florentine too. But the Florentine had no wish to do the job in question, and he cudgelled his brains as to how he could get out of it. At last he thought of a plan. It happened that one of the giant's eyes was defective; so he said to the giant, "What a pity that with that fine figure of yours you should have such an eye! But look here, I know a cure for it, it is a certain herb which I have seen here in the meadow." "Really?" said the giant, "here in the meadow? Then let's go and find it." When they were in the meadow, the Florentine picked up the first herb he saw, and bringing it back with him put it in a pot of oil, which he set on the fire. When the oil was boiling, the Florentine said to the giant, "I warn you that the pain will be great; but you must keep steady, and it will be well that I should tie you to this marble table, for otherwise the operation will turn out ill." The giant, who was bent on having his bad eye put right, told the Florentine to tie away. The Florentine did as he was desired, and then poured the boiling oil on both the giant's eyes. "You have blinded me," roared the giant; but the other stole softly down the stair, opened the door, and cut away. The giant had now lost both his eyes, but such was his strength that he rose to his feet with the marble table on his back, and made after his foe. "Come here! Come here!" he cried, "fear not. At least take a keepsake." And he threw a ring to the Florentine, who picked it up and put it on his finger. But no sooner had he done so than his finger was turned to marble, and he could not budge from the spot. In vain did he tug at the ring; he could not stir it from his finger. And now the giant was all but up with him. In despair the fugitive drew a knife, which he had in his pocket, and cut off his finger. Then he could move again, and away he tore, and the giant, encumbered by the table on his shoulders, could not catch him up. The wanderer reached Florence in a state of exhaustion, and by this time he had had enough of it. The wish to scour the world and to tell of his travels never came back on him.¹ In this version we miss the characteristic episode of the hero's escape under a ram or clad in a sheepskin.

¹ D. Comparetti, *Novelline popolari Italiane* (Rome, Turin, and Florence, 1875), No. 44, pp. 192-195.

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(9) A Serbian story of this type relates how a priest and his scholar were once walking through a great mountainous region when night overtook them. Seeing a fire burning in a cave some way off, they made for it. On reaching the cave they found nobody in it except a giant with one eye in his forehead. They asked him if he would let them enter, and he answered "Yes." But the mouth of the cave was blocked with a huge stone, which a hundred men could not have stirred. The giant arose, lifted the stone, and let them in. Then he rolled back the stone into the mouth of the cave and kindled a great fire. The travellers sat down beside it and warmed themselves. When they had done so, the giant felt their necks in order to know which was the fatter, that he might kill and roast him. Finding the parson the fatter of the two, he knocked him on the head, stuck him on a spit, and roasted him over the fire. When he was done to a turn, the giant invited the scholar to partake of the roasted flesh, and though the scholar protested that he was not hungry, the giant forced him to take a mouthful, which, however, he spat out on the sly. Having eaten his fill, the giant composed himself to slumber beside the fire. While he slept, the scholar sharpened a stick and thrusting it into the giant's eye, blinded him. "You have robbed me of my one eye," roared the giant, "because I had not the sense to put out both of yours. But no matter. Thank God, you will not escape me." He groped about in the cave, but could not find the scholar, because there were many sheep in it, and the scholar had drawn a ram's skin over his body and in that disguise had mingled with the flock. Then the giant went to the mouth of the cave, pushed the great stone a little aside, and let the sheep pass out, one after the other, and the scholar in the ram's skin slipped out with them. Having escaped into the open, he cried to the giant, "Seek for me no more. I am out." When the giant saw that his prisoner had given him the slip, he held out a staff to him, saying, "Though you have escaped me, take this staff to shepherd the sheep with; for without it you will not get a single sheep to budge." The simple scholar took it, and no sooner had he touched it than one of his fingers clave fast to the staff. He now gave himself up for lost and began to run round and round the giant, till he remembered that he had his clasp-knife on him.

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Whipping it out, he cut off the finger that clave to the staff, and so he escaped. Afterwards, driving the flock before him, he mocked and jeered at the blinded giant, who pursued him till he came to the edge of the water, into which he fell and was drowned.¹

(10) A Russian story, which belongs to the same class, tells how once upon a time there was a smith. "Well now," says he, "I've never set eyes on any harm. They say there's evil (*likho*) in the world. I'll go and seek out evil." So he went and started in search of evil, and on the way he met a tailor, who agreed to join him in the search. Well, they walked and walked till they came to a dark, dense forest, and in the forest they found a narrow path, and along the path they walked till they saw a large cottage standing before them. It was night, and there was nowhere else to go to. So they went in. There was nobody there. All looked bare and squalid. They sat down, and remained sitting there some time. Presently in came a tall woman, lank, crooked, with only one eye. "Ah!" says she, "I've visitors. Good day to you." "Good day, grandmother. We've come to pass the night under your roof." "Very good: I shall have something to sup on."

Thereupon they were greatly terrified. As for her, she went and fetched a great heap of firewood. She flung it into the stove, and set it alight. Then she took the tailor, cut his throat, trussed him, and put him in the oven. When she had finished her supper, the smith looked at the oven and said, "Granny, I'm a smith." "What can you forge?" "Anything." "Make me an eye." "Good," says he; "but have you got any cord? I must tie you up, or you won't keep still. I shall have to hammer your eye in."

She went and fetched two cords, one rather thin, the other thicker. Well, he bound her with the thinner, but she broke it. So he took the thick cord, and tied her up with it famously. She wriggled and writhed, but break it she could not. Then he took an awl, heated it red-hot, and applied the point of it to her sound eye, while he hammered away at the other end with a hatchet. She struggled like anything and broke the

¹ W. S. Karadschitsch, *Volksmärchen der Serben* (Berlin, 1854), No. 38, pp. 222-225; F. S. Krauss, *Sagen und Märchen der Südslaven* (Leipsic, 1883), No. 5, Vol. I, pp. 170-173.

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cord ; then she went and sat down at the threshold. " Ah, villain ! " she cried, " you shan't get away from me now."

By and by the sheep came home from afield, and she drove them into her cottage for the night. Well, the smith spent the night there, too. In the morning she got up to let the sheep out. He took his sheep-skin pelisse and turned it inside out, so that the wool was outside, passed his arms through its sleeves, and pulled it well over him, and then crept up to her as if he had been a sheep. She let the flock go out one at a time, catching hold of each by the wool on its back, and shoving it out. Well, he came creeping up like the rest. She caught hold of the wool on his back and shoved him out. But as soon as she had shoved him out, he stood up and cried, " Farewell, Likho ! I have suffered much evil (*likho*) at your hands. No, you can do nothing to me." " Wait a bit ! " she replied, " you shall endure still more."

The smith went back through the forest along the narrow path. Presently he saw a golden-handled hatchet sticking in a tree, and he felt a strong desire to seize it. Well, he did seize that hatchet, and his hand stuck fast to it. What was to be done ? There was no freeing it anyhow. He gave a look behind him. There was Likho coming after him and crying, " There you are, villain ! you've not got off yet." The smith pulled out a knife and began hacking away at his hand ; he cut it clean off and ran away. When he reached his village, he showed the stump of his arm as a proof that he had seen Likho at last.¹

(11) A story which resembles this Russian tale in some points is told by the Esthonians. They call the farm-servant who has the superintendence of barns and corn the Barn-carl (*Riegenkerl*).² One day when a Barn-carl sat casting knobs in a mould, up comes to him the devil, bids him good-day, and asks him what he is doing. " I am casting eyes," says the Barn-carl. " Eyes ? " quoth the devil. " Can you cast new eyes for me ? " " Yes," says the Barn-carl, " but just at the moment I have no more in stock."

¹ W. R. S. Ralston, *Russian Folk-tales* (London, 1873), pp. 178-181 ; W. W. Strickland, *Russian and Bulgarian Folk-lore Stories* (London, 1907), pp. 38 sqq.

² Riege is " a building for drying corn spread out " (Lucas).

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"But perhaps you could do it some other time?" asks the devil. "That I could," says the Barn-carl. "When shall I come then?" asks the devil. "When you please," says the Barn-carl. Next day the devil came to get his new pair of eyes. "Do you want big eyes or small ones?" asks the Barn-carl. "Right big ones," says the devil. The man set a lump of lead to melt on the fire and said, "I can't mould you the eyes when you are like that. You must let yourself be tied up fast." With that he made the devil lie down on his back on a bench, took a strong cord, and bound him tight. When the devil was bound tight, he asked the Barn-carl, "What is your name?" "My name," he said, "is Myself" (*Issi*). "That's a good name," quoth the devil, "I never heard a better." By this time the lead was molten, and the devil opened his eyes wide, expecting to get new ones. "Here goes," quoth the Barn-carl, and with that he pours the molten lead on the devil's eyes. Up jumps the devil with the bench tied to his back and makes off at a run. Some people were ploughing in a field, and as the poor devil tore past them, they asked him, "Who did that to you?" "Myself did it," says he. They laughed. But the devil died of his new eyes, and has never been seen since.¹

Here the trick of "Myself" played by the Barn-carl on the devil resembles the trick of "Nobody" played by Ulysses on Polyphemus.

(12) A similar trick is played on a blinded giant in a Lapp tale, which in other respects resembles the Homeric story still more closely. Many hundred years ago, we are told, when there were still giants and trolls among the mountains and hills, a man might easily stumble on a troll against his will when he passed the boundary of his home-land. Well, it chanced once on a time that four Lapps, who had gone out to seek their reindeer, lost their way on the mountains. Three whole days and as many nights did they wander about without coming to a human habitation, and they were near dead with hunger and weariness when at last they spied a light that seemed to shine at the foot of a mountain, whose top reached the clouds. Joyfully they hastened to it, expecting to find a human dwelling. But when they reached

¹ W. Grimm, *Die Sage von Polyphem*, pp. 16 sq.; J. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, II. 858 sq.

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the foot of the mountain, they found that the light glimmered from a cave under the crag. After a moment's deliberation they resolved to enter the cave. When they had penetrated it might be a couple of musket shots into the bowels of the mountain, they found themselves in a great hall, of which the roof and the walls were of purest silver and so bright that you could see yourself in them as in a looking-glass. Not a human being was to be seen, but there were more than a hundred gigantic goats, both billy-goats and nanny-goats. In one corner of the hall there was a great hearth with a fire blazing merrily on it, and over the fire hung a prodigious big kettle with the flesh of a whole ox boiling in it. As the Lapps were very sharp set, they gathered round the kettle and began to eat the beef.

When they had satisfied their hunger, they put out the fire by pouring the hot water from the kettle on it, and having done so they filled the kettle with cold water. What was left of the beef in the kettle they hid. Then, poking about in the cave, they discovered great store of gold and silver and other precious things, but they did not dare to lay hands on them as not knowing to whom all these riches might belong. Suspecting that the owner might be no mere man, they made up their minds to quit the cave after they had rested a little from their weary wanderings. So they hid in a dark corner of the cave and fell asleep. Hardly had they done so when they were awakened by a noise so loud that they thought their last hour was come. Next moment they saw a man stride into the cave, and he was so big that they were all amazed, for they knew at once that he was a giant. To escape was impossible, and they made up their minds to keep quite still.

The giant stopped short in the middle of the cave and began to crinkle his nose and to sniff and snuff on all sides. "Very odd," he muttered at last, "it can't be that there should have been somebody here." Then he went up to the hearth, and, lifting the lid from the kettle, he looked in and was not a little surprised to find nothing in it but water. In a rage he flung the lid at the silver roof, where it stuck; then he began to rummage every corner and crevice of the cave. It was not long before he lit upon the terrified Lapps, dragged the biggest of them out, and threw him into the kettle to boil, forgetting that the kettle could not boil without fire. The

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rest of the Lapps he chained up to the wall of the cave, then lay down to sleep till the Lapp in the kettle should be boiled.

Not many minutes passed before he snored so loud that the mountain shook and the cinders danced on the hearth. Then the Lapp stepped out of the kettle, freed his comrades from their chains, and with them hastened to the mouth of the cave. But to their dismay they found that the giant had barred it with a stone so huge that all four of them could not stir it.

After laying their heads together for an hour they turned back into the cave, resolved by hook or crook to play the giant a trick. The beef which they had hidden they put into the kettle again, and the three Lapps went back to the places where the giant had chained them up; but the fourth Lapp hid behind a great coop near the door.

The giant now woke up and hurried to the kettle to see whether the Lapp were boiled, but not finding him in it he went to the other prisoners and threatened to knock them on the head out of hand if they did not tell him where their friend had gone. One of the Lapps swore that sure his friend must be in the kettle, and that the giant's eyes must be blear not to see him. "That would be odd," said the giant, who was a little ashamed of his hastiness, "but now that I think of it, I do believe that of late my sight has been a bit dim." "Well," said the Lapp, "a good eye-salve will soon set that right." "Can you make up such a salve?" asked the giant. "To be sure," says the Lapp; "as soon as you get my salve in your eyes you will see fifty miles just as well as fifty yards. But you must know that it smarts horribly." "No matter," says the giant, "just you make up the salve and let me have it as quick as may be." "With all my heart," says the Lapp, "if you will pay me well for it." "You shall live with me fourteen whole days," says the giant, "till I have eaten up your friends. But you must tell me your name, lest I should eat you up instead." The Lapp said that his name was Nobody, and the giant repeated it ten times to make quite sure that he should not forget it. A fire was now made on the hearth, the Lapp heated five pounds of lead on it, and when it was molten he poured it on the giant's eyes, which of course were quite put out by it.

The giant soon perceived that Nobody had tricked him, so he began to call his neighbour to help him to serve out the

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1.300 His neighbour came running and asked who had hurt him, that he howled so dolefully. "Nobody has done it," answered the giant. On that the neighbour, thinking that he was joking, flew into a rage and said, "Then you can help yourself. Don't call me another time, or it will be the worse for you." And with that he went away.

As he got no help from his neighbour, the giant now made shift to search the cave and catch his foes; but they hid behind the goats, so that he could not find them. After groping about in this way for a long time he came to see that the beasts were in the way of his search. So he went to the doorway, took away the big stone which served as a door, and let out the goats one by one, after making sure that none of the Lapps slipped out with them.

When the Lapps saw what he was up to, they killed four billy-goats with all speed, skinned them, and wrapped themselves up in the skins, after which they crawled out of the cave on hands and feet, taking as much gold and silver with them as they could carry. When the last Lapp was about to leave the cave, the giant detained him, caressed him, and stroked his back, saying, "My poor big billy-goat, you will now be without a master." After caressing the supposed billy-goat, he let him go; then he shut up the mouth of the cave with the big stone, and with a grin cried out, "Now I've got you in the trap! Now we shall see which of us can chouse the other best, my dear Mr. Nobody!"

Nobody knows what afterwards befel the silly giant. As like as not, he went round and round the cave looking for the Lapps, till he died of hunger.¹

(13) A Lapp variant of the preceding story runs as follows: Once on a time Slyboots² lost his way and came to the abode of a Stalo. This Stalo owned a house, a kitchen, and sheep. It was his way, whenever he got hold of a poor little oaf of a Lapp, to keep him by him for a time, so as to fatten him before he made a meal of him. He thought to do the same thing to Slyboots. But Slyboots thought of a dodge to blind

¹ J. C. Poestion, *Lappländische Märchen* (Vienna, 1886), No. 29, pp. 122-126.

² *Aschenputtel*, equivalent to the "Boots" of our fairy tales, a general name for the youngest son, who is supposed to be slyer than his elder brothers.

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the Stalo. So he made believe to be very sharp-sighted and to be able to see all sorts of funny things ever so far off. The Stalo glowered for all he was worth in the same direction, but could make out just nothing at all. "Look here, young man," says he, "however do you come to be so sharp-sighted?" "Oh," says Slyboots, "it's in this way. I let them drip a drop of lead in my eyes. That's why I am so sharp-sighted." "Oh, that's it, is it?" says the Stalo. "Come on, my dear chap, and pour a little molten lead in my eyes. I should so like to be as sharp-sighted as you." "I'll do it with all my heart," says Slyboots, "but you could not stand it, for it hurts rather." "Not stand it?" says the Stalo. "I'll stand anything to be as sharp-sighted as you."

So Slyboots must needs, as if against his will, pour lead into the Stalo's eyes. He made him lie on his back and poured the lead first into one eye. The Stalo whimpered, but said, "Look sharp, my dear fellow, and pour the lead into the other eye also." The young man did so. "Now," said he, "you will be blind for a while, till your eyes have grown accustomed to the change; but afterwards you will see like anything."

It was now arranged that so long as the Stalo was blind, the young man should take charge of the household. So he picked out a fat ram from the Stalo's sheep and slaughtered it, and next he took the Stalo's old dog and slaughtered him too. In the evening he boiled the fat mutton for himself in one pot, and in another pot he cooked the dog's flesh for the Stalo, and when all was ready he served up the dog's flesh to the Stalo in a trough, while he devoted his own attention to the mutton. The Stalo heard him pegging away and smacking his lips, while he himself could hardly get his teeth into the tough old dog's flesh. "Look here, young man," says he, "what's all that smacking and licking of the lips that I hear, while my jaws only creak and clatter?" But the Slyboots fobbed him off with some answer or other.

However it was not long before the Stalo perceived that Slyboots had made a fool of him, for the sharp sight which had been promised him was still to seek. In fact he was blind and remained so. So he now racked his brains to know how he could pay Slyboots off for the trick he had played him. At last one day he told Slyboots to go into the fold and count the sheep. "That's easily done," says

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Slyboots, and in he goes. But blind as the Stalo was, he came on the heels of Slyboots and set himself plump in the doorway. "Aha!" thinks he to himself, "now I've got you in the trap! you shan't slip from my claws!" But Slyboots was not so easily to be cast down. "Let all my sheep out, one after the other," said the Stalo, "but my big ram last of all." "All right," said the youth, "so be it." Then he let the sheep out between the legs of the Stalo, who stood straddling in the doorway. But Slyboots slaughtered the big ram and skinned him. And when it came to his turn, he put on the ram's skin and crawled on all fours between the Stalo's legs. "Aha!" said the Stalo, "that's my fine, fat ram!" and he clapped the supposed ram on the back. At last the Stalo said, "Now come out yourself, my fine fellow!" Then Slyboots cried to him from without, "I've been out ever so long."¹

(14) A Finnish tale of the same general type, but lacking some characteristic features of the Homeric story, is as follows. A poor ostler, named Gylpho, sets out to free three king's daughters, who are kept prisoners spellbound in a subterranean cave. He arrives in an iron chamber, where one of the princesses is watched by the old rock-spirit Kammo, who has a great horn on his head, and a single eye in the middle of his forehead. The monster smells human flesh, but the maiden contrives to lull his suspicions. His eye had grown dim, and the eyelashes had grown into it, so that he could not see the young man. The stove was heated, and beside it stood a great iron poker with which the rock-spirit used to poke the fire. Gylpho took it quietly, heated it red-hot, and then poked it into the spirit's eye. Up got Kammo and screamed so loud that the rocks echoed with the shriek. He groped about, but could not find his foe, who seized a chance of hewing off the spirit's head.²

(15) The Finnish scholar Castren records, with some surprise, that in Russian Karelia, which borders on Finland, he met with a tale like that of Ulysses and Polyphemus in Homer. The hero of the Karelian story is shut up in a castle, where

¹ J. C. Poestion, *Lappländische Märchen*, No. 36, pp. 152-154.

² W. Grimm, *Die Sage von Polyphem*, p. 17, referring to Bertram, *Finnische Volksmärchen und Sprichwörter*, p. 9.

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he is watched by a giant blind of one eye. In order to escape from the castle the Karelian hero resorts to the same stratagem as that to which the Greek hero had recourse in a similar plight. He pokes out the giant's eye by night, and next morning, when the giant sends out his sheep to graze, the hero hides himself under one of them, and so has the good luck to pass out of the castle gate.¹

(16) From Lithuania is reported a tale which bears a close, if not a suspicious, resemblance to the Homeric story. It runs thus. One day a ship put in to an island. The skipper landed with his crew. To cook their victuals they built a hearth of stones, and looking about for a big flat stone to serve as a hearth-stone, they spied just such a stone as they wanted at the foot of a mountain. Having pried it up by their united efforts, they saw to their surprise that the big smooth stone had covered a wide opening with steps leading down into a cave. They descended and soon saw that they were in a giant's house. The house was so huge that you could hardly see the vaulted roof, in the middle of which was an aperture that allowed the sunlight to enter and the smoke to escape.

While they were looking about, they heard a sudden rumbling, and soon a giant, tall as a tower, came down the steps, after closing the entrance with the big stone. Next he planted a whole forest of trees about the hearth and set them on fire. By the light of the fire the mariners saw to their horror that the giant had only one eye in the middle of his forehead. They tried to flee to the barred entrance, but the giant perceived them, seized one of them, and swallowed him at a gulp. The others he drove back into the inner part of the cave. Then he stirred the fire and began to milk the ewes, and next he set a huge kettle on the fire to boil the milk. When the milk boiled, he quaffed it, lay down on his bed of moss, and fell asleep. Soon he slept so soundly that the whole mountain quaked with his snoring.

The sailors now plucked up courage, and the skipper unfolded a plan for their salvation. He had noticed a great iron spit belonging to the giant. The point of it he soon heated red-hot in the fire, and then with the help of the crew he

¹ M. A. Castren, *Reisen im Norden* (Leipsic, 1853), pp. 98 sq.

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rammed it into the giant's eye. The glowing iron hissed, and the blood spouted up in a jet, falling back in drops that scalded like boiling water. Up started the giant, bellowing with pain, but though he groped and fumbled along the sides and floor of the cave, he could not catch his assailants, for they had hidden in the sheep-fold.

Thus baffled, the giant fell into a terrible fury, hurling the burning brands in all directions to set fire to his foes. But instead of igniting them he only set fire to his own mossy bed, and soon the cave was filled with such a thick smoke that the giant was obliged to quit it and sit down in front of the entrance, plotting revenge. But the skipper devised a new device to effect an escape. He tied every one of his men under a sheep, and getting himself under the old tup that led the flock, he and the rest passed out with the sheep when they trooped out of the cave. Thus they all escaped from the giant. Once safe on board, the skipper could not help mocking the giant, who replied by hurling mighty rocks in the direction of the voice. One of the rocks smashed the stern of the ship and killed some of the crew. It was with difficulty that the skipper and the rest of the crew contrived to save themselves in the damaged vessel.¹

(17) A German version of the widespread tale has been recorded in the Harz mountains. A clever man, travelling with six companions, comes to a land ruled by a giant, twelve feet high, six feet broad, and furnished with only one eye, which is planted in the middle of his forehead and is as big as a cheese-bowl. The giant catches the seven and devours one of them a day. When only the clever man and one comrade are left, they devise a plan of escape. In the night they make an iron red-hot, thrust it into the giant's one eye, and take to their heels. The giant makes after them with huge strides, but in his blindness fails to catch them.²

(18) An English version of the Polyphemus story is reported from Yorkshire. At Dalton, in the parish of Sessay, near Thirsk, there is, or used to be, a mill, and in front of it

¹ Fr. Richter "Lithauische Märchen. Der einäugige Riese," *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde*, I. (1889), pp. 87-89. The writer says nothing as to the source of the tale.

² W. Grimm, *Die Sage von Polyphem*, p. 18, referring to H. Pröhle's *Kinder- und Volksmärchen*, p. 137.

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there was a mound, which went by the name of "the Giant's Grave." In the mill was shown a long blade of iron, something like a scythe-blade, but not curved. This was said to have been the giant's razor, and there was also exhibited the stone porridge-pot or lather-dish which had been the property of the giant. This giant used to reside at the mill and to grind men's bones to make his bread. One day he captured a lad on Pilmoor, and instead of grinding him to flour as usual in the mill, he kept him as his servant and never let him go away. Jack served the giant many years without a holiday. At last he could bear it no longer. Topcliffe Fair was coming on, and the lad entreated that he might be allowed to go there to see the lasses and buy some spice. The giant surlily refused to give him leave, so Jack resolved to take it. The day was hot, and the giant was sleeping after dinner in the mill, with a great loaf of bone-bread beside him and a knife in his hand. Jack slipped the knife from the sleeper's grasp and jabbed it into his single eye. Up started the giant with a howl of agony and barred the door. Jack was again in difficulty, but he soon found a way out of it. The giant had a favourite dog which had also been sleeping when the giant was blinded. Jack killed the dog, skinned it, and throwing the hide over his back, ran on all-fours barking between the legs of the giant, and so escaped.¹

(19) A Breton version of the story relates how a young man, returning with a well-filled purse from La Vendée, was traversing a forest, when he saw a hut, and going up to it knocked at the door. A rough voice answered, "Wait a moment and I will open to you." Then there was a loud noise, the door opened and he beheld a giant with a single eye in the middle of his forehead, holding in his hand the bolt of the door, and the bolt itself was as big as an ordinary man. On entering the house the young man saw human arms hanging, along with chitterlings, in the chimney, and feet of men and pieces of human flesh boiling in a pot on the fire. He made an excuse for retiring from the house, but he could not lift the bolt. "You need not go out," said the giant, "you may retire among the sheep there." Now in the inner part of the house there was a flock of eight sheep,

¹ S. Baring Gould, "The Giant of New Mills, Sessay," *Folk-lore*, I. (1890), p. 130.

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every one of them as big as a colt. To hide his fear, the young man stepped up to the hearth and began to smoke his pipe. The giant asked him if he would eat some meat. "No," said the youth, "I am not hungry." "You shall eat all the same," answered the giant. But the young man drew a pistol from his pocket, and firing at the giant put out his eye. "Wretch," cried the giant, "I will kill and eat you." The youth took refuge among the sheep. The giant sought him, but could not find him. Then he opened the door and caused the sheep to go out one by one, feeling each of them as it passed. When only three or four were left, the youth got under the belly of one of them, holding fast to the fleece. In passing the door he knocked against the giant, who stopped the sheep; but by this time the young man was out, and making his way through the forest with the sheep he sold them for a good price in the market.¹

(20) In another Breton version of the story the hero goes by the name of Bihanic, and is, as usually happens with heroes, the youngest of three brothers. He is sent by a king to rob a certain giant of his treasures, which consisted of a wonderful parrot, endowed with the gift of second sight, a dromedary which could run faster than a bird could fly, and a carbuncle which radiated so brilliant a light that the darkness of night was turned to day for seven leagues round the giant's castle. The hero succeeded in procuring the dromedary and the carbuncle without much trouble, but to capture the parrot was a much harder task. When Bihanic drew near the giant's castle for this purpose, he met a young shepherd who was feeding the giant's sheep. "Go to the castle," he said to the shepherd, "and fetch me a light for my pipe. I'll give you a crown." The unsuspecting swain pocketed the money and ran to the castle. Meantime Bihanic took one of the sheep, the woolliest of the flock, killed it and skinned it. Then he put on the skin, and mixing with the flock at eventide, he entered into the castle, all unknown both to the giant and to the shepherd. Now it was the giant's custom morning and evening to consult his oracular parrot, and that night, when he inquired of the oracle as usual, the parrot informed him that his enemy

¹ P. Sébillot, "Contes de la Haute-Bretagne," *Revue des Traditions Populaires*, IX. (1894), pp. 105 sqq.

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Bihanic, who had already robbed him of his dromedary and his carbuncle, was again in the castle; more than that, the sagacious bird told him that the thief was lurking in the fold, disguised in the skin of a sheep which he had killed and skinned. The giant searched for him in the fold, but could not find him, though he felt the sheep with his hands, one after the other. Then he ordered the shepherd to let the sheep out, one by one, and as they passed out, the giant stood at the threshold and examined every one. When they were almost all out, the skin of one of them remained in his hands and he cried, "Aha, I've got him!" "Alas," thought Bihanic to himself, "it's all up with me this time," as he felt the grip of the giant's fingers on his ribs. The giant carried him to the kitchen. "Here's that rascal of a Bihanic," said he, showing him to the other giants and giantesses, "he'll not play us any more tricks. What sauce shall we eat him with?" "You must put him on the spit," they all answered. So they stripped him stark naked, trussed him like a fowl, and threw him into a corner of the kitchen till it was time to stick him on the spit. The cook, left alone, complained to Bihanic that she had not wood enough to roast him. "Just loose my bonds a bit, fair cook," said he, "and I'll go and fetch some." Flattered by being called "fair," the cook was mollified and undid the bonds. No sooner had she done so than the grateful Bihanic caught up a hatchet and brought it down on the head of the giantess with such hearty good will that he cleft her in two from top to toe. He then hurried to the parrot, stuffed it into his bag, and made off. When the giant came to the kitchen to see whether Bihanic was done to a turn, and saw his wife, the cook, dead and weltering in her gore, and the parrot gone, he howled and shrieked so that the other giants and giantesses came running, and between them all there was a terrible noise.¹

(21) A Gascon version of the old heathen tale is enriched with some pious details for the edification of devout Christians. It runs thus: Once upon a time there lived a poor widow in a cottage with her two children, a boy and a girl. One day the boy said to his mother, "Mother, from morning to night

¹ F. M. Luzel, *Contes populaires de Basse-Bretagne* (Paris, 1887), II. 231 *sqq.*

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I, you, and my sister work to earn a bare livelihood. I will go and seek my fortune. I will go to the land of the Ogres¹ to gather golden horns, horns of oxen, and horns of sheep." But his mother said, "No, no, my dear. I will not let you. The Ogres dwell far, far from here, towards the setting sun. They dwell in a wild black country, in a country of high mountains, where the streams fall from heights of three thousand feet. In that country there are no priests, nor churches, nor churchyards. The Ogres are giants seven fathoms tall. They have only one eye, right in the middle of the forehead. All the long day they watch their oxen and their sheep with golden horns, and at evening, at set of sun, they bring back these cattle to the caves. When they catch a Christian, they roast him alive on a gridiron and swallow him at one bite. No, no, my dear, you shall not go to seek your fortune. You shall not go seek golden horns, horns of oxen and sheep, in the land of the Ogres."

"Excuse me, mother," he said, "but this time you cannot have your way." Then the girl spoke. "Mother," she said, "you see my brother is wilful. Since he will not listen to reason, I will go with him. Count on me to guard him from all harm." So the poor mother had to give her consent. "Hold, my child," said she, "take this little silver cross, and never part with it, neither by day nor by night. It will bring you good luck. Go then, my poor children, go with the grace of God and the Holy Virgin Mary."

The brother and sister saluted their mother and set out, staff in hand, with their wallets on their backs. For seven months they walked, from morning to night, towards the setting sun, living on alms and sleeping in the stables of charitable folk. At last they came to a wild black country, a country of high mountains, where the streams fell from heights of three thousand feet. In that country there are no priests, nor churches, nor churchyards. In that country live the Ogres, giants seven fathoms tall. These giants have only one eye, right in the middle of their forehead. All the long day they watch their oxen and their sheep with golden horns, and at evening, at set of sun, they bring back these cattle to the caves. As for good cheer, there is no lack of

¹ *Bécuts*. In the Gascon dialect *Bécut* means "beaked" and by extension an ogre.

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meat. For dinner they kill an ox, and for supper a sheep. But they take no account of their golden horns and throw them away. When they catch a Christian, they roast him alive on a gridiron and swallow him at one bite.

Every day, from sunrise to sunset, the brother and sister sought for the golden horns in the mountains, hiding themselves as well as they could under the bushes and among the rocks, lest they should be seen by the Ogres. At the end of seven days their wallets were full. Sitting down by a stream, they counted them, "One, two, thfee, four . . . ninety-eight, ninety-nine, a hundred golden horns. And now we are rich enough. To-morrow we will return to our mother."

At that moment the sun was sinking. An Ogre passed, driving before him his oxen and his sheep with golden horns. "The Ogre! the Ogre!" cried the children and fled at the top of their speed. But the Ogre had seen it all. He took them, threw them into a big bag, and repaired to his cave, which was shut by a flat stone weighing a hundred hundred-weights. With a push of his shoulder the Ogre shoved aside the stone and closed the entrance. That done, he shook out his big bag on the ground. "Little Christians," said he, "sup with me." "With pleasure, Ogre," said they. The Ogre threw a heap of logs on the hearth, lit a fire, bled a sheep, skinned it, threw the skin and the two golden horns in a corner, and spitted the flesh. "Little Christians," said he, "turn the spit." "Ogre, you shall be obeyed," said they. While they turned the spit, the Ogre laid a hundredweight of bread and seven great jars of wine on the table.

"Little Christians," said the Ogre, "sit down there. Want for nothing, and tell me all about your country." The boy knew a great many fine stories, and he talked till supper was done. "Little Christian master," said the Ogre, "I am pleased with you. Now it's your turn, little Christian miss." The girl knew many beautiful prayers, in honour of the Good God, of the Holy Virgin, and of the saints. But at the first word the Ogre turned blue with rage. "Oh, you hussy," cries he, "you are praying to God. Just wait a bit." Straightway he seized the girl, stripped her of her clothes, laid her on a gridiron, and roasted her alive on a slow fire. "Little Christian master," says he to her brother, "what do you think of this steak? I'll give you your share of it presently." But the boy answered, "No, Ogre, Christians

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do not eat one another." "Little Christian master, look, that is what I will do to you to-morrow, when you shall have told all your fine stories."

The boy was white with anger, but he could do nothing against the Ogre. He watched his sister broiling alive on a slow fire. The poor girl clasped in her right hand the little silver cross, which her mother had enjoined her never to part with, neither by night nor by day. "My God," cried she, "have pity on me! Holy Virgin, come to my help!" "Ah, hussy," said the Ogre, "so you pray God even when you are broiling alive, just wait a bit." The Ogre swallowed her alive in one mouthful. Then he lay down on the ground, the whole length of the hearth, "Little Christian master," said he, "tell me stories of your country." The boy talked till midnight. From time to time the Ogre interrupted him, saying, "Little Christian master, poke the fire. I am cold."

An hour after midnight the Ogre, glutted with meat and wine, was snoring like a hurricane. Then the boy thought to himself, "Now we shall see some fun." Softly, very softly, he drew near the hearth, seized a glowing brand, and thrust it with all his strength into the Ogre's eye. The Ogre was now blind. He ran about in the cave like one possessed by a devil, yelling so that he could be heard a hundred leagues off, "Oh, all ye gods! I am blind! I am blind!" The boy laughed, hidden under the litter, among the oxen and sheep with the golden horns.

At the cries of the Ogre his brothers awoke in their caves. "Ha! ha! ha!" they shouted, "what's the matter there? What's the matter there?" And the Ogres came running in the black night, with lanterns as big as barrels and with staves as tall as poplars. "Ha! ha! ha!" they shouted, "what's the matter there? What's all that there?" With a push of the shoulder they shoved aside the stone weighing a hundred hundredweights which stopped the mouth of the cave, from which the cries still proceeded, "Oh, all ye gods, I am blind! I am blind!" "Brother," said they, "who has put you in that state?" "Brothers," he answered, "it was a little Christian. Seek him everywhere in the cave. Seek him, that I may swallow him alive. Oh, ye gods, I am blind! I am blind!" The Ogres searched everywhere, but found nothing, while the boy laughed, hidden under the straw, among the oxen and sheep with horns of gold. At

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last the Ogres were tired. "Good-bye, brother," they said, "try to sleep. We will come back to-morrow." So they shut up the cave and withdrew.

Then the boy tried to roll away the big stone that barred the entrance, but he had to cry, "Mother of God, this is too much for my strength." The Ogre listened. "I hear you, little Christian. I hear you, you cur. Blind as I am, you shall not escape me." For three days and nights the boy, the Ogre, and the cattle remained in the cave without eating or drinking. At last the oxen and the sheep with golden horns bellowed and bleated for hunger. "Wait a bit, poor beasts," said the Ogre, "I'll open the cave for you. But as for you, little Christian, that is quite a different matter. Blind as I am, you shall not escape me." While the Ogre groped about at the mouth of the cave, the boy put on the golden horns and the skin of the sheep that had been killed three days before.

At last the big stone fell. The Ogre seated himself outside, on the threshold of the cave, and the oxen and the sheep passed out, one by one, the oxen first. Their master felt their horns and their backs, and he counted them, one by one. Then came the sheep, and their master felt their horns and their woolly coats, and counted them, one by one. Among the sheep the boy waited on all fours. When his turn came, he advanced fearlessly. The Ogre was suspicious. On feeling the wool of his back he perceived that the fleece fitted ill. "Ah, little Christian," he called out, "ah, you cur! Just wait a bit!" But the boy made off as fleet as the wind.

The story ends by relating how the Ogre was sick and vomited up alive the girl whom he had swallowed, and how the brother and sister returned with great riches to their mother.¹

(22) If the Homeric story of Ulysses and Polyphemus survives anywhere in oral tradition, it might be expected to survive in Sicily; and certainly a story of the same type has been recorded in that island from the lips of a girl eight years old. It is in substance as follows. There were once two monks who went begging for the church every year.

¹ J. F. Bladé, *Contes populaires de la Gascogne* (Paris, 1886), I. 32-42.

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One was large and the other small. They lost their way once and came to a large cave, and in the cave was a monster who was building a fire. However, the two monks did not believe it was a monster, but said, "Let us go and rest there." They entered, and saw the monster killing a sheep and roasting it. He had already killed and cooked twenty.

"Eat!" said the monster to them. "We don't want to eat," they replied, "we are not hungry." "Eat, I tell you!" he repeated. After they had eaten the sheep, they lay down, and the monster closed the entrance to the cave with a great stone. Then he took a sharp iron, heated it in the fire, and having stuck it in the throat of the bigger monk he roasted his body and desired the other monk to help him to eat it. "I don't want to eat," answered the monk, "I am full." "Get up!" said the monster, "if you don't, I will kill you." The wretched monk arose in fright, seated himself at the table, and pretended to eat, but threw the flesh away.

In the night the good man took the iron, heated it, and plunged it in the monster's eyes. Then in his terror he slipped into the skin of a sheep. The monster groped his way to the mouth of the cave, removed the stone, and let the sheep out one by one; and so the good man escaped and returned to Trapani, and told his story to some fishermen. The monster went fishing, and, being blind, stumbled against a rock and broke his head.¹

(23) A similar Greek story has been recorded at Pharasa in Cappadocia. It runs thus: "In the old time there was a priest. He went to get a goat. He went to a village. There was another priest. He said, 'Where are you going?' The priest said, 'I am going to get a goat.' He said, 'Let me come also, to get a goat.' They rose up; they went to another village. There was there another priest. And the three went to another village. They found another priest. They took that priest also. They went on. They made up seven priests.

"As they were going to a village, there was a woman;

¹ G. Pitré, *Fiabe Novelle e Racconti popolari Siciliani*, II. (Palermo, 1875), No. 51, pp. 1-3; T. F. Crane, *Italian Popular Tales* (London, 1885) pp. 89 *sqq.* I have followed Crane's summary of the story, as the Sicilian dialect is only partially intelligible to me.

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she was cutting wood. There was also a Cyclops.¹ The Cyclops ran up; he seized the seven priests. He carried them to his house. In the evening he roasted one priest; he ate him. He was fat. He ate him; he got drunk.

"The six priests rose up. They heated the spit. They drove it into the Cyclops' eye. They blinded the Cyclops. They ran away. Inside the stable the Cyclops had seven hundred sheep. They went into the stable. They flayed six sheep. They left their heads and their tails. They got into the skins. In the morning the Cyclops rose up; he drove out the sheep; he took them by the head and tail. He drove out the seven hundred sheep. He shut the doors. He went inside; he searched for the six priests. He could not find them. He found the six sheep killed.

"The six priests took the seven hundred sheep; they went to their houses. They also gave a hundred sheep to the wife of the priest, whom the Cyclops had eaten. The woman said, 'Where is my priest?' They said, 'He has remained to gain yet more.' And the six priests took a hundred sheep each. They went to their houses. They ate, they drank, they attained their desires."²

(24) Another modern Greek version of the Polyphemus story, recorded at Athens, runs as follows: A prince makes his way into an Ogre's cave in the Ogre's absence, and finds there a tub of milk and a cake almost as big as a threshing-floor. Having refreshed himself by drinking of the milk and eating of the cake, he looked about, and seeing a crevice in the rock hid himself in it. Soon the tinkling of sheep bells announced that the sheep were returning to the cave for the night, and the Ogre with them. On entering the cave the Ogre closed the entrance by rolling a great rock into the opening, and then he sat down to eat, noticing that his supply of milk and cake was short. However, after satisfying his appetite as well as he could, he raked up the fire and lay down to sleep. While he slept and snored the prince crept

¹ In Greek *τεπεκόζης*. This word is explained to be a Turkish expression for a one-eyed giant, derived from *tepe*, "head" and *göz*, "eye." See R. M. Dawkins, *Modern Greek in Asia Minor*, p. 650.

² R. M. Dawkins, *Modern Greek in Asia Minor* (Cambridge, 1916), p. 551.

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out from his place of concealment, and taking a long stake, sharpened it and held it in the fire. When the stake glowed in the fire, the Prince thrust it into the Ogre's eye and blinded him; for the Ogre had only one eye, which was in his forehead. The shrieks of the Ogre roused the whole neighbourhood, and the other Ogres came to see what was the matter with their chief; but finding the mouth of the cave barred by the great rock, they could not enter, and so went away again, supposing that the chief was drunk. Then the Ogre opened the cave by rolling away the stone, and sitting down at the entrance he began to let out his sheep, feeling them one by one. Now there was one big woolly ram, and clinging to its belly the prince contrived to escape from the cave, while the Ogre stroked the animal on the back.¹

(25) Another modern Greek version of the ancient tale was told to the German archaeologist, Ludwig Ross, by a native of Psara, an island off the west coast of Chios. In outline it is as follows: Three brothers, by name Dimitri, Michael, and George, landed from a ship on an unknown coast, and separating from their comrades wandered about till they came to a magnificent palace. Entering it they found in the forecourt a great flock of sheep, and in the banqueting-hall a feast set out, but no human being was to be seen. They sat down and partook of the good things, and hardly had they done so when a huge, ugly, blind Ogre appeared, and in a voice which curdled the blood in their veins cried out, "I smell human flesh, I smell human flesh!" Pale with terror, the three brothers sprang to their feet, but the Ogre, guided by the sound, stretched out his hideous claws and seized first Dimitri and then Michael, and dashed them to pieces on the floor. George, being nimble, contrived to escape into the forecourt, but there he found the gate shut and the walls so high that he could not scale them. What was he to do? Drawing his knife, he killed the biggest ram of the flock, stripped off its skin, and throwing the carcass into a well he wrapped himself up in the skin and attempted to creep out on all fours, as if he were a ram. Meantime the Ogre had finished his horrible meal of human flesh, and came waddling down the marble staircase, shouting, "You shall

¹ G. Drosinis, *Land und Leute in Nord-Euböa*, Deutsche Uebersetzung von Aug. Boltz (Leipsic, 1884), pp. 170-176.

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not escape me! You shall serve me for a savoury supper!" Then he went to the gate and opened it just wide enough to let out one sheep at a time. He next called all the ewes by name, and as each came he milked it and let it out. Last of all came the rams, amongst which George, wrapt in the ram's skin, had taken his place. He approached the Ogre with fear and trembling, but the monster stroked his back, praised his size and strength, and let him go through the gateway. So George escaped.¹

In this version the hero does not blind the monster, and thus one of the most characteristic incidents of the story is wanting; but in other respects the tale conforms to the common type.

(26) Another modern Greek version of the story, recorded at Lasta in Gortynia, a district of the Morea, relates how a man of old set out to wander through the world and came to a land where the men were of great stature, but had only one eye each. The traveller lodged in the house of one of these one-eyed giants, and at evening the giant's wife hid him; for during the day the giant, who was a wicked cannibal, was not at home. When the giant came home, he told his wife that he smelt something, and though she tried to persuade him that it was nothing, he searched the house and discovered the man. At first he made as if he would devour the man, but after putting him into his mouth, he took him out again and spared him for the sake of his wife. However, next day he repented of his mercifulness and would have gobbled the man up, if his wife had not made him drunk, and secretly fetching out the man urged him to fly. But before he fled, the man took a burning coal and thrust it into the giant's eye, thus blinding him. So the wicked cannibal was punished and never devoured men afterwards.² This version omits the characteristic episode of the hero's escape by the means of a sheep or a sheepskin.

(27) An Albanian version of the story, recorded in Sicily, runs as follows: Once on a time there were two men travelling. Night fell upon them by the way, and it rained and thundered. Poor fellows, just think what a plight they were

¹ Ludwig Ross, *Erinnerungen und Mittheilungen aus Griechenland* (Berlin, 1863), pp. 287-289.

² K. Dieterich, "Aus neugriechische Sagen," *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*, XV. (1905), p. 381.

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in! They saw a light far off and said, "Let's go and see if we can pass the night where that light is." And they went and came to the cave, for a cave it was where the light shone. They went in and saw that there were sheep and rams and two Cyclopes, who had two eyes in front and two behind. The Cyclopes saw them come in and said one to the other. "Go to, here we have got something to eat." And they proposed to eat the two men. The poor fellows stayed there two days; then the Cyclopes felt the back of their necks and said, "Good! We'll eat one of them tomorrow." Meantime they made them eat to fatten them. For in the evening they would take a sheep and a ram, roast them on spits over the fire, and compel the poor wretches to devour them, entrails and all, just to fatten them. And every now and then they would feel the back of their necks, and one would say to the other, "They're getting on very well!" But the two men said to each other by words or signs, "Let us see whether we can escape." Now, as I said, two days passed, and on the second day the Cyclopes fell asleep and slumbered with all their eyes open. Nevertheless, when the two men saw the Cyclopes sleeping, they took the spits on which the sheep had been roasted, and they heated them in the fire. Then they took rams' skins and clothed themselves in them, and going down on all fours they walked about in the rams' skins. Meanwhile the spits were heated, and each of the men took two, and going softly up to the sleeping Cyclopes, they jabbed the hot spits into their eyes. After that, they went down on all fours like sheep. The Cyclopes awoke blind, and gave themselves up for lost. But they took their stand at the door, each at a doorpost, just as they were, with all the spits sticking in their eyes. They let out all the sheep that were in the cave, saying, "The sheep will go out, and the men will stay in," and they felt the fleeces of the sheep to see whether the men were going out too. But the men had the sheepskins on their backs, and they went on all fours, and when the Cyclopes felt them, they thought they were sheep. So the men escaped with their life, and when they were some way off, they put off the skins. Either the Cyclopes died or they know themselves what they did. That is the end of the story.¹

¹ D. Comparetti, *Novelline popolari Italiane* (Rome, Turin, and Florence, 1875), No. 70, pp. 308-310,

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A peculiar feature of this version is the multiplication of the eyes of the Cyclopes from one to four apiece.

(28) A Hungarian story of this type tells of three travelling craftsmen, Balzer, Laurence, and John, who, after sailing the sea for seven days and seven nights, landed in a great wood. There they lighted on a sheep-walk and followed it till they came to a stall. They entered the stall and found there a huge giant who had only one eye in his forehead. He asked them what they wanted, and when they had told him, he set food before them. Evening soon fell, and then the giant drove the sheep into the stall. Now the sheep were as big as asses are with us. To shut the stall the giant had nothing but a big stone, which sixteen men like you and me could not have stirred from the spot.

When the sheep had all been let in, the giant sat down by the fire and chatted with his guests; at the same time he felt the neck of each of them to see which was the fattest. Poor Balzer was the man, as the giant perceived; so he took a knife, cut off his head, and gave him to his sheep to devour. The two surviving friends looked anxiously at each other and consulted secretly together; and when they saw that the giant was sleeping on his back by the fire, John took a firebrand and poked it into his eye, so that he could see no more.

When morning broke and the birds began to twitter, the giant took the stone from the doorway and let the sheep out; but he was so sly that he straddled his legs and let each sheep pass between them. Now John was by trade a shoemaker; so he had with him a paring-knife and an awl. He showed Laurence what to do and gave him an awl in his hand; he was to hang on to the tail of a sheep, and just when the sheep was in the doorway he was to jab the awl into its paunch; so would the animal run through the doorway like lightning. John did just the same himself, and both came safely through. When the sheep were all out, the giant shut the door and groped all about, but found nobody. Then he set up such a shriek that the two on the shore fell all their length to the ground. And at his roar twelve more giants, each as big as he, came at a run; and when they saw him in that sorry plight they seized him straight off and tore him to bits. Then they ran all twelve to the sea, but by this time the two fugitives were twelve fathoms from the shore, so that the

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giants could not take vengeance on them. Then the giants began to shriek and roar so terribly that the sea rose in great waves, and the two wretches were almost drowned. But God in his mercy saved them, and they sailed on till they came to a wood, where they landed and walked for pleasure.¹

(29) A modern Syrian version of the old tale runs as follows : Once upon a time there was a prince who had two sons. One of them set out with a book, which he owned, to go to a monastery. He journeyed till nightfall, when he tarried among the mountains and slept till about midnight. Then he heard someone crying. He thought, " I will go and see what it is." He went and found a cave in which a fire was blazing. Entering the cave, he saw a blind giant sleeping by the fire. The youth sat down and pricked the giant with a needle. The giant got up and searched for him, but could not find him. After a while the youth pricked the giant again. The giant arose. Little by little the day broke, and the goats began to pass out of the cave. The giant stood straddling at the mouth of the cave and let the goats pass out one by one. The young man crouched under the belly of the he-goat, and so got out. In the sequel the youth professes to be the giant's son, and after undergoing a peculiar test of sonship he is accepted as such by the giant and allowed to lead the goats to grass. He even recovers the giant's lost eyes from a she-bear, which had apparently abstracted them.²

This story differs from all the rest in that the hero, instead of blinding the giant, restores his lost sight. But in other respects, particularly in the mode of the hero's escape from the cave, the tale conforms to the ordinary type.

(30) In the " Third Voyage of Sindibad the Sailor," which is incorporated in *The Arabian Nights*, the voyager and his companions are landed on an island, where they find and enter a giant's house. Presently the giant, a huge black monster with two eyes blazing like fire, arrived, and finding his uninvited guests, he seized them and felt them as a butcher feels the sheep he is about to slaughter. The first whom he thus treated was Sindibad himself, but finding him lean

¹ G. Stier, *Ungarische Volksmärchen* (Pesth, n.d., preface dated June 1857), No. 14, pp. 146-150.

² E. Prym and A. Socin, *Syrische Sagen und Märchen* (Göttingen, 1881), No. 32, pp. 115 sq.

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from the excessive fatigue which he had undergone on the voyage, he let him go. In this way the giant picked out the master of the ship, a fat, stout, broad-shouldered man, broke his neck, spitted him, and roasted him on the spit before the fire, after which he devoured him, tearing the flesh to pieces with his nails and gnawing the bones. Then he lay down and slept till morning. This proceeding he repeated on the two subsequent days; but on the third night, when three of their number had thus perished, Sindibad and his fellows took two spits, which they thrust into the fierce fire till they were red-hot like burning coals. These they grasped firmly and thrust with all their might into the giant's two eyes while he lay snoring. Thus rudely awakened from slumber, the giant started up and searched for his assailants right and left, but could not find them. So he groped his way to the door and went out, followed by Sindibad and his friends, who had prudently prepared rafts for their escape from the island. Presently the giant returned with a giantess, taller and uglier than himself; but by this time the fugitives were on board the rafts, and they now shoved off with all speed. The two giants pelted the runaways with rocks, which killed most of them; Sindibad and two others alone escaped on their raft to another island.¹

(31) In "The Story of Seyf El-Mulook," which also forms part of *The Arabian Nights*, we have another slightly different version of the same story. A certain man Saed, brother of Seyf El-Mulook, relates how he was shipwrecked and drifted ashore on a plank with a party of memlooks (male white slaves). He and two of the memlooks walked till they came to a great wood. There they met a person of tall stature, with a long beard, long ears, and two eyes like cressets, who was tending many sheep. He greeted them in a friendly way and invited them to his cave. There they found a number of men whom the giant had blinded by giving them cups of milk to drink. Warned by them, Saed pretended to drink the milk offered him by the giant, and he made believe to be blinded by it; but really he poured the milk into a hole in the ground. His two companions drank the milk and became blind. Thereupon the giant arose, and having closed

¹ *The Arabian Nights' Entertainment*, translated by E. W. Lane, III. (London, 1839-1841), pp. 26-30.

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the entrance of the cave, drew Saed towards him and felt his ribs, but found him lean with no flesh on him. Wherefore he felt another, and saw that he was fat, and he rejoiced thereat. He then slaughtered three sheep, skinned them, spitted them, and roasted them over a fire, after which he brought the roast mutton to Saed's two companions, who ate it with him. Next he brought a leathern bottle of wine, drank the wine, and lying down fell asleep and snored.

While he slept, Saed took two spits, heated them red-hot in the fire, and thrust them into the giant's two eyes. The blinded giant arose and pursued his enemy into the inner part of the cave; but, directed by the blind men, Saed found a polished sword, with which he hewed the giant through the middle, so that he died.¹

It is to be observed that both the versions of the story in *The Arabian Nights* omit the characteristic episode of the hero's escape in a sheepskin or under the belly of a sheep.

(32) A story resembling the Homeric tale of Ulysses and Polyphemus is reported to be widely current in the mountains of Armenia. It is told orally as a popular tale in Erzerum, Kars, Bajberd, Erzinka, Keghi, and other towns; and Armenian emigrants carry it with them to their new homes in Alexandropol, Achalzich, Achalkalak, Gumush-chane, and so forth. The tale is known as the "Story of the Eye in the Forehead." There are a number of different versions of it. One of the best, closely resembling the Homeric version, is said to be the one told at Gumush-chane, to the south of Trebizond. The version told at Achalzich runs as follows:

One day a rich man, looking out of his window, saw a porter approaching with a sack of meal on his back. When he came to the wall of the house, the porter put down his load to take breath, and began to bemoan his hard fate. "What an unlucky wretch am I!" he complained, "what a hell of a life I lead! When will God deliver me from my horrible lot!" and so on in the same strain. The rich man sent his servants to call in the porter, and when the fellow said that he could not leave his sack, the other had the sack despatched to its destination by one of his servants. It happened that the gentleman had invited friends to dinner that day, and by this

¹ *The Arabian Nights' Entertainment*, translated by E. W. Lane, III. 353-355.

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time the guests had begun to assemble. But the best place at table was reserved for the porter. When they were all seated, the host stood up and said, "Listen, gentlemen, and you, my friend," turning to the porter, "listen you too, I have something to tell you. When I have finished my story you, gentlemen, and you, my friend" (meaning the porter) "shall judge whether the present lot of our friend here, of which he has just been complaining, is harder and more unendurable than the experience I have undergone in my life.

"I was a merchant and a handicraftsman. Once I sailed in a ship on business with twenty companions. A great storm overtook us, and our ship was cast on the rocks and broken in pieces, but we were carried ashore by the wind. So far as our vision extended, there was not a living being anywhere, neither man nor devil. For long we had nothing to eat or drink, and we wandered about till we came to a wood. In the wood we saw a building. We went in and waited. About the time when the sun went down, there appeared a frightfully big man, who had an eye in the middle of his forehead. When he saw us, he began to laugh, his face beamed with joy, and he made curious grimaces. He blinked with his eyes, kindled a great fire in the oven, and put an iron spit in it. Then he came up to us, felt every one of us, and choosing the strongest and fattest stuck him on the spit, held him over the fire for a little, and ate him. We were horrified, but could do nothing, and waited to see what would befall. Next evening he came again, stuck another of us on the spit, roasted him, and ate him. We saw that this could not last, and that something must be devised to save us.

"The giant with one eye in his forehead, who devoured our companions, laid him down every evening before the door and fell asleep, after he had partaken of his supper. In the morning he went away and walked about till evening. The third evening, when he had lain down and was sleeping quietly, whereas we could not sleep for fear, one of us by my advice got up, heated the spit in the fire, and thrust it, red-hot, into the giant's eye. The blinded giant shrieked dreadfully. We ran hastily to the sea, and embarking in a boat, rowed away at once from the shore. The giant's mates heard his shrieks and observed us. They hastened to him, and threw great stones at us from a distance, so that the whole sea rose in billows. At last our boat was hit by a stone and knocked

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to bits. All my comrades were drowned, I alone was saved, for I tied myself to a board, and so came to shore." ¹

In this version there is no mention of sheep, and no explanation is given of the hero's escape from the abode of the giant.

(33) A version of the tale which presents the main features of the Homeric story has been recorded in Mingrelia, a district on the southern slope of the Caucasus and on the eastern shore of the Black Sea. It is as follows :

Once upon a time a traveller on the road from Redut-Kale to Anaklia (on the eastern shore of the Black Sea) was overtaken by night, a dark and rainy night. In the midst of the forest, far from every human habitation, a pack of wolves beset him, and some of them tried to tear him from his horse. But the horse stood stock still, and neither soft nor hard words could induce him to stir from the spot. What booted it that the wanderer had tied sticks to the tail of his horse to keep the wolves at bay? They attacked him in spite of the talisman. A cold shudder ran over the poor man, his sword hung powerless in his limp hand. All he could do was to cry aloud for help. And lo! a light appeared in the distance, the wolves vanished, and the horse galloped towards the light. It was a torch in the hand of a man who inhabited a lonely house hard by. The traveller warmed himself in the hut and told his host of his adventures. But his host had far worse experiences to relate. "Brother," quoth he, "you are unhappy because the insects in the wood have attacked you. But if you only knew what I have endured, you would deem yourself lucky that nothing worse has befallen you.

"You see we are all here in mourning. We were seven brothers, all fishermen. Often we would be months at sea with our ship, only sending a boat home once a week with our catch. One day when we had cast our lines we noticed that our ship was moving away from the shore; something was pulling it, and we could not stop it. Thus we were drawn on, and after some weeks we saw before us a rocky shore with a stream of honey flowing into the sea. Our ship drew in towards the honey stream, and when we were near it, a huge fish, with a mouth a fathom wide, bobbed up

¹ Senekerim Ter-Akobian, "Das armenische Märchen vom 'Stirnange,'" *Globus*, XCIV. (1908), p. 205.

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out of the water beside our ship. It swallowed the honey so greedily that the brook almost ran dry. Our hooks had caught in its gills, and it had been towing us along all the time. While it was busy gorging itself on the honey, we cut loose our lines, and let the fish go free. We loaded the ship with honey and wax, and the evening before we were to make sail for home, we saw a flock of sheep and goats approaching the honey stream. The shepherd was a one-eyed giant. In his hand he held a staff as thick as a pillar, and he twirled it like a spindle. A dreadful fear came over us. The giant drew our ship to the shore, and drove us with his flock to a great building, which stood in the middle of a wood. The trees were so high that we could not see the tops. The very rushes were as thick and tall as oaks are with us.

“The enormous edifice was built of huge, unhewn blocks of stone and divided into various rooms for the flocks; the goats, the sheep, the lambs, and the kids had their separate compartments. The one-eyed giant shut us in and then drove his flock away. We tried to break open the door, but in vain. Like mice in a trap we ran about from morning to night. At evening the giant returned, shut up his beasts, and made a fire. He laid on whole trunks of trees. Then he took a spit, fetched a fat wether, and roasted it, without skinning it. Nay, he did not even kill it, but stuck it alive on the spit; the animal writhed in the fire till its eyes burst. Then he ate it up, lay down, and began to snore.

“Next morning he ate two more wethers, and in the evening he took the fattest of us, stuck him on the spit, and began to roast him. Our brother writhed horribly and shrieked for help, but what could we do? When our brother’s eyes burst, the giant tore off one of his legs and threw it to us; but the rest of our brother he ate. We buried the leg. The next days it came to the turn of my other brothers; at last only I and our youngest brother were left. We were almost beside ourselves with fright and longed for death, but not such a terrible one.

“Well, when he had eaten our fifth brother and lay by the fire and snored, we slunk up to the spit which he had stuck at his side in the ground, and with much ado we pulled it out. Then we thrust it into the fire, and waited anxiously till it was red-hot; and we thrust the red-hot spit into his eye. Blinded, he bounced up with such force in his pain, that we

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thought he would have broken through the roof, but he only hurt his head. With a frightful yell he ran through the whole house, trampling on sheep and goats; but he could not find us, for we dodged between his legs.

"In the morning the beasts began to bleat, being fain to go out to graze. The giant opened the door, stood in front of it, and let the sheep and goats pass out one by one between his legs, but he felt the back, head, and belly of each. So he did till noon. Then he grew tired, and contented himself with feeling the back of each beast. Luckily my brother had still a knife, and with it we skinned two sheep. Then we wrapped ourselves up in the skins and resolved to creep between his legs. Half dead with fear, I was the first to try my luck. The giant remarked nothing, and I was out. My brother followed. We sought our ship, which was still in the same place. Our hope of escape rose. Meantime the giant's flock came up. We picked out the best animals and took them with us on board. But scarcely had we cut the cable when the giant arrived and felt for the ship. When we were out of reach, we called to him our names, that he might know who had played him such a trick. In a rage he flung his club at us, with such violence that the sea foamed up, and our ship nearly went down. After long wanderings along the coast and many hardships, we at last came home."¹

(34) A version of the tale which also resembles the Homeric story is told by the Ossetes of the Caucasus, a people who speak an Iranian tongue. Their version runs as follows: Urysmag rode with his companions a long, long way, till they could hardly stir a step for weariness and hunger. Then Urysmag suddenly remarked at the foot of a mountain a shepherd of gigantic stature with a flock of sheep. So he rode up to him, and dismounting from his horse, caught the best ram, which was as big as an ox. But he could not hold the ram; nay, the ram drew him bit by bit, till he fell into the hands of the one-eyed giant. "O Bodsol," said the giant, addressing the ram, "I thank you for procuring me a right good roast." So saying he thrust Urysmag into his shepherd's pouch. Being hungry, Urysmag at once

¹ A. Dirr, *Kaukasische Märchen* (Jena, 1920), No. 65, pp. 248-251. The Mingrelian language is akin to the Georgian (*id.*, p. 290).

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addressed himself to the giant's provisions. "What are you up to there?" said the giant to him, "keep still, or I'll give you such a squeeze that I'll break every rib in your body." Meantime the sun went down, and the one-eyed giant drove his flock home to a cave and rolled a great rock before the entrance. The rock shut the mouth of the cave so tight that not a single ray of light could penetrate into the cavern. "Go, my son," said the giant to his offspring, "and bring me the roasting spit. I'll roast a tit-bit for you which the ram Bodsol has brought me home to-day." The son quickly brought the iron spit. The giant took the spit, stuck Urysmag on it, and set it on the fire; then he lay down to sleep. Now the spit had not pierced Urysmag, but only passed between his body and his clothes. So when the giant had lain down and began to snore, Urysmag disengaged himself from the spit, heated it red-hot, and thrust it into the giant's eye. The giant roared and raged, and threatened what he would do to his little enemy when he caught him. Meantime Urysmag killed the giant's son; and in his fury the giant bit his own fingers, but that did not mend matters. In the morning the sheep began to bleat; the day was breaking, and it was time to let them out to pasture. "Now you'll catch it! You shall not escape me," threatened the giant, and rolling the block of stone from the mouth of the cave, he sat down on it and caused every sheep to pass before him, one by one. Now in the giant's flock there was a big white ram with long horns, and it was the giant's favourite. Urysmag hastily killed this ram, drew off the skin with the horns, put the skin with the horns on himself, and thus disguised was the first to creep on all fours out of the cave. "You are Gurtshi," said the giant to the supposed ram as he felt him, "go, my clever beast, go and guard the flock till evening, and drive them home. Alas! I'm blind, but I'll punish him who has outwitted me." So saying he stroked the back of the supposed ram and let him go out. Thus Urysmag escaped, and he waited till the whole flock was out. Then he cried out, "And here I am after all, you blind donkey!" The giant died of vexation. But Urysmag drove away the sheep to his companions and killed some rams to make a feast for his friends.¹

¹ Chr. H., "Ossetische Märchen und Sagen," *Globus*, XLI. (1882), pp. 333 sq.; A. Dirr, *Kaukasische Märchen*, pp. 252-

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(35) A story of the same type is reported from Daghestan, a region situated on the north-eastern slope of the Caucasus. It is as follows: Two shipwrecked mariners meet a one-eyed giant, who is tending a flock of sheep. The giant seizes them and carries them to his abode, which is built of great blocks of stone in the forest. He sends one of the two to fetch water, and in his absence he roasts and devours the other, leaving nothing but a hand and foot, which he offers to the other shipwrecked mariner on his return. The mariner replies that he is not hungry. Then the giant shuts up his abode with an enormous rock and goes to sleep. The man puts out the giant's eye with a red-hot bar of iron. Next morning the man kills a ram, wraps himself up in the skin, and so makes his way out along with the flock. The giant becomes aware of the trick and utters a shout: other Cyclopes come in haste; but the man reaches the shore and makes good his escape on a piece of the wreck.¹

(36) A story of the type we are considering occurs also in a Mongolian work, dating perhaps from the thirteenth or fourteenth century, which professes to narrate the history of the Oghuz, a widely spread branch of the great Turkish family, who include the Turcomans and the Uzbeks of Bokhara and are said still to constitute perhaps the majority of the population between the Indus and Constantinople.² The work in question includes eight narratives. It is in the eighth narrative, entitled "How Bissat killed Depé Ghoz," that the story occurs with which we are here concerned. It runs as follows.³ An Oghuzian herdsman surprised and caught at a spring a

254. There are a few unimportant variations, mostly verbal, between these two versions of the tale. In the former it is said that the outwitted giant "died of vexation"; in the latter it is said that he "almost died of vexation and rage." As to the Ossete language, see A. Dirr, *op. cit.*, p. 290.

¹ A. van Gennep, *Religions, Mœurs, et Légendes* (Paris, 1908), p. 162.

² As to the Oghuz, see A. H. Keane, *Man, Past and Present*, revised by A. H. Quiggin and A. C. Haddon (Cambridge, 1920), pp. 311 *sqq.*

³ W. Grimm, *Die Sage von Polyphem*, pp. 7-12, referring to Diez, *Der neuentdeckte oghuzische cyklop verglichen mit dem homerischen*, 1815.

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fairy of the Swan Maiden type, and had by her a semi-divine son named Depé Ghoz, who had the form of a man, except that he possessed only a single eye on the crown of his head. His birth was attended with prodigies, and as his fairy mother flew away she prophesied that he would be the bane of the Oghuz. The prediction was unhappily fulfilled. The monster began a long career of villainy by killing the nurse who gave him the breast, and he soon began to carry off and devour his own people, the Oghuz. It was in vain that they sent troops against him, for he was invulnerable; his fairy mother had put a ring on his finger, saying, "No arrow shall pierce thee, and no sword shall wound thy body." So no man could stand before him, and he put his foes to flight with great slaughter. Therefore they were forced to send envoys to negotiate a peace. Depé Ghoz at first, pitching his pretensions in a rather high key, stipulated for a daily ration of twelve men to be consumed by him; but the envoys pointing out to him with much force that at such a rate of consumption the population would soon be exhausted, the Ogre consented to accept the more reasonable ration of two men and five hundred sheep a day. On this basis he made shift to subsist until a distressed mother appealed to the heroic Bissat to save her second son, who was doomed to follow his elder brother into the maw of the monster. Touched by her story, and burning to avenge his own brother, who had been one of the giant's victims, the gallant Bissat declared his resolve to beard the Ogre in his den and to rid society of a public nuisance. It was in vain that the princes endeavoured to deter him from the dangerous enterprise. He listened to none of them, but stuck a handful of arrows in his belt, slung his bow over his shoulder, girt his sword on his thigh, and bidding farewell to his father and mother set out for the giant's home.

He came to the rock where Depé Ghoz devoured his human victims. The giant was sitting there with his back to the sun. Bissat drew an arrow from his belt and shot it at the giant's breast, but the shaft shivered at contact with his invulnerable body. A second arrow fared no better; the monster only observed, "A fly has bothered me." A third shaft likewise shivered, and a piece of it fell before the giant. He started up. "The Oghuz are waylaying me again," said he to his servants. Then he walked leisurely up to Bissat, gripped him by the throat, and carried him to his abode. There he stuck

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him in his own ox-hide boot, saying to the servants, "I'll roast him on a spit for supper." So saying he went to sleep. But Bissat had a knife, and he slit the ox-hide and stepped out of the boot. He asked the servants how he could kill the giant. "We know not," said they, "there is no flesh on his body except in his eye." Bissat went up to the sleeper's head, and lifting his eyelid saw that the eye was indeed of flesh. He ordered the servants to heat the butcher's knife in the fire. When the knife was red-hot, Bissat thrust it into the giant's eye, destroying it entirely. Depé Ghoz bellowed so that mountains and rocks rang again. But Bissat sprang away and fell into the cave among the sheep.

The giant perceived that his foe was in the cave. So he took his stand in the doorway, setting a foot on each side of it and calling out, "Come, little rams, one after the other." As each came up, he laid his hand on its head. Meantime Bissat had killed a ram and skinned it, leaving the head and tail attached to the skin. Now he put on the skin and so arrayed drew near to the giant. But the giant knew him and said, "You knew how to rob me of my sight, but I will dash you against the wall." Bissat gave him the ram's head into his hand, and when the giant gripped one of the horns and lifted it up, the skin parted from it, and Bissat leaped out between the giant's legs. Depé Ghoz cast the horn on the ground and asked, "Are you freed?" Bissat answered, "My God has set me free." Then the giant handed him a ring and said, "Put it on your finger. Then neither arrow nor sword can harm you." Bissat put the ring on his finger. The giant attacked him and would have wounded him with a knife. Bissat leaped away and noticed that the ring again lay under the giant's feet. The giant again asked, "Are you freed?" and Bissat again replied, "My God has set me free." Finally, the hero contrived to slay the monster by cutting off his head with a sword, but this conclusion of the tale does not concern us here, having no parallel in the Homeric story.

In this Mongolian or Turkish version the giant's offer of a ring to his escaped prisoner recalls the incident of the ring in some of the other versions already noticed;¹ but here the ring does not talk and thereby betray its wearer's presence to his vengeful enemy.

¹ See above, p. 410, with the note.

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Wilhelm Grimm interpreted the eye of Polyphemus as the sun, and found the origin of the story in the physical conflict of the elements and in the moral contrast of rude violence with crafty adroitness.¹ Such interpretations may safely be dismissed as erroneous. They illustrate the common tendency of learned men to attribute their own philosophic or mystical views to simple folk who are quite incapable, not only of conceiving, but even of comprehending them. To all appearance Polyphemus and his fellows are fairyland beings, neither more nor less, the creation of a story-teller who invented them for the sheer delight of giving the reins to his imagination and of exciting the wonder and admiration of his spellbound hearers, but who never dreamed of pointing a moral or of elucidating the dark, mysterious processes of external nature. Early man was not for ever pondering the enigmas of the universe; he, like ourselves, had doubtless often need to relax the strain and to vary the monotony of ordinary life by excursions into the realm of fancy.

¹ W. Grimm, *Die Sage von Polyphem*, pp. 28 sqq.

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