WRITINGS FROM THE GRECO-ROMAN WORLD

Flavius Philostratus

Heroikos

Translated with an Introduction and Notes by
Jennifer K. Berenson Maclean and Ellen Bradshaw Aitken

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Flavius Philostratus: Heroikos

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Volume 1
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The photograph on page vii of the statue of a warrior thought to represent the Greek hero Protesilaos is reproduced with the permission of The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Hewitt Fund, 1925; 25.116).

The photograph on page viii of the coin from Elaious depicting Protesilaos appears through the generous permission and assistance of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin—Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Münzkabinett (1873 Fox).

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In Memoriam

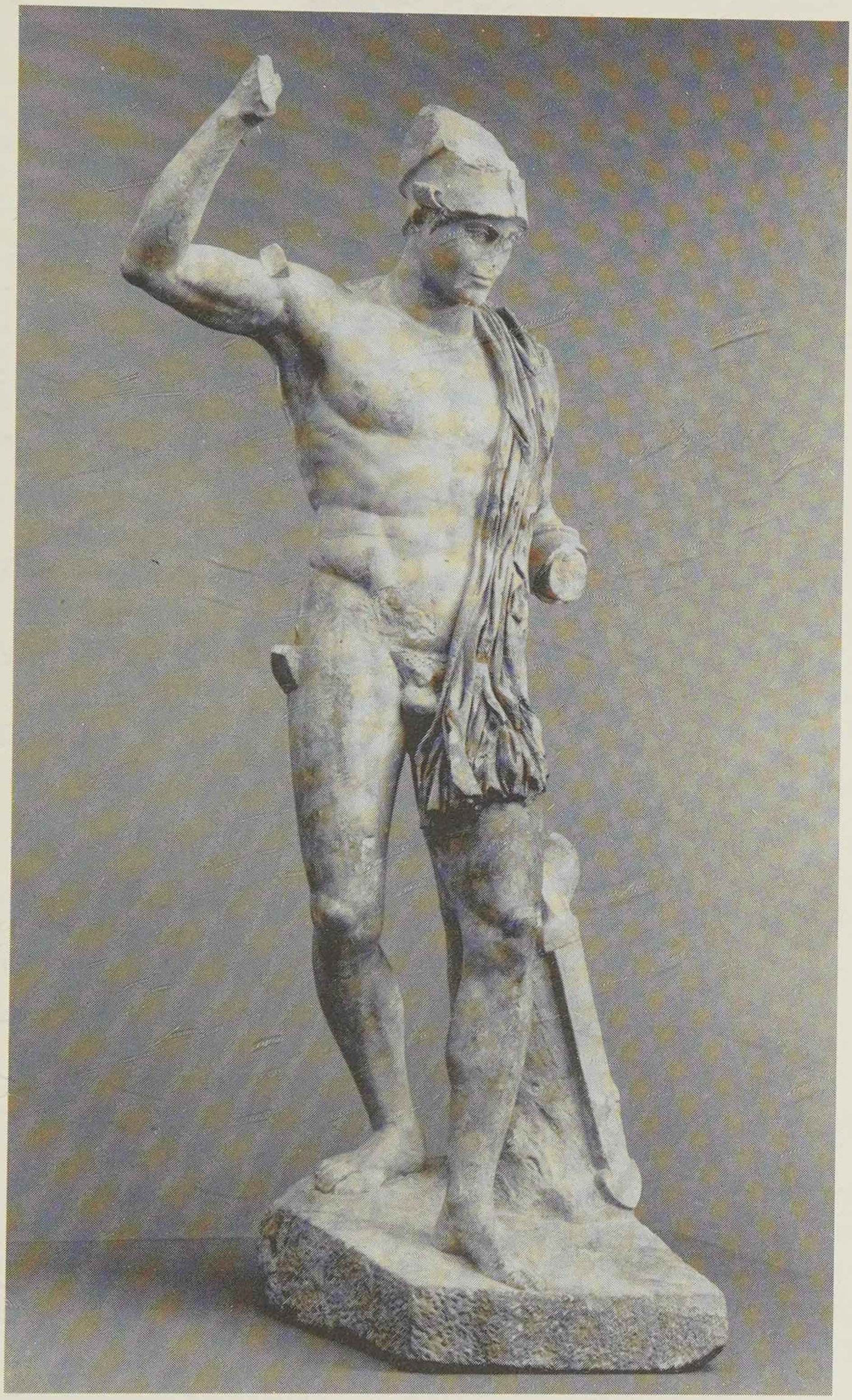
Adrienne Mamelian Berenson

and

Janice Hunter Aitken

Strength and dignity are her clothing…
she opens her mouth with wisdom,
and the teaching of kindness
is on her tongue.

(Proverbs 31:25–26)



Roman-era marble statue of a Greek hero, probably Protesilaos. This image is reproduced with the permission of The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Hewitt Fund, 1925; 25.116).

Bronze coin (28 mm) from Elaious (180–192 C.E.)—obverse: Portrait of the emperor Commodus; reverse: Protesilaos armed and at the prow of a ship. This image is reproduced with the permission of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin—Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Münzkabinett (1873 Fox).

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Our special thanks go to Helmut Koester for his conviction about the importance of this text and for his continual encouragement. We are also grateful for the ways he nurtured the climate of inquiry and interdisciplinary thinking in which this volume took shape. Gregory Nagy has been our constant mentor, critic, and fan during the preparation of this volume; he read early drafts and counseled us on techniques of translation. Above all, his undying enthusiasm for the *Heroikos* strengthened us when our spirits flagged. We are grateful to both of them for their short essays that frame our translation and especially for their generosity throughout this project. Nagy's "Prologue" analyzes the mysticism of initiation associated with hero cult in this period. Koester's "Epilogue" explores the relation among worship at the tomb of heroes, the importance of tombs in scripture, and the emerging cult practices around the tombs of saints in ancient Christianity. The conversation between Early Christian studies and the Classics that these essays exemplify has proved invaluable in understanding this text.

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Jennifer K. Berenson Maclean
Salem, Virginia

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The Sign of the Hero: A Prologue

by

Gregory Nagy

The traditional practice of worshipping heroes, commonly known as "hero cult," is a basic historical fact of ancient Greek civilization, and the evidence for it goes back all the way to the "Geometric" period of the first millennium B.C.E.[1] Paradoxically, references to this practice are not obvious—at first sight—in the prime media of archaic and classical Greek literature that deal most directly with heroes. Current research on the traditions underlying the Homeric *Iliad* and *Odyssey* as well as the tragedies of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides has demonstrated the pervasive influence of hero cults in shaping the media of epic and

[1] On the history and archaeology of hero cults, see Anthony M. Snodgrass, *An Archaeology of Greece: The Present State and Future Scope of a Discipline* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 159–65. Two pathfinding general works on hero cults are Angelo Brelich, *Gli eroi greci: Un problema storico-religioso* (Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1958) and Friedrich Pfister, *Der Reliquienkult im Altertum* (2 vols.; Giessen: A. Topelmann, 1909–1912). Specialized works include Emily Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica* (Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies, Supplement 57; London: University of London, Institute of Classical Studies, 1989); Uta Kron, *Die zehn attischen Phylenheroen: Geschichte, Mythos, Kult und Darstellungen* (Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung; Beiheft 5; Berlin: Mann, 1976); and Corinne Pache, "Baby and Child Heroes in Ancient Greece" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1999). Snodgrass (p. 172) speaks of "the transformation in the whole attitude to the heroic past that came about with the westward spread of Ionian epic." Prior to this spread, he argues (p. 172), "it seems that on the Greek mainland (and at least some offshore islands) the idea of the 'hero' was linked to ancestor worship, and was not tied to one specific past era; afterwards, these attitudes had to be merged with the notion of an eternally receding 'Heroic Age,' set already in the distant past, and a prime heritage of the whole Greek world." For another line of argumentation, see Carla M. Antonaccio, *An Archaeology of Ancestors: Tomb Cult and Hero Cult in Early Greece* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 1995).

drama, but the fact remains that most references to the actual cults of heroes are only implicit in these forms of archaic and classical Greek literature.[2] It is the historians of the classical period who give us the earliest explicit references to hero cults, and the most prominent example is the narrative of Herodotus about the cult of Protesilaos at Elaious (*Hist.* 7.33, 9.116–20).[3] And yet, even in the medium of classical Greek historiography, the actual meaning of such a hero cult remains something of a mystery. That mystery, as we shall see, is intentional. In fact, mysticism is a fundamental aspect of ancient Greek hero cults, and the mystery of cult heroes like Protesilaos can be considered a tradition in its own right.[4] The *Heroikos* of Philostratus, composed nearly a millennium after the beginnings of the "Geometric" age, continues that tradition.

In the narrative of Herodotus, the dead hero Protesilaos "gives a sign" (σημαίνει) to the living (9.120.2). What this sign "means" (the same Greek word σημαίνει can mean simply "he / she / it means"—whence the English borrowing "semantics") is made explicit by the narrative. Through a "power" (δύναμις) given to Protesilaos by the gods, the hero can uphold justice by punishing the unjust—just as surely as he can give a mystical sign, as

[2] For epic, see Gregory Nagy, *The Best of the Achaeans: Concepts of the Hero in Archaic Greek Poetry* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979; 2d ed., with new introduction, 1999), 9–11 (also p. vii in the new introduction). For drama, see Albert Henrichs, "The Tomb of Aias and the Prospect of Hero Cult in Sophokles," *Classical Antiquity* 12 (1993): 165–80. In Homeric usage, a key word for implicitly referring to the cult of a hero is σῆμα, meaning, "sign, signal" *and* "tomb [of a hero]": see Nagy, *The Best of the Achaeans*, 340–43; cf. Henrichs, "The Tomb of Aias," 171–72.

[3] Nagy, "The Sign of Protesilaos," in *ΜΗΤΙΣ. Revue d'anthropologie du monde grec ancien* 2/2 (1987): 207–13. See also Deborah Boedeker, "Protesilaos and the End of Herodotus' *Histories*," *Classical Antiquity* 7/1 (1988): 30–48.

[4] This point about the inherent mysticism of hero cults is relevant to the two articles cited in the previous note. Both these articles concern references to hero cults in Herodotus, but they differ in emphasis and in lines of interpretation. Whereas Boedeker ("Protesilaos") studies Herodotus's use of a traditional story about the cult hero Protesilaos as it relates to the narrative ending of the *Histories*, I concentrate on Herodotus's use of the traditional language inherent in this story (as signaled by such words as σημαίνω, οἶκος, etc.); this language, I argue, conveys not only the mystical agenda of hero cult but also the "subtext" of the entire narration of the *Histories*, ending and all. This argument is elaborated in Gregory Nagy, *Pindar's Homer: The Lyric Possession of an Epic Past* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990), 268–73.

narrated immediately beforehand: an Athenian is roasting τάριχοι ("preserved fish"), and the dead fish suddenly come back to life (9.120.1). So also Protesilaos is now being called a τάριχος: even though he is dead, and thus a τάριχος, he still has the power to intervene in the world of the living (9.120.2). By implication, Protesilaos has mystically come back to life, just like the preserved fish.

Here is the context of Herodotus's narrative. Athenian forces have just captured the Chersonesus from the Persians, reclaiming for the native Greek population this region of the Hellespont—and taking as prisoner its Persian administrator. He is condemned to death for having violated the hero cult of Protesilaos at Elaious in the Chersonesus. As the Persian man is about to be executed, a τέρας ("portent") intervenes. The preserved fish that are being roasted by one of the Athenian captors for an everyday meal are suddenly resurrected, to the amazement of all. The non-Greek captive is now quoted as saying to the Athenian man:

> ξεῖνε Ἀθηναῖε, μηδὲν φοβέο τὸ τέρας τοῦτο: οὐ γὰρ σοὶ πέφηνε, ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ *σημαίνει* ὁ ἐν Ἐλαιοῦντι Πρωτεσίλεως ὅτι καὶ τεθνεὼς καὶ *τάριχος* ἐὼν δύναμιν πρὸς θεῶν ἔχει τὸν ἀδικέοντα τίνεσθαι.
>
> "Athenian stranger, do not be frightened of this portent [τέρας]. For it was manifested not for you. Rather, Protesilaos—the one who abides in Elaious—is *making a sign* [σημαίνει] to me that, even though he is dead—and a *τάριχος*—he has the power [δύναμις] from the gods to exact retribution from the one who commits wrongdoing." (Herodotus *Hist*. 9.120.2)

Elsewhere, Herodotus uses the same word τάριχος to mean "mummy," in explicit reference to mystic rituals of mummification in Egypt (2.85–89). In considering the most expensive and sacred form of these rituals, Herodotus says ostentatiously that he does not wish to reveal the name connected to this form (2.86.2). His opaque language here corresponds to other contexts where he expresses a reluctance to reveal the secrets of mysteries (as at 2.61; 2.86; 2.132; 2.170; 2.171).[5] In this context, it appears that

[5] See again Nagy, "The Sign of Protesilaos"; also Nagy, *Pindar's Homer*, 270–71, with further references.

the mystery centers on the figure of Osiris, whose resurrection from the dead depends on the secret rites of mummification.[6]

The mystification surrounding the Egyptian prototype of resurrection, Osiris, is extended to the Greek hero Protesilaos by the narrative of Herodotus. The mystery inherent in the hero's own cult is signaled by the double meaning of the word τάριχος—either the everyday Greek sense of "preserved fish" or the hieratic Egyptian sense of "mummy":

> What the two meanings seem to have in common is the idea of *preservation*. In an everyday sense, rotting is negated by *preservation* through the drying or salting of fish; in a hieratic sense, rotting *and death itself* are negated by *preservation* through mummification, which is from the standpoint of Egyptian religion the ritual phase of the mystical process of immortalization.[7]

Ironically, when the dead Protesilaos "gives a sign" (σημαίνει) to the living, the Greek hero's "meaning" seems at first sight to depend on whether the word τάριχος is to be understood in the everyday Greek sense of "preserved fish" or in the hieratic Greek sense of "mummy" (Herodotus *Hist.* 9.120.2). But there is a third sense, both hieratic and Greek, and it depends on the meaning of the word σημαίνει:

> In the image of a dead fish that mystically comes back to life, we see a convergence of the everyday and the hieratic senses of *preservation*. This image [in the story of Herodotus], where Protesilaos **sēmainei** 'indicates' (9.120.2) the power that he has from the gods to exact retribution from the wrongdoer, amounts to a **sēma** or sign of the revenant, the spirit that returns from the dead. The hero Protesilaos himself is represented as giving the **sēma**, the 'sign' of his power as a revenant [from the heroic past].[8]

[6] Alan B. Lloyd, *Herodotus, Book II* (3 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1976), 2:18.

[7] Nagy, *Pindar's Homer*, 270; = "The Sign of Protesilaos," 210.

[8] Nagy, *Pindar's Homer*, 271; = "The Sign of Protesilaos," 210. For more on the concept of the cult hero as revenant, see Gregory Nagy, "Theognis and Megara: A Poet's Vision of His City," in *Theognis of Megara: Poetry and the Polis* (ed. Thomas J. Figueira and Gregory Nagy; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985), 22–81, especially pp. 76–81 (a subsection entitled "The Starving Revenant"). For another instance of a narrative featuring a τάριχος ("preserved fish") that comes back to life, see the *Alexander Romance* (ca. third

The mystical sense of σῆμα ("sign, signal; tomb [of a hero]") is a tradition in its own right, well attested already in Homeric poetry,[9] and this traditional sense extends from the noun σῆμα to the verb σημαίνω ("give a sign, signal; indicate") as used by Herodotus to indicate the meaning conveyed by his own medium, the *Histories* (especially 1.5.3).[10] Within the overall narrative framework of the "inquiry" or ἱστορία of Herodotus, the historian says what he "means" at the very beginning of his *Histories* when he speaks authoritatively about divine retribution, using the word σημαίνω to signal his meaning (1.5.3), and this "meaning" is finally authorized at the very end of his *Histories* when the hero Protesilaos expresses his own meaning, signaled again by the word σημαίνω (9.120.2).[11] Now it is the resurrected hero, not just the historian, who speaks authoritatively about divine retribution, and the semantics of σημαίνω connect the heroic world of Protesilaos, the first warrior to die in the Trojan War (*Il.* 2.695–710), with the historical world of Herodotus and beyond.

century C.E.) 2.39.12: here the dead fish is washed in the Water of Life in the Land of the Blessed (Μάκαρες), and it "recovered its psyche" (ἐψυχώθη); on the relevance of this theme to the official Ptolemaic propaganda about the mummy of Alexander the Great, see Nagy, *Pindar's Homer*, 271–72.

[9] Gregory Nagy, "*Sēma* and *Noēsis*: Some Illustrations," *Arethusa* 16 (1983): 35–55, rewritten as ch. 8 of Gregory Nagy, *Greek Mythology and Poetics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), 202–22 ("*Sēma* and *Noēsis*: The Hero's Tomb and the 'Reading' of Symbols in Homer and Hesiod"). Note too the mysticism surrounding the funerals of heroes, as discussed in Gregory Nagy, "On the Death of Sarpedon," in *Approaches to Homer* (ed. Cynthia W. Shelmerdine and Carl A. Rubino; Austin: University of Texas Press, 1983), 189–217, rewritten as part of ch. 5 of Nagy, *Greek Mythology and Poetics*, 122–142 ("The Death of Sarpedon and the Question of Homeric Uniqueness"). For a most valuable survey of ancient testimony concerning the tombs of cult heroes, see Brelich, *Gli eroi greci*, 80–90. See also Jeffrey Rusten, "*γείτων ἥρως*: Pindar's Prayer to Heracles (*N.* 7.86–101) and Popular Religion," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 87 (1983): 289–97.

[10] Nagy, *Pindar's Homer*, 233–36.

[11] Nagy, *Pindar's Homer*, 240–41, 261, 329–30. For a different interpretation of the ending of Herodotus's *Histories*, see Carolyn Dewald, "Wanton Kings, Pickled Heroes, and Gnomic Founding Fathers: Strategies of Meaning at the End of Herodotus' *Histories*," in *Classical Closure: Reading the End in Greek and Latin Literature* (ed. Deborah H. Roberts, Francis M. Dunn, and Don Fowler; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 62–82, especially p. 67 (where she refers to Boedeker, "Protesilaos").

But the hero's meaning is opaque. The non-Greek speaker can claim that the meaning of Protesilaos is intended for him, not for the Athenian, let alone the native Greeks of the Chersonesus who worship Protesilaos as their local hero. Who, then, is the intended receiver, the *destinataire*, of the meaning of Protesilaos? The historian does not say, and in this regard his meaning, too, is opaque:

> When Herodotus 'indicates,' **sēmainei**, he is indirectly narrating the actions of the gods by directly narrating the actions of men. And the most powerful 'indication' is the **sēma** of the hero, whose message is also his medium, the tomb. The double meaning of **sēma** as both 'tomb' and 'indication, sign' is itself a monument to the ideology inherent in the ancient Greek institution of hero cults—an ideology that appropriated the very concept of meaning to the tomb of the hero.[12]

The opaqueness of cult heroes like Protesilaos is a tradition in its own right, grounded in the mysteries (μυστήρια) of local initiation rituals.[13] In general, opaque signification is a vital aspect of the traditional essence of hero cults. The *Heroikos* of Philostratus continues this tradition.

As Ellen Aitken and Jennifer Maclean show clearly in their detailed Introduction to the *Heroikos* of Philostratus, the numerous references in this work to the hero cults of Protesilaos, Achilles, Ajax, and other heroes of the epic tradition reflect accurately the historical realities of hero cults as they persisted into the third century C.E. They show, further, that the traditionalism of Philostratus's *Heroikos* in its treatment of hero cults is not necessarily at odds with the literary and philosophical modernities that

[12] Nagy, *Pindar's Homer*, 273; = "The Sign of Protesilaos," 213. On the σῆμα of Protesilaos in the sense of "tomb," see Philostratus *Her*. 9.3.

[13] On Protesilaos as a mystical cult hero, see Brelich, *Gli eroi greci*, 198; for other heroes, see pp. 118–123. The sense of mystery is neatly encoded in this observation of the worshipper, as portrayed by Philostratus: you cannot even see the cult hero Protesilaos in the act of actually consuming the offerings left for him, since it all happens θᾶττον ἢ καταμῦσαι ("quicker than blinking"; *Her*. 11.9). With reference to this expression, involving καταμύω ("blink"), I draw special attention to the semantic relationship of the basic word μύω ("have the eyes/mouth closed") to derivative words like μυστήριον ("mystery"); see Nagy, *Pindar's Homer*, 32.

pervade this masterpiece of the Second Sophistic era of Hellenic civilization.

A telling feature of Philostratus's traditionalism, I argue, is his consistent use of mystical language in referring to the cult hero Protesilaos. The traditional mysticism inherent in Herodotus's references to the hero cult of Protesilaos, over six centuries earlier, continues to be the driving force of the *Heroikos*.

When Herodotus narrates the τέρας ("portent") about the τάριχοι ("preserved fish") that come back to life while they are being roasted for an everyday meal, the narrative is identified as a local tradition originating with the native Greeks of the Chersonesus, the site of Protesilaos's hero cult: *καί τεω ... λέγεται ὑπὸ Χερσονησιτέων ταρίχους ὀπτῶντι τέρας γενέσθαι τοιόνδε* ("and *it is said by the people of the Chersonesus* that the following τέρας happened to a person who was roasting τάριχοι"; Herodotus *Hist.* 9.120.1). Similarly in Philostratus, the narrative about the same portent is described as an ancestral tradition linked to the same site, specifically, the sacred space of Protesilaos at Elaious: *τὸ δέ γε ἱερόν, ἐν ᾧ κατὰ τοὺς πατέρας ...* ("the sacred space in which, in the time of the ancestors ..."; *Her.* 9.5). In Philostratus, however, there is no direct application of the word τάριχος to Protesilaos himself: *τὸ ... ἱερόν ... ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ τὸ τάριχος ἀναβιῶναί φασι* ("the sacred space ... in which they say that *even* the τάριχος *came back to life*"; *Her.* 9.5). I take it that τάριχος here applies to the preserved fish directly: even (*καί*) *they* came back to life from the dead. The word τάριχος applies to Protesilaos only indirectly: the idea that he too came back to life from the dead is merely implicit. In the narrative of Herodotus, by contrast, the initial mention of the roasting of τάριχοι (9.120.1) is followed up at a later moment with a direct application of the word to Protesilaos himself, when the Persian captive is quoted as interpreting the portent:

ὁ δὲ Ἀρταΰκτης ὡς εἶδε τὸ τέρας, καλέσας τὸν ὀπτῶντα τοὺς ταρίχους ἔφη, ξεῖνε Ἀθηναῖε, μηδὲν φοβέο τὸ τέρας τοῦτο: οὐ γὰρ σοὶ πέφηνε, ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ σημαίνει ὁ ἐν Ἐλαιοῦντι *Πρωτεσίλεως* ὅτι *καὶ τεθνεὼς καὶ τάριχος ἐὼν* δύναμιν πρὸς θεῶν ἔχει τὸν ἀδικέοντα τίνεσθαι.

But when Artayktes saw the portent [τέρας], he called out to the one who was roasting the preserved fish [τάριχοι], saying: "Athenian stranger, do not be frightened of this portent [τέρας]. For it was manifested not for you. Rather, Protesilaos—the one who abides in Elaious—is making a

> sign [σημαίνει] to me that, *even though he is dead—and a τάριχος*—he has the power [δύναμις] from the gods to exact retribution from the one who commits wrongdoing." (Herodotus *Hist.* 9.120.2)

Throughout the *Heroikos* of Philostratus, there is a sharp contrast being made between the special understanding of the initiated—in this case, he happens to be a local Greek ἀμπελουργός ("vineyard-worker") in the hero's sacred space—and the everyday understanding of the uninitiated—in this case, he happens to be a non-local non-Greek, from Phoenicia. This special understanding is conveyed by words that have a special meaning for the initiated but an everyday meaning for the uninitiated. The process of initiation allows the new initiate—hereafter I will refer to him as the "initiand"—to transcend the everyday meaning of words like τάριχος and to achieve a special understanding of their sacral meaning.

The details of such an initiatory process are vividly illustrated by Pausanias (middle of the second century C.E.), who describes the experience of "consulting" the cult hero Trophonios in Lebadeia (*Description of Greece* 9.39.5–14); at the end of his description, Pausanias admits that he himself had personally experienced this initiation by having once "consulted" the hero (χρησάμενος, 9.39.14). The actual "consultation" involves a series of ordeals signaled by concepts that seem obviously everyday at first sight but turn out to convey special meanings that are sacred, linked with the mysteries of hero cult.

In what follows, I offer my own translation of this crucial passage from Pausanias, attempting to approximate the ritual language as closely as possible, including the numerous repetitions and periphrases, and I highlight with italics those words that seem to convey a special sacred meaning for the initiated while all along maintaining an everyday meaning for the uninitiated:

> [9.39.5] When a man decides to *descend* to the place of Trophonios, first of all he undergoes a régime for a set number of days in a *building* [οἴκημα], and the *building* [οἴκημα] is sacred to the Good Daimôn and to Good Tukhê [Fortune]. In undergoing the régime there, he goes through various procedures of purification, avoiding hot baths; the water for bathing is the river Hercyna. He has unlimited access to meat from the sacrifices, for *he who descends* sacrifices to

Trophonios himself and to the children of Trophonios; also to Apollo and to Kronos, to Zeus with the epithet King [βασιλεύς], to Hera Charioteer [Ἡνίοχος = the one who holds the reins of the chariot], and to Demeter whom they name with the epithet Europa and say was the wetnurse of Trophonios.

[9.39.6] At each of the sacrifices a seer [μάντις] is present, who inspects the entrails of the sacrificial victim, and after an inspection prophesies to *him who descends*, and he says whether Trophonios will be kind [εὐμενής] and welcoming when he *receives* [verb *δέχομαι*] him. The entrails of the other victims do not make clear all that much the *thinking* [*γνώμη*] of Trophonios. But the night when each person *descends*, on that night they sacrifice a ram over a pit [βόθρος], invoking Agamedes.[14] Even if the previous sacrifices have appeared propitious, no account is taken of them unless the entrails of this ram mean *the same thing*. If all the sacrifices are in agreement with each other, then each person *descends, having good hopes* [ἔὔελπις]. And each person *descends* in this way:

[9.39.7] First of all, in the night, they take him to the river Hercyna. Having taken him, they anoint him with olive oil and wash him. Those who do this are two boys of the citizens, about thirteen years old, who are named Hermae.[15] These are the ones who are washing *the one who descends* and who attend to whatever is needed in their function as attendant boys. Afterwards he is led by the priests, not immediately to the oracle, but to fountains of water. These fountains are very near each other.

[9.39.8] Here it is necessary for him to drink water, called the water of Forgetting [Λήθη], so that there may be for him a forgetting [λήθη] of all thoughts that he was thinking up to this point. Right after this, it is necessary for him to drink another water, the water of Memory [Μνημοσύνη]. From this he remembers [μνημονεύει] the things seen by him as *the one who descended*. Having viewed the statue [ἄγαλμα] which they say was made by Daedalus—it is not revealed by the

[14] Agamedes was the brother of Trophonios. In the myth that corresponds to the ritual being described, Agamedes dies when the two brothers are buried alive, while Trophonios escapes with his life; later, Trophonios experiences the mystical process of engulfment by the earth: Pausanias *Description of Greece* 9.37.5–7.

[15] "Hermae" is the plural of "Hermes."

priests except to those who are about to go to Trophonios—having seen this statue [ἄγαλμα] and having worshipped it and having prayed, he proceeds to the oracle, wearing a linen chiton and girding the chiton with ribbons and *wearing the boots of the native locale*.[16]

[9.39.9] The oracle is beyond the grove, on the mountain. There is a foundation, of white stone, in a circle. The perimeter of the foundation is in the proportion of a very small *threshing floor*. Its height is just short of two cubits. On the foundation stand rods. They are of bronze, like the bars holding them together. And through them has been made a double door. Inside the perimeter is a chasm [χάσμα] in the earth, not naturally formed, but artificially constructed as a work of masonry, according to the most exact specifications.

[9.39.10] The form [σχῆμα] of this *built structure* [*οἰκοδόμημα*] is like that of a *bread-oven* [*κρίβανος*]. Its breadth across the middle one might estimate to be about four cubits. And the depth of the *built structure* [*οἰκοδόμημα*] could be estimated to extend to not more than eight cubits. There has been made by them no constructed *descent* [*κατάβασις*] to the bottom level. But when a man comes to Trophonios, they bring him a ladder—a narrow and light one. For *the one who has descended* there is a hole between the bottom level and the *built structure* [*οἰκοδόμημα*]. Its breadth appeared to be two spans, and its height one span.

[9.39.11] So, then, *the one who descends* is lying down in the direction of the bottom level, holding barley-cakes [μᾶζαι] kneaded with honey, and he pushes forward with his feet, forward into the hole; he himself pushes forward, eager for his knees to get into the hole. Then, after the knees, the rest of his body is suddenly drawn in, rushing forward, just as the biggest and most rapid river will catch a man in its torrents and pull him under. After this, for those who are now in the inner sanctum [ἄδυτον], there is no single or same way [τρόπος] for them to learn the things of the future. One person will see them, another person will hear them. To return and go back for *those who descended* is through the same mouth, with feet first, pushing forward.

[16] According to this mentality of sacred metonymy, the local earth of the cult hero can be trodden only by local footwear.

[9.39.12] They say that no one of *those who descended* has ever been killed, except for one of the bodyguards of Demetrius. They say that this person did not perform any of the customary rituals in the sacred space, and that he *descended* not in order to consult [χρησόμενος] the god[17] but in hopes of stealing gold and silver from the inner sanctum [ἄδυτον]. It is said that the corpse of this person appeared [ἀναφῆναι] *in another place*, and was not expelled at the sacred mouth. With reference to this man many other things are said. What has been said by me is what is most worthy of being taken into account.

[9.39.13] *The one who has ascended* from Trophonios is received once again by the priests, who seat him upon what is called the Throne [θρόνος] of Memory [Μνημοσύνη], which is situated not far from the inner sanctum [ἄδυτον]. Having seated him, they ask him all he has seen and found out. After learning the answers, they then turn him over to his relatives or friends. These take him to the *building* [οἴκημα] where he had earlier gone through his régime in the presence of Tukhê and Daimôn, the good ones. They *take* him *back* [verb κομίζω] to this place by lifting him and carrying him off, while he is still possessed [κάτοχος] by terror and unconscious both of himself and of those who are near him. Afterwards, his mind will again be working just as well as before in all respects, and even laughter *will come back* to him.

[9.39.14] What I write is not hearsay; I myself have consulted [χρησάμενος] Trophonios and have seen others doing so. It is a necessity for *those who have descended* into the sacred space of Trophonios to dedicate writings on a tablet that record all the things that each person has heard or seen. (Pausanias *Description of Greece* 9.39.5–14)

So also in the hero cult of Protesilaos at Elaious in the Chersonesus, the mystery of the hero is for the initiate to know and for

[17] Note that Pausanias considers the hero in the afterlife to be a θεός ("god"). There is a comparable reference to Protesilaos in Herodotus *Hist*. 9.120.3: here the quoted words of the non-Greek express the idea that he has finally recognized the power of the cult hero, and in this context he now refers to Protesilaos as a θεός. All this is not to say that the hero is some kind of "faded god"; rather, in terms of the hero cult, the hero becomes a θεός when he is immortalized after death.

the initiand to find out. In reading the *Heroikos* of Philostratus, even the reader can assume the role of the initiand.

At the beginning of the *Heroikos*, the reader learns that Protesilaos experienced not one but two resurrections in the heroic past. The first time, the hero came back to life at Phthia in Thessaly after his death at Troy, all because of his love for his bride Laodameia (ἀναβιώη, *Her*. 2.9). Then he died a second time—and again it was because he loved his bride—only to come back to life a second time thereafter (ἀναβιῶναι, *Her*. 2.10). Just exactly how he came back for the second time, however, is not revealed even to the initiate, who says to the initiand that Protesilaos chooses not to tell that particular "sacred secret," that particular ἀπόρρητον (*Her*. 2.11).[18] That was then, in the heroic past. Now, however, in the everyday present, the living hero continues to come back again and again, as a sacred epiphany or apparition, much like other heroes of the heroic past who likewise "appear in epiphanies" or "show up" (φαίνονται, *Her*. 2.11). So speaks the initiate, and the initiand admits that he has a hard time believing all this: "I do not believe," he says (ἀπιστῶ, *Her*. 3.1). In other words, the initiand is not yet an initiate. Still, he wants to be a "believer" (πιστεύων, *Her*. 3.1). The initiate responds by proceeding to tell the initiand all about the epiphanies of Protesilaos, describing the cult hero's interventions into the world of the everyday. Where is Protesilaos most likely to be sighted? The initiate reveals an array of places where the hero may "show up," as it were: sometimes he is in the

[18] It is relevant to note the suggestive use of the word πάθος ("experience") in an earlier context: "He himself [Protesilaos] does not speak about his own experiences [πάθη]" (*Her*. 2.9). The speaker goes on to say that the ἀπόρρητον ("sacred secret") belongs to the Moirai, "Fates" (*Her*. 2.11). In the formulaic language of epic diction, the name Prôtesi-lâos seems to be associated with the word πρῶτος ("first"), in the sense that this hero was the first Achaean to die at Troy (*Iliad* 2.702: πρώτιστος). But the name seems also to be associated with the root of πέ-πρω-ται ("it is fated," as in *Iliad* 18.329), in that Protesilaos is linked with traditional epic narratives about the fate of the Achaean λαός or "people" (Nagy, *Best of the Achaeans*, 70). A turning point in the plot of the *Iliad* is the moment when the fire of Hektor reaches the ships of the Achaeans, and here the narrative focus centers on the ship of Protesilaos himself (*Iliad* 15.704–5; 716–18; cf. also 16.286). This same precise moment is figured as a turning point for the very destiny of all Hellenes as descendants of the epic Achaeans, in that the *Iliad* equates the threat of destruction for the Achaeans' ships with the threat of extinction for the Hellenes that are yet to be (Nagy, *Best of the Achaeans*, 335–37).

Chersonesus, sometimes in Phthia, sometimes in Troy—a most notable of locations for frequent sightings of heroes who died in the Trojan War—and sometimes he is back in Hades (*Her.* 11.7). It is in Hades that he continues to have sex with his beloved bride Laodameia (*Her.* 11.8).

As the narrative of the hero's epiphanies proceeds, a gentle breeze carries the sweet aroma of flowers in bloom, and the initiand is feeling refreshed (*Her.* 3.2–5). He remarks that the plantlife literally "breathes out" (ἀναπνεῖ) a sweetness of its own (*Her.* 3.3). It is the right season, the exact time, the perfect moment: it is the ὥρα (*Her.* 3.2, 3.5). One can begin to sense the hero's sacred presence. Through a sort of hieratic metonymy, the breath of the hero himself animates the atmosphere, and Protesilaos is now revealing (ἀποφαίνω) the scent of the blossoms at their sweetest (*Her.* 11.3).[19] The hero's presence smells sweeter than myrtles (*Her.* 10.2).[20] The perfect moment or ὥρα, in all its nat-

[19] Such a traditional metonymy depends on a pre-existing traditional metaphor that pictures an interchangeability between breath and wind, on which see Gregory Nagy, "As the World Runs out of Breath: Metaphorical Perspectives on the Heavens and the Atmosphere in the Ancient World," in *Earth, Air, Fire, Water: Humanistic Studies of the Environment* (ed. Jill Ker Conway, Kenneth Keniston, and Leo Marx; Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999), 37–50.

[20] In contexts of beautiful natural settings, the cult hero is conventionally eroticized, as here in *Her.* 10.2–4 and elsewhere; see especially 11.2, describing the urge of the worshipper to embrace and kiss the hero. A sense of personal intimacy is conveyed by the worshipper of the hero when he says about Protesilaos (*Her.* 9.7): "I spend time with him [αὐτῷ γὰρ ξύνειμι], and no cult statue [ἄγαλμα] can be sweeter [ἥδιον] than he, that one [ἐκεῖνος]." The worshipper's experience of the hero as a real person, not as a cult statue [ἄγαλμα], is here conveyed by the deictic pronoun ἐκεῖνος ("that one"), which is conventionally used to refer to a hero who appears in an epiphany (see Nagy, *Pindar's Homer*, 200–201, with special reference to Mimnermus F 14.1 W and Sappho 31.1 LP). The deixis of ἐκεῖνος conveys the remoteness ("that" not "this") of the hero, even in the immediacy of his epiphany. The gap between the superhuman and the human is so great that it sets the superhuman apart from the human even in the process of attempting to bridge that gap in an epiphany. The human response is a sense of longing and yearning as experienced even during the immediacy of an epiphany. I refer again to *Her.* 11.2, describing the urge of the worshipper to embrace and kiss the cult hero. The convention of eroticizing this sense of longing and yearning is implicit, I further suggest, in the epic usage of ποθέω ("long for, yearn for"), as at *Il.* 2.703, 709. On one level of meaning, the warriors native to Phthia long for the epic hero Protesilaos as their leader.

ural beauty, becomes the ultimate epiphany of the cult hero.[21]

The secrets of the cult hero Protesilaos are clearly visible to the initiate: since these are things that are θεῖα ("divine") and μεγάλα ("larger than life"), they will not escape the notice of those who are "cultivated" (χαρίεντες, *Her.* 3.2). For the uninitiated, however, these same secrets are veiled in language that expresses what seems quite ordinary and everyday on the surface. About the cult hero Protesilaos, the initiate starts by saying to the uninitiated: "He lives (ζῇ) here, and we work the land (γεωργοῦμεν) together" (*Her.* 2.8). What image in life could be more straightforward, more everyday, than life itself? When the initiand follows up by asking whether Protesilaos 'lives' in the sense that he is 'resurrected' (ἀναβεβιωκώς), the initiate replies: "He himself does not speak about his own experiences (πάθος plural)" (*Her.* 2.9). This absolutizing declaration is then followed by a series of qualifications: contradicting what he has just said, the initiate now goes on to say that the hero Protesilaos does indeed speak about his own death at Troy, about his first resurrection, On a deeper level, however, the reference implies the emotional response of native worshippers who are "yearning" for their local cult hero in all his immanent beauty; we may compare the application of ποθέω to Patroklos at his funeral, *Iliad* 23.16. For other Homeric examples of similar two-level references to heroes of epic/cult, see Nagy, "On the Death of Sarpedon," especially pp. 132–34 on the usage of the word δῆμος (in the sense of "local district") as an index of localized cult practices.

[21] On the religious mentality of equating ritual perfection with beauty itself, see in general Pache, "Baby and Child Heroes in Ancient Greece." The concept of ὥρα as the "right season" conveys the context of ritual perfection and correctness; in that sense, ὥρα is conceived as the perfect moment of beauty, as in Philostratus *Her.* 3.2, 5. The Modern Greek adjective derived from ὥρα, *oréos* (ὡραῖος), means "beautiful." On the formal and semantic connections of ὥρα and Hêra and ἥρως ("hero"), see Gregory Nagy, *Homeric Questions* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996), 48 n. 79: heroes become "seasonal" after they die and achieve mystical immortalization, but they are "unseasonal" during their own lifetime in the heroic age (thus for example Achilles while he is alive in his own epic narrative is described as παν-α-ώριος, "the most unseasonal of them all," in *Iliad* 24.540). The formal connections between ὥρα and hero cult are evident in *Her.* 18.2–3, a passage that describes in explicit terms the ritually correct times (ὧραι) for slaughtering herd animals as sacrifices to cult heroes; in this particular context, diseases afflicting herd animals are said to be caused by an angry Ajax, *in his capacity as a cult hero*. In this context, such a belief is linked to the myth about the ritually incorrect slaughter of herd animals by Ajax (as dramatized, for example, in Sophocles' *Ajax*).

and about his second death—though he does not speak about his second resurrection (*Her*. 2.9–11).

A vital question remains: how can a cult hero like Protesilaos actually communicate with those who are initiated into his mysteries? According to the traditional mentality of hero cults, the answer is simple: whenever they come back to life, cult heroes are endowed with a superhuman consciousness. This consciousness of the hero, activated by hero cult, performs the basic function of ensuring the seasonality of nature, and it manifests itself in such specific functions as the healing of humans or animals or plants: in *Her*. 4.10, for example, Protesilaos is described as the ἰατρός ("healer") of sheep, beehives, trees.[22]

For this superhuman consciousness to be activated, the cult hero must be *consulted*, as we saw in Pausanias's description of his own consulting of Trophonios at the oracle of that hero. Similarly in the case of Philostratus's *Heroikos*, we see that a cult hero like Protesilaos has to be actively consulted by his worshippers: from the very beginning, in fact, the intent of the chief character, the worker in the vineyard of Protesilaos, is to make this cult hero his own personal "advisor" (ξύμβουλος, Ionic for σύμβουλος; *Her*. 4.7).[23] Whenever the ritual of consultation would fail, the worshipper says that he could know for sure, since the cult hero would be silent (ἐσιώπα, *Her*. 4.7).[24] By contrast, the success of the consultation is manifested whenever the cult hero speaks.

Such consulting of oracular cult heroes concerns not only the fundamentals of nature as defined metonymically by these heroes. It concerns also the fundamental nature of the heroes

[22] On the "iatric" function of cult heroes, see in general Brelich, *Gli eroi greci*, 113–18. Cult heroes, when they feel benign, will cure illnesses afflicting humans, animals, and plants—just as they will inflict these same illnesses when they feel malign (see the previous note). On the φρίκη or sacred "frisson" induced by a cult-hero's presence, see *Her*. 6.4; 8.11; 18.4, etc.

[23] See also *Her*. 14.4: Protesilaos is an "advisor" (σύμβουλος) to athletes who cultivate him (cf. *Her*. 15.5: Protesilaos is said to give oracular advice, χρῆσαι, to an athlete who consults him on how to win). Already in Homeric poetry, we see implicit references to consultations of cult heroes: in *Iliad* 10.415, for example, Hektor βουλὰς βουλεύει ("plans his plans") at the σῆμα ("tomb") of Ilos, a stylized cult hero of Ilion.

[24] Signals of initiation, such as ritual silence and ritual whispering, can be formalized as mystical names of cult heroes, as in the case of Sigêlos and Psithuros respectively; see Brelich, *Gli eroi greci*, 157.

themselves. Their heroic essence has two aspects, one of which is defined by epic narrative traditions, while the other is defined by hero cult. In the *Heroikos* of Philostratus, these two aspects of the hero are treated holistically as integral parts of a single concept. Thus the process of consulting oracular heroes leads to the initiate's knowledge about their epic aspects, not only their ritual aspects as oracles. As the initiate declares, cult heroes have their own knowledge of epic narrative because they are endowed with μαντικὴ σοφία ("the skill of a seer [μάντις]"), and there is an "oracular" principle (χρησμῶδες) operating within them (*Her.* 7.3–4). That is why a hero like Protesilaos "sees all the way through" (δι-ὁρᾷ) the poems of Homer (*Her.* 7.5), knowing things that go beyond his own experiences when he, Protesilaos, had lived in the past of heroes (*Her.* 7.5–6); the hero even knows things about which Homer himself did not sing (*Her.* 7.5).

In sum, the *Heroikos* of Philostratus provides a model of poetic inspiration that centers on the superhuman consciousness of the oracular hero, which has a totalizing control of epic narrative. As we shall now see, this model is not an innovation but an archaism, stemming from oral poetic traditions that predate even the Homeric traditions of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

Confronted with the idea that an oracular cult hero possesses total mastery of epic narrative, our first impression is that this idea cannot be reconciled with what we find in Homeric poetry. According to the poetics of the Homeric *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, it is of course the Muses who "inspire" epic narrative. At first glance, then, these goddesses of memory seem to be the sole source for the superhuman consciousness that informs the content of Homeric poetry and gives it the authority to tell about the gods and heroes of heroic times. This authority, however, is actually shared with the heroes who are "quoted" by Homeric performance, as a closer look at the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* reveals clearly.

In his book about the "quotations" of heroes in Homeric poetry, Richard Martin has demonstrated that the "voice" of the poet becomes traditionally identified with the "voices" of the heroes quoted by the poetic performance:

> My central conclusion is that the *Iliad* takes shape as a poetic composition in precisely the same "speaking culture"

that we see foregrounded in the stylized words of the poem's heroic speakers, especially those speeches designated as *muthos*, a word I redefine as "authoritative speech act." The poet and the hero are both "performers" in a traditional medium. The genre of muthos composing requires that its practitioners improve on previous performances and surpass them, by artfully manipulating traditional material in new combinations. In other words, within the speeches of the poem, we see that it is traditional to be spontaneous: no hero ever merely repeats; each recomposes the traditional text he performs, be it a boast, threat, command, or story, in order to project his individual personality in the most convincing manner. I suggest that the "voice" of the poet is the product of the same traditional performance technique.[25]

Recent ethnographic work on oral poetic performance traditions has provided typological parallels in support of Martin's demonstration. In the *Sīrat Banī Hilāl* epic singing tradition of the poets of al-Bakātūsh in contemporary Egypt, for example, Dwight Reynolds has sought—and found—an analogy for Martin's model of the interchangeable "voice" of poet and hero in epic performance:

> [T]he social reality of the al-Bakātūsh poets involves a distinctly negative position for the epic singer within the greater social hierarchy; in marked contrast to the poet's marginalized status in village society, however, are the moments of centrality, power, and "voice" he achieves in epic performance. This disjunctive persona has produced not only a fascinating process of deep self-identification with the epic tradition on the part of the poets, but has clearly, over generations, shaped and indeed constituted many aspects of the content of the epic itself—an epic tradition, as I have termed it, of heroic poets and poetic heroes.[26]

There is also a plethora of ethnographic work that documents the widespread mentality of heroic "possession," where the

[25] Richard P. Martin, *The Language of Heroes: Speech and Performance in the Iliad* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989), xiv.

[26] Dwight Fletcher Reynolds, *Heroic Poets, Poetic Heroes: The Ethnography of Performance in an Arabic Oral Tradition* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), 208; at p. 207, Reynolds quotes the formulation of Martin, cited here in the previous note, as a heuristic paradigm for his own ethnographic fieldwork.

consciousness of the poet is "possessed" by the consciousness of the hero as soon as the poet, in performance, starts "quoting" the hero.[27] As one ethnographer puts it, there can be "a transition from a story *about* a spirit, to one told *to* a spirit, to one told *by* a spirit."[28]

All this is not to say that the *Heroikos* of Philostratus has preserved for us a direct continuation of living oral epic traditions where heroes are being "quoted" through the supernatural consciousness of the heroes themselves. I have little doubt that the oral traditions of composition-in-performance, as still reflected in the hexameter poetry of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and of the "Epic Cycle" in general, had been dead for well over half a millennium by the time Philostratus composed his *Heroikos*. Still, it is essential to stress that the traditions of hero cults were evidently still alive in the era of Philostratus. Moreover, the archaic mentality of seeking communion with the consciousness of cult heroes was likewise still alive. Even though the Homeric poems and the "Epic Cycle" were now literary rather than oral traditions, they still preserved, as traditions per se, a vital link with the rituals of hero cult. The *Heroikos* bridges the chasm between the mythical world of epic heroes and the ritual world of cult heroes. In this

[27] For a particularly valuable collection of examples, see Stuart H. Blackburn, Peter J. Claus, Joyce B. Flueckiger, and Susan S. Wadley, eds., *Oral Epics in India* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989); see especially Peter J. Claus, "Behind the Text: Performance and Ideology in a Tulu Oral Tradition," 55–74. At p. 60, Claus notes, "In his performance the possessed priest must not only recite Kordabbu's story, but also assume his character and dramatically portray his exploits for several hours on end."

[28] Claus, "Behind the Text," 74, who adds, "Accompanying these transitions are shifts in verbal style: from the third person pronominal referent, to the second, to the first. There are also changes in the behavior of the performers and the audience." In this comparative context, it is relevant to reconsider Philostratus, *Her.* 12.3, where Protesilaos ἐπαινεῖ ("confirms") the words spoken by Homer "to" (ἐς) himself, not "about" himself. The implication of ἐπαινεῖ is that Protesilaos "confirms" *Il.* 2.695–709, the short narrative about his epic deeds at Troy, by way of *re-performing* these Homeric verses. On the poetics of authentication-by-reperformance, as implied by the verb ἐπαινέω, see the comments on the use of this word by Lycurgus, *Against Leocrates* 102, at p. 129 n. 16 of Gregory Nagy, "Homer and Plato at the Panathenaia: Synchronic and Diachronic Perspectives," in *Contextualizing Classics: Ideology, Performance, Dialogue. Essays in Honor of John J. Peradotto* (ed. Thomas M. Falkner, Nancy Felson, David Konstan; Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999), 123–50.

masterpiece of the Second Sophistic, a continuum is still felt to exist between these two diverging worlds. The spirit of that age is captured by this formulation of the would-be initiate Phoenician in the *Heroikos* (6.3): "I dreamed I was reading aloud [ἀναγινώσκειν] the epic verses [ἔπος plural] of Homer."

As in the *Heroikos* of Philostratus, we can see in other literatures as well the stylized efforts of literati to maintain a continuum between myths and rituals associated with heroes. A notable example comes from an anecdote, dated to the ninth century C.E.,[29] concerning the rediscovery of a supposedly lost book, the *Táin Bó Cuailnge* ("The Cattle Raid of Cooley"), which is a collection of "epic" narratives about Ireland's greatest heroes.[30] This anecdote is in effect a "charter myth,"[31] explaining the raison d'être of the *Táin*.[32] In terms of the myth, this book of narratives, the *Táin*, is equivalent to an integral epic performance. The myth narrates how this book was once lost and how the assembled poets of Ireland "could not recall it in its entirety," since they knew only "fragments" [*bloga*].[33] In a quest to find the lost integral book, the poet Muirgen happens to travel past the tomb of Fergus mac Roich, one of the chief heroes featured in the narrative of the *Táin*. It is nighttime. Muirgen sits down at the gravestone of the tomb, and he sings an incantation to this gravestone "as though it were Fergus himself."[34] Responding to the incantation, Fergus

[29] The anecdote is entitled *Dofallsigud Tána Bó Cuaílnge* and was published at pp. 433–34 of Heinrich Zimmer, "Keltische Studien," *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 28 (1887): 417–689. It is taken from the *Book of Leinster* (twelfth century), on which see the next note.

[30] There are two main surviving recensions of the *Táin*, as attested in two manuscript families: (1) the *Book of the Dun Cow* (*Lebor na hUidre*, twelfth century) and the *Yellow Book of Lecan* (fourteenth century) and (2) the *Book of Leinster* (twelfth century). For a translation, see Thomas Kinsella, *The Táin: From the Irish Epic Táin Bó Cuailnge* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969).

[31] On the concept of "charter myth," see especially p. 5 of Edmund R. Leach, "Critical Introduction" to M. I. Steblin-Kamenskij, *Myth* (Ann Arbor: Karoma, 1982), 1–20.

[32] There is a translation provided by Kinsella, *The Táin*, 1–2.

[33] Kinsella, *The Táin*, 1. The concept of a *blog* ("fragment") of a corpus that has disintegrated is a traditional theme found in the charter myths of many cultures; for a brief survey, see Nagy, *Homeric Questions*, 70–74.

[34] Kinsella, *The Táin*, 1. We may compare the use of the word κολωνός at *Her.* 9.1, which I propose to translate as "landmark"; in this context, it marks the mound, surrounded by elm-trees, that "extends over" (ἐπέχει) the

himself appears in all his heroic glory, and he "recited him [= to Muirgen] the whole *Táin*, how everything had happened, from start to finish."[35] As in the *Heroikos* of Philostratus, we see that the superhuman consciousness of the hero can take over or even possess the narration of epic.

In sum, the *Heroikos* of Philostratus makes it clear that heroes cannot be defined exclusively in terms of their epic dimensions, though this aspect becomes vitally important in the history of ideas about heroism, especially in view of the ultimate cultural

body of the cult hero Protesilaos at Elaious in the Chersonesus. (The expression κολωνὸς λίθων, as in Herodotus *Hist*. 4.92, suggests the *ad hoc* translation "mound of stones.") At *Her*. 51.12, κολωνός designates the mound that the Achaeans built (the verb here, ἀγείρω, suggests a piling of stones) over the bodies of Achilles and Patroklos, situated on a headland overlooking the Hellespont (thus facing the mound of Protesilaos on the other side of the strait); at 53.10–11, κολωνός refers, again, to the tomb of Achilles, and here the word is used synonymously with σῆμα (53.11). In Sophocles, *Oedipus at Colonus*, the place-name Kolônos refers to a sacred grove (690, 889) where Oedipus's body is destined to receive an οἶκος, that is, an "abode" befitting a cult hero (627; on this context of οἶκος, see Nagy, *Pindar's Homer*, 269). There is a metonymy implicit in the name: κολωνός as a landmark becomes, by extension, the name of the whole sacred grove—and, by further extension, the name of the whole deme of Attica in which the grove is situated. Moreover, the landmark is associated with a stone called the Θορίκιος πέτρος (1595), sacred to Poseidon, which marks the last place where Oedipus is to be seen before he is mystically engulfed into the earth. As I argue elsewhere, the metonymy extends even further: the inherited imagery of the Θορίκιος πέτρος as a mystical "white rock" becomes coextensive with the description of Colonus itself as a white rock shining from afar (690: ἀργής); see Nagy, *Greek Mythology and Poetics*, 231. Finally, we come to the ultimate metonymy, perhaps: in Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus*, Colonus is personified as a cult-hero, the mysterious Kolônos (59; he is described as ἱππότης ["horseman"]). We may compare the metonymy of incantation in the *Táin*: Muirgen sings to the gravestone "as though it were Fergus himself," and then the hero Fergus materializes from the dead.

[35] Kinsella, *The Táin*, 1–2. The point of this charter myth, then, is that the corpus of the *Táin* is reintegrated in performance, and thus the "lost book" is finally recovered, even resurrected. See Nagy, *Homeric Questions*, 70, following especially pp. 284 and 289 of the discussion in Joseph F. Nagy, "Orality in Medieval Irish Narrative," *Oral Tradition* 1 (1986): 272–301. On traditional metaphors about a book (or a library of books) as a corpus destined for resurrection, see pp. 196–198 of Gregory Nagy, "The Library of Pergamon as a Classical Model," in *Pergamon: Citadel of the Gods* (ed. Helmut Koester; HTS 46; Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Trinity Press International, 1998), 185–232.

prestige surrounding the prime medium that conveys these ideas, Homeric poetry. For Philostratus, the prestige of Homer and the Homeric hero is a given. In his *Heroikos*, however, he goes further, far further, by reconnecting that epic prestige with the sacred charisma possessed by the cult hero.

Introduction

THE PLOT OF THE *HEROIKOS*

The *Heroikos* is a dialogue set in Elaious, a town on the southern tip of the Thracian Chersonesus, the peninsula that runs along the European side of the Hellespont. There are only two participants in the dialogue: the man who tends the vineyard and gardens around the tomb of the hero Protesilaos and a Phoenician merchant, whose ship awaits favorable winds. After exchanging introductory pleasantries (the Phoenician seems to sound out the vinedresser[1] as a potential business contact), the merchant is surprised to learn that the vinedresser is an intimate of Protesilaos, the first Greek warrior to die in the Trojan War (*Il.* 2.695–710). Protesilaos not only aids the vinedresser in gardening, but discusses the Trojan War and Homer's poems, while inculcating in him a philosophic approach to life (*Her.* 2.6–5.5). At this opportunity to discuss heroes, the Phoenician realizes the meaning of a dream he had upon arriving at Elaious. As he had dreamed of reading the so-called catalogue of the ships (from *Iliad* 2), so now he must converse about the heroes in order to obtain favorable winds and be on his way (*Her.* 6.3–6). Although he is apparently a believer in signs, dreams, and other kinds of supernatural phenomena, the Phoenician voices skepticism about the ongoing existence of the heroes until the vinedresser offers as "proofs" of their existence the discovery of giant skeletons throughout the Greek world, but especially near Troy, which lies within sight of Protesilaos's tomb, just across the Hellespont (*Her.* 6.7–8.18).[2]

[1] We have chosen "vinedresser" to translate ἀμπελουργός, a word rich in associations. ἀμπελουργός designates one who tends, prunes, cultivates, and otherwise cares for the grapevines in a vineyard. In the context of a sanctuary of a hero, where abundant vegetation signals the immortality of the hero, as well as the justice and prosperity that derive from the hero, ἀμπελουργός implicitly designates one whose work, agricultural or otherwise, entails the cultivation of the hero's cult.

[2] This very passage is cited as authoritative evidence of the existence of giants as late as the nineteenth century. H. P. Blavatsky, *The Secret Doctrine: The Synthesis of Science, Religion, and Philosophy* (2 vols.; London: Theosophical Publishing Company, 1888), 2:278.

The rest of the dialogue is dedicated to a discussion of the heroes, but not simply as a retelling of Homer. Protesilaos is, after all, a more trustworthy witness not only of the events prior to landing at Troy (when he died), but also of those that occurred afterward, since he is "free from the body and diseases" and thus can "observe the affairs of mortals" (*Her.* 7.3). From this privileged vantage point, Protesilaos the hero is both reader and critic of Homer.

With the Phoenician's initial doubts about the existence of heroes overcome, the vinedresser launches into a description of Protesilaos's appearance, character, and way of life, in addition to the rituals at his sanctuary, his oracular pronouncements to athletes, and his vengeance on adulterers (*Her.* 9.1–17.6). Protesilaos, however, is not the only hero who continues to be involved in human affairs. Across the Hellespont at Troy, Ajax, Hektor, Palamedes, and Patroklos have recently appeared, bringing fertility and prosperity to those who are devoted to them, but exacting terrifying vengeance upon those who show them dishonor (*Her.* 18.1–23.1). This section concludes with a lengthy tale of Protesilaos's exploits in the battle of Mysia (*Her.* 23.2–30), an elaborate celebration of a hero slain too early in life and slighted by what the *Heroikos* regards as Homer's scant praise (*Il.* 2.695–710; cf. *Her.* 14.2).

The center section of the dialogue, the catalogue of Achaean and Trojan heroes (*Her.* 25.18–42.4), ostensibly fulfills the Phoenician's dream. The vinedresser relates what Protesilaos knows about the heroes' physical appearance, their bravery in war, and their cleverness in speech and deed, and whether the poets have actually gotten the stories about them right. The vinedresser discusses some heroes individually and some in groups for the purpose of contrast or comparison, allotting praise and blame where due, while correcting Homer. At times the criticisms are minor, at times more significant. Perhaps the most important critique of Homer from the perspective of the dialogue is Protesilaos's praise of Palamedes over his rival Odysseus (*Her.* 33.1–34.7). Palamedes, who is never mentioned by Homer, stands with Protesilaos and Achilles as one of the most important heroes of the dialogue.

Framing this section are two short discussions explicitly on Homer and his portrayal of the heroes (*Her*. 24.1–25.17; 43.1–44.4). In general, Protesilaos has many positive things to say about Homer's talents as an epic singer (*Her*. 24.1–25.9). Yet, in addition to the common complaint that Homer portrays the gods poorly (*Her*. 25.10), he also faults Homer for his treatment of Helen (*Her*. 25.10–12) and Odysseus (*Her*. 25.13–25.17).[3] Homer's credibility as a source of the events at Troy is attacked on a number of fronts: not only did he live considerably later than the war, but he also tinkered with the truth in order to enhance the poetic appeal of his composition (*Her*. 43.1–5). Furthermore, while Homer collected stories from the various cities of the heroes, his "inside source," not surprisingly, was Odysseus himself, conjured from the dead. In return for telling all, Odysseus makes Homer promise to compose a song about his wisdom and bravery and to leave out any reference to his more virtuous rival Palamedes (*Her*. 43.11–16). The homeland of Homer, another common sophistic *topos*, although known to Protesilaos, is not revealed, since the Fates have decreed that Homer be "without a city" (ἄπολις; *Her*. 44.1–4).

The last major section of the dialogue is devoted to the hero Achilles (*Her*. 44.5–57.17). As in the earlier section on Protesilaos, the life, physical appearance, character, cult, and ongoing activity of Achilles are celebrated. Achilles excelled in warfare, musical skill, and wisdom, and is portrayed as self-sufficient, suspicious of possessions, and a devoted friend. Ambushed at

[3] Protesilaos's "criticism" of Homer is consistent with perspectives other than those privileged in the pan-Athenaic narrative traditions of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. From the point of view of ritual, it is legitimate to criticize Homer's negative portrayal of heroes and gods. What Protesilaos says about Helen is consistent with the story Stesichorus tells about Helen, after he has been blinded—a story which is arguably more local and closely connected with the cult of Helen as a goddess (see Gregory Nagy, *Pindar's Homer: The Lyric Possession of an Epic Past* [Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990], 419–20); hence it too is legitimate from the perspective of ritual. With regard to Odysseus, we may recognize that Protesilaos's thoroughgoing criticism represents the view of Odysseus everywhere except in the pan-Athenaic tradition of the *Odyssey* (see, for example, Pindar *Nemean* 7.20–27); see Nagy, *Pindar's Homer*, 423–27. It is likely that Protesilaos's criticisms of Homer draw upon variant traditions reflecting the perspectives of more localized cult practices and narratives.

the sanctuary of Thymbraion while negotiating his marriage to Polyxena, he was mourned by all and entombed on the Trojan shore. The vinedresser describes in detail the yearly offerings to Achilles required of the Thessalians; the improper enactment of these rituals and their occasional neglect altogether by the Thessalians incited Achilles' implacable wrath and ultimately brought about the economic destruction of Thessaly (*Her.* 52.3–54.1). Achilles now inhabits Leukê in the Pontus (the Black Sea); there he and Helen dwell together, singing of Troy and their love for each other and receiving offerings from sailors who anchor at the island (*Her.* 54.2–55.6). Achilles' vengeance continues unabated even in this idyllic setting. The vinedresser relates two brief stories: Achilles' dismemberment of the last descendant of Priam (*Her.* 56.1–10) and his bloody slaughter of Amazons who invaded Leukê (*Her.* 56.11–57.17). After these gory stories of heroic vengeance, the dialogue abruptly ends, with a promise of further stories the next day, if the winds are still unfavorable, and an admonition to pour a libation to Protesilaos if the Phoenician should set sail.

THE GENRE OF THE *HEROIKOS*

The *Heroikos* is one of many dialogues composed during the Roman imperial period and is indebted to Plato and the development of the genre of the dialogue by writers such as Dio Chrysostom, Plutarch, Lucian, and Athenaeus.[4] There seems little doubt that Plato's *Phaedrus*, a favorite among rhetoricians and sophists, influenced the *Heroikos*. Reminiscences of the *Phaedrus*'s setting have often been noted, for example, in the combination of pastoral scenery and a discussion which is often philosophical.[5] There is also, as in Plato's dialogues, belief in the continued existence of

[4] On the development of the dialogue, see Rudolf Hirzel, *Der Dialog, ein literarhistorischer Versuch* (2 vols.; Leipzig: Hirzel, 1895). For a discussion of the literary aspects of the *Heroikos*, see Teresa Mantero, *Ricerche sull'Heroikos di Filostrato* (Genoa: University of Genoa, Istituto di Filologia Classica e Medioevale, 1966), 145–68.

[5] Graham Anderson, *Philostratus: Biography and Belles Lettres in the Third Century A.D.* (London: Croom Helm, 1986), 250.

human ψυχαί ("souls"), especially those of the heroes.[6] The interaction of the characters is also reminiscent of Plato's dialogues: as the mouthpiece of Protesilaos the vinedresser is the main source of information and insight (like Socrates), with the Phoenician contributing little except to ask leading questions or to exclaim at the beauty of the garden, the wisdom of the vinedresser, or the power of the heroes (not unlike many of Socrates' interlocutors). Influences of sophistic uses of the dialogue are also evident: in Lucian's *Charon* the discussion of the tombs of Achilles and Ajax takes place looking over the same waters, and in Dio's *Euboikos* a shipwrecked writer converses with a self-sufficient rustic.[7] The *Heroikos* cannot be classified, however, simply as a dialogue, since it displays certain novelistic techniques and thematic interests: presenting fictional characters in a credible setting, describing the physical beauty of the characters, and the inclusion of erotic episodes.[8] There are also characteristic sophistic exercises: correction of Homer, the description of statues, the elaboration of speeches and chreia, and "the pictorial creation of vivid and memorable scenes."[9] Ultimately the *Heroikos* defies classification into a single genre, but should be seen as drawing upon various aspects of both popular and more sophisticated literature.

[6] This is a belief shared with Pythagoreanism. On the Pythagorean elements of the *Heroikos*, see Friedrich Solmsen, "Some Works of Philostratus the Elder," *TAPA* 71 (1940): 565–69, who stresses what he sees as Pythagorean elements in the *Heroikos* and the *Life of Apollonius*. These elements, however, are also Platonic, for example, the continued existence of the soul after death. Although there may be Platonic, Pythagorean, and Neopythagorean (see Mantero, *Ricerche*, 48–74) elements in the *Heroikos*, this text is not a philosophical treatise and most likely is not indebted to any single philosophical school.

[7] Ewen Bowie, "Philostratus: Writer of Fiction," in *Greek Fiction. The Greek Novel in Context* (ed. J. R. Morgan and Richard Stoneman; New York: Routledge, 1994), 184; Anderson, *Philostratus*, 241–42.

[8] Bowie, "Philostratus," 185–86. Mantero observes, as have other scholars, that there is a possible connection between the *Heroikos* and *The Trojan War*, a second–third century C.E. text that claims to be the Trojan War diary of Dictys, a companion of Idomeneus (*Ricerche*, 198–200).

[9] Anderson, *Philostratus*, 241, 243; Bowie, "Philostratus," 186–87.

AUTHORSHIP AND DATING OF THE *HEROIKOS*

Decisive determination of the *Heroikos*'s author has been complicated by a confusing entry in the *Suda*[10] (a Byzantine lexicon) and the disparity between that entry and evidence internal to the writings attributed to the Philostrati. Under "Philostratus" the anonymous compiler of the *Suda* lists three individuals; in chronological order they are: Philostratus I: Philostratus the son of Verus; Philostratus II: Philostratus his son; Philostratus III: Philostratus (son of Nervianus and) the great-nephew and son-in-law of Philostratus II. The first problem is that the *Suda* places Philostratus I during the reign of Nero, a date in conflict with the dating of Philostratus II, whose death the *Suda* places during the reign of Philip the Arab (ca. 244–249). The second problem is raised by the statement of the author of the second *Imagines* that he is the maternal *grandson*[11] (not great-nephew or son-in-law) of the author of the first *Imagines*, usually attributed to Philostratus II. Many scholars assume the identity of Philostratus III with Philostratus the Lemnian, often referred to as Philostratus II (*Lives of the Sophists* 617, 623, 625, 627–28); others conclude the existence of four Philostrati, although serious doubts have been raised about the literary activity of Philostratus I.[12] The majority of the works mentioned in the *Suda* as written by the Philostrati have been assigned to Philostratus II, the *Lives of the Sophists* and *the Life of Apollonius* being the most prominent.

[10] A. Adler, ed., *Suidae Lexicon* (5 vols.; Leipzig: Teubner, 1928–1938), 4:734.

[11] Philostratus *Imagines* prooemium.2. On this point, see Ludo de Lannoy's review of Anderson's *Philostratus* in *Mnemosyne* 4th ser. 42 (1989): 210; and Ludo de Lannoy, "Le problème des Philostrate (État de la question)," *ANRW* 34.3:2418.

[12] For recent discussions of the problem of the Philostrati and their relationship, see Jaap-Jan Flinterman, *Power*, Paideia *&* *Pythagoreanism. Greek Identity, Conceptions of the Relationship Between Philosophers and Monarchs and Political Ideas in Philostratus'* Life of Apollonius (Amsterdam: Gieben, 1995), 5–14.

The *Suda* assigned the *Heroikos* to Philostratus II.[13] But is this attribution correct? The most persuasive argument is advanced by Friedrich Solmsen.[14] Solmsen draws attention to the similar themes found in *Life of Apollonius* 4.11–13, 15–16, which records Apollonius's visit to Achilles' tomb, and in *Her.* 44.5–57.17: a physical description of Achilles, his hatred for the descendants of Priam, his wrath at the Thessalians for cult sacrifices left undone, his mourning for the fate of Palamedes, the suicide of Polyxena at his tomb, and the lamentation of the Nereids upon his death.[15] Furthermore, Solmsen points to the use in the *Life of Apollonius* of "the outstanding heroes themselves as authorities" and argues that "to combine a theory about their continued existence with authoritative new information about their experiences during the war, was as far as we can tell Philostratus' own idea," and that this premise was the basis of the *Heroikos*.[16] Solmsen concludes that the *Heroikos* "grew out of subjects discussed in the *vita Apollonii*, and that the ideas on which it is based are present in that work, to be sure in embryonic form" and that "if the younger Philostratus wrote the *Heroicus* he must have been not only the grand-nephew and son-in-law of the Elder but also his intellectual twin or else his secretary who brought to paper the elder Philostratus' ideas."[17] Anderson disputes Solmsen's reasons for thinking that the *Life of Apollonius* and the *Heroikos* are by the same author and labels it as "a best hypothesis and an attractive probability." Yet in Anderson's own chapter on the *Heroikos* he concludes that if the *Heroikos* "does not betray the same author, it certainly reveals the same mental outlook and literary technique, and has the same elusive relationship to the real world of the second and third centuries."[18] Most recently, Ludo de Lannoy, from a detailed examination of internal and external evidence, argues

[13] The *Suda* also refers to a *Troikos* written by Philostratus III. Some have suggested, quite plausibly, that *Troikos* (Τρωϊκός) may be a corruption of *Heroikos* (Ἡρωϊκός). See, for example, Solmsen "Some Works," 57.

[14] Solmsen, "Some Works," 556–72; followed by Mantero, *Ricerche*, 9 n. 4; and more cautiously by Flinterman, *Power*, 14. On earlier arguments in favor of Philostratus III, see Solmsen, "Some Works," 556–57 n. 5.

[15] Solmsen, "Some Works," 559–61.

[16] Solmsen, "Some Works," 560.

[17] Solmsen, "Some Works," 569.

[18] Anderson, *Philostratus*, 294–95; 241.

that Philostratus II is the author of both the *Heroikos* and the *Life of Apollonius*.[19] Thus although there is still an element of uncertainty, we may reasonably conclude that the *Heroikos* is the work of Philostratus II, hereafter referred to simply as "Philostratus."

The dating of the *Heroikos* remains an open question as well. Solmsen argues that the *Heroikos* was composed after the *Life of Apollonius*. This assumption has been rightly criticized, since the presence of similar themes cannot yield a clear indication of chronological priority: the shorter text may just as plausibly be the summary as the longer text may be the elaboration.[20] One piece of evidence for dating the *Heroikos* is the mention of the athlete Aurelius Helix in 15.8–10. Münscher's conclusion that the *Heroikos* was completed prior to 219 C.E. was based on the *Heroikos*'s silence on Helix's double victory at the Capitoline games in 219 C.E.[21] But this argument from silence can hardly stand. The point of the passage is the truthfulness of Protesilaos's oracular pronouncement, which only concerned Helix's victories at Olympia.[22] The date of Helix's competitions does, however, provide a *terminus post quem*. His second victory, in which he received the short end of the stick from the Elean officials, took place in either 213 or 217.[23] The second clue for dating the *Heroikos* is the allusion to the Roman punishment of the Thessalians for their illegal participation in the purple trade (*Her*. 53.23). A revised *terminus post quem* would then be 222–35, since the purple trade only became a state monopoly under Alexander Severus.[24] No

[19] de Lannoy, "Le problème des Philostrate," 2391.

[20] Anderson, *Philostratus*, 294; Flinterman, *Power*, 26.

[21] Karl Münscher, "Die Philostrati," *Philologus* suppl. 10/4 (1907): 497–98; followed by Solmsen, "Some Works," 571–72; Valeria Rossi, ed. and trans., *Filostrato: Eroico* (Venice: Marsilio, 1997), 208 n. 56; and de Lannoy, "Le problème des Philostrate," 2405–6 n. 283.

[22] Flinterman, *Power*, 25. Julius Jüthner, *Philostratos über Gymnastik* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1909), 88.

[23] Münscher ("Die Philostrati," 497–98, 554) argued for 213 C.E. Jüthner's proposal of 217 C.E. (*Philostratos*, 87–88) is followed by Luigi Moretti, *Olympionikai: I vincitori negli antichi agoni olimpici* (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1957), nos. 911, 915.

[24] See G. Radet, "Notes sur l'histoire d'Alexandre: II. Les théores Thessaliens au tombeau d'Achille," *Revue des études anciennes* 27 (1925): 92.

terminus ad quem can be established other than the death of Philostratus (244–49 C.E.), although the immediacy of the reference to Helix may suggest the early years of Alexander Severus's reign.[25]

PHILOSTRATUS AND THE *HEROIKOS* AS A SOPHISTIC WORK

Details of Philostratus's life are few.[26] Flavius Philostratus[27] was born into a prominent and wealthy family at Lemnos. Although the date of his birth remains conjectural,[28] there is little reason to doubt that he spent his youth on Lemnos (*Life of Apollonius* 6.27). He then studied rhetoric with Proclus in Athens and may have studied in Ephesus or Smyrna as well. During the first decade of the third century he was an active sophist in Athens, at which time he held the important position of hoplite general; he thus moved among the cultural and political elite of Athens.[29] He later practiced as a sophist in Rome and was introduced to the Severan court during the reign of Septimius Severus, probably between the middle of 203 and early 208.[30] Philostratus's association with the court was as a member of the so-called circle of Julia Domna (*Life of Apollonius* 1.3).[31] Near the end

[25] Simone Follet argues that the *Heroikos* was composed in the first years of the reign of Alexander Severus; see the abstract of her unpublished dissertation, "Édition critique, avec introduction, notes et traduction, de l'*Héroïque* de Philostrate," in *Annuaire de l'École practique des hautes études. Section des sciences historiques et philologiques* (1969/1970): 747–48. Radet ("Notes sur l'histoire d'Alexandre," 92) refers more generally to the reign of Alexander Severus.

[26] For a more detailed investigation of Philostratus's life, see Flinterman, *Power*, 15–28 and Anderson, *Philostratus*, ch. 1.

[27] On his name see Anderson, *Philostratus*, 3, and 19 n. 29.

[28] Flinterman (*Power*, 21) places it at ca. 165 C.E., whereas de Lannoy ("Le problème des Philostrate," 2372) argues that he was born ca. 190/91.

[29] For a discussion of the epigraphic evidence, see Flinterman, *Power*, 16–17.

[30] On the dating of his association with the imperial court, see Flinterman, *Power*, 19–21.

[31] For a careful evaluation of the circle, see G. W. Bowersock, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1969), ch. 8. Bowersock's conclusions are less romantic than his predecessors': "Most of the persons in Julia's κύκλος will have been lesser philosophers and sophists, whose names, if we had them, would be unfamiliar to us. Her philosophers cannot have been

of the second century, Julia Domna, wife of Septimius Severus and mother of Caracalla and Geta, began to gather around her intellectuals of varying interests. Certainly the empress was interested in rhetoric (*Life of Apollonius* 1.3; *Epistles* 73). Her coterie also included "geometricians and philosophers" (*Lives of the Sophists* 622), the former of which may be a reference to astrologers or to Pythagorean/Platonic mathematicians.[32] Julia Domna's interest in Apollonius of Tyana led to her commissioning his biography by Philostratus, although it was completed only after her death. More important for the study of the *Heroikos* is Caracalla's imitation of Alexander the Great's sacrifices at Achilles' tomb (214 C.E.; Dio Cassius *Roman History* 78.16.7). Philostratus probably traveled with the empress's entourage until at least 217, the year of Caracalla's murder and his mother's suicide. He may have then lived briefly in Tyre, but at some point he returned to his career as a sophist in Athens, during which time he completed his two great works, the *Lives of the Sophists* and the *Life of Apollonius*.[33] According to the *Suda*, Philostratus died during the reign of Philip the Arab (ca. 244–49).

What exactly did a career as a sophist entail? Philostratus was part of a cultural phenomenon he termed the "second sophistic."[34] In his day the designation "sophist," as Bowersock observes, referred to "a virtuoso rhetor with a big public reputation."[35] Sophists were those skilled in forensic or public speaking who seemed to have reached the pinnacle of rhetorical skill (Sextus Empiricus *Against the Professors* 2.18). Their reputation was gained primarily through extemporaneous performances of their rhetorical skills either to their students or in public; skilled in improvisation (requiring tremendous versatility) and master of

much different from those minor practitioners ridiculed by Lucian in his essay on hired philosophers in the houses of the rich and powerful. Such was the circle of Julia Domna" (p. 109).

[32] Astrologers: Münscher, "Die Philostrati," 477; philosophical mathematicians: Flinterman, *Power*, 23.

[33] While we know that the *Life of Apollonius* was begun at the instigation of Julia Domna (1.3), we can only be sure that it was completed after her death in 217 C.E. and before the completion of the *Lives of the Sophists* in 238. See Flinterman, *Power*, 25–27.

[34] For a discussion of Philostratus's construction of the Second Sophistic and its descent from Gorgias, see Anderson, *Philostratus*, 11–12.

[35] Bowersock, *Greek Sophists*, 13.

rhetorical exercises and techniques, the sophist spoke in an ornate style and with a vigorous delivery. As with the sophists of the past, appearance was counted more highly than historical accuracy. Anderson describes the sophists as almost media hounds, whose public pronouncements caused more serious intellectuals to cringe.[36]

Judgments on Philostratus's style have ranged from complimentary to disdainful (Menander Rhetor; Eunapius *Lives of the Philosophers and Sophists* 454), but in our opinion Photius seems to have come closest:

> This Philostratus employs an attractive and extremely varied narrative diction; his expressions are dignified but his syntax is outlandish for a historian—for it seems more like "asyntax" rather than anything to do with syntax.[37]

In addition to delivering public speeches and educating the young, sophists participated in religious festivals and acted as advisors to cities; the people of Lemnos honored Philostratus by erecting a statue of him in Olympia, perhaps for the delivery of speeches there.[38] Moreover, like Philostratus, most sophists came from wealthy families, and their reputation was also enhanced by holding public offices and acting as benefactors of their cities.[39]

The ethos of the Second Sophistic centered on the celebration and preservation of Greek culture in the context of a multicultural empire. The sophists about whom Philostratus wrote came from Greece, Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt, but their culture and language were Hellenic. In the almost obsessive requirement that a sophist speak with perfect Attic diction and in the choice of historical themes treated, the Second Sophistic looked to the past to justify the prominence of the Greek educated elite in the Roman world and to maintain Greek identity through the promotion of *paideia*, which Flintermann defines

[36] Anderson, *Philostratus*, 9–10.

[37] Quoted in Anderson, *Philostratus*, 15.

[38] Flinterman, *Power*, 18–19.

[39] Bowersock, *Greek Sophists*, ch. 2. On Philostratus's offices in Athens, see among others, Simone Follet, *Athènes au II^e^ et au III^e^ siècle: Études chronographiques et prosopographiques* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1976), 101–3; and Anderson, *Philostratus*, 5–6, 19 n. 29.

as the "absolute familiarity with literary culture."[40] This glorification of things Greek should not be seen as necessitating a subversive attitude toward the Roman empire; Greek identity was a cultural concept, not a political one. Many sophists were connected with the imperial court or held prominent positions, such as the *ab epistulis* or the chair of rhetoric in Athens, as the result of imperial patronage; their social status, economic success, and freedom to express their cultural identity depended upon the multicultural ethos of the empire.[41]

Many aspects of the *Heroikos* reveal sophistic themes and concerns. First of all, the vinedresser himself is presented as a sophist, whose education, eloquence, and insight are immediately evident to the Phoenician (*Her.* 4.4–10). Early in the dialogue the Phoenician exclaims that the vinedresser's speeches "will fill the horn of Amaltheia" (*Her.* 7.7), an image that Philostratus uses elsewhere to describe the rhetorical skill of Dio Chrysostom (*Lives of the Sophists* 1.7). Similarly, Palamedes, whom Protesilaos rescues from obscurity (on Homer's silence on Palamedes, see below), is also portrayed as a sophist. Protesilaos focuses on his contributions to human culture and technology.[42] He is the most clever of all human beings, the inventor of every skill and science (*Her.* 33.1, 14–18). He is even called "sophist" (σοφιστής), albeit pejoratively by Odysseus in *Her.* 33.25, and elsewhere Philostratus affirms that Palamedes is the patron of the sophists (*Life of Apollonius* 3.13). Palamedes is especially good at the sophistic repartee (*Her.* 33.5–12; 44–46),[43] and sophistic arrogance is not unknown to him either: he tells the centaur Kheirôn that he does not want to learn medicine, since it has already been discovered

[40] Flinterman, *Power*, 233. On the sophists' nostalgia for the Greek past, see E. L. Bowie, "Greeks and their Past in the Second Sophistic," *Past and Present* 46 (1970): 3–41; revised in *Studies in Ancient Society* (ed. M. I. Finley; London: Routledge, 1974); Graham Anderson, *The Second Sophistic: A Cultural Phenomenon in the Roman Empire* (London/New York: Routledge, 1993), esp. chs. 1–5.

[41] On the tension between Greek cultural identity and political integration, see Simon Swain, *Hellenism and Empire. Language, Classicism, and Power in the Greek World* A.D. *50–250* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 89 and 412–17.

[42] Solmsen, "Some Works," 563; Mantero, *Ricerche*, 120–42; Anderson, *Philostratus*, 246.

[43] Other heroes also display this sophistic talent (e.g., Achilles in *Her.* 48.20–22).

(33.2), and having been slandered by Odysseus and now being stoned by the Achaeans, he cries out "I have pity on you, Truth, for you have perished before me" and, as Protesilaos relates, "he held out his head to the stones as though knowing that Justice would be in his favor" (*Her.* 33.37; cf. *Life of Apollonius* 4.13, 16).

In addition, we have already noted the similarity of the setting of the *Heroikos* to other sophistic works (see above). Much attention is given to the heroes' physical appearance;[44] there are elaborate descriptions of characters and fantastically painted scenes; and composed speeches are placed in the mouths of the heroes. All these reveal sophistic education and literary panache. Yet one of the central and most characteristic sophistic endeavors was the correction of Homer and his poems. Homeric criticism can be said to have its roots in the transmission of the Homeric poems, and particularly in the competition of local traditions and the emergence of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* as panhellenic poetic performances. In the philosophical tradition, Plato's dialogues, especially the *Republic* and *Ion*, reveal Homer as the "educator of Hellas" (*Republic* 606e), although Socrates (or Plato) is very critical of Homer's influence on his contemporaries' minds. The questions raised about Homer from the fifth to the second centuries B.C.E. are more specifically related to the gradual process of the standardization of the Homeric text during that time.[45] By the time of the Roman empire, correction or emendation of Homer became a kind of "literary sport,"[46] particularly in matters of myth and ritual. As we have seen, Philostratus does not always follow Homeric tradition in treating the heroes of the Trojan War. Following a well-established *topos*, Philostratus constructed the *Heroikos* around a new and more trustworthy informant about the heroes. Lucian had corrected details of Homer's text through

[44] Reason for believing that the same person composed both the *Heroikos* and the *Imagines* arises from the description of the heroes. As Anderson notes, "in technique, choice of subject and sophistic opportunism, the Philostratus of the *Imagines* is close to the Philostratus of the *Heroicus* and the *Life of Apollonius*" (*Philostratus*, 268–69). For a study of Greek "Bildbeschreibung," see A. Lesky, "Bildwerk und Deutung bei Philostrat und Homer," *Hermes* 75 (1940): 38–53.

[45] For a discussion of the evolution of Homeric text, see Gregory Nagy, *Homeric Questions* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996), 42–43, 65–112.

[46] Solmsen, "Philostratos," *RE* 20.1 (1941): col. 156.

the help of Euphorbus, the first to wound Patroklos in the *Iliad* (see *The Dream, or The Cock* 17), and through the help of Homer himself via Charon (see *Charon* 7), while Dio cited a different kind of authoritative evidence when appealing to inscriptions on temple columns translated by an old Egyptian priest in Onuphis (*Troikos* 38; cf. Plato *Timaeus* 21d–24a). In true sophistic fashion, logical and chronological problems within the text of Homer are also raised (e.g., *Her.* 23.5–6; 25.10–13), rationalistic explanations are offered in place of the fantastic (e.g., *Her.* 48.11–13; 50.1, 7–11), and the traditional question of Homer's birthplace is discussed, though not resolved (*Her.* 44.1–4). Many of these "supplements" to Homer have a foundation in literary tradition, e.g., Stesichorus and Herodotus both report that Helen never went to Troy. Others seem to stem from local traditions, e.g., the claim that Philoktêtês was cured by the Lemnian soil (*Her.* 28.5) may be a local Lemnian tradition which Philostratus learned during his own youth on Lemnos.[47]

PROTESILAOS: ORIGINS AND TRAJECTORIES OF HIS STORY IN LITERATURE, ART, AND CULT

It has been suggested that Protesilaos may have originally been a nature divinity, closely identified with Demeter and perhaps Dionysos.[48] Vestiges of these connections may remain in our text in the vinedresser's acknowledgment of Demeter's and Dionysos's ownership of the land, his cultivation of fruits and nuts at the sanctuary, the unusual behavior of the trees that surround Protesilaos's tomb, and the Bacchic frenzy that brings insight to dead

[47] A descendant of Philostratus, perhaps the Lemnian, was later priest of Hephaistos there (*IG* 12.8.27). Philostratus's familiarity with Lemnian rituals also informs his description of the yearly purification of Lemnos (*Her.* 53.5–7); see Walter Burkert, "Jason, Hypsipyle, and New Fire at Lemnos: A Study in Myth and Ritual," *Classical Quarterly* n.s. 20 (1970): 1–16. See also the discussion of Philostratus's Lemnian connections in de Lannoy, "Le problème des Philostrate," 2382–86.

[48] Deborah Boedeker, "Protesilaos and the End of Herodotus' *Histories*," *Classical Antiquity* 7/1 (1988): 37–40. More hesitantly, Walter Burkert, *Homo Necans. The Anthropology of Ancient Greek Sacrificial Ritual and Myth* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 245–47.

souls (1.5; 2.3–4; 9.1–3; 7.3).[49] Rather than viewing this relationship genealogically, it is better to understand it in terms of the symbiosis between a hero and a god, whereby in cult they typically share many characteristics.

Protesilaos the hero hails from Phulakê, within Phthia of Thessaly. In the *Iliad* he is called "warlike," "valiant," and "noble" (*Il.* 2.695–710). Any critic of Homer might have justly inquired how Protesilaos could have proved himself in this fashion considering that "a Dardanian man had killed him as he leapt from his ship, far the first of all the Achaians" (*Il.* 2.701–2 [Lattimore]).[50] Some ancient writers avoided this problem by only affirming Homer's words that Protesilaos was the first of the Greeks to land and the first to be killed, without any reference to the exact timing of his death. In fact, only Homer (and Protesilaos himself through the vinedresser; *Her.* 12.1–4) claims that he was killed in midstep, without even engaging the enemy. One version explicitly states that before he died he slew many Trojans (Apollodorus *Epitome* 3.30), and a Corinthian pyx depicts Protesilaos among the Greek contingent as they approach the Trojan forces.[51] The *Heroikos*'s tale of the Mysian conflict, in which Protesilaos gained his reputation as a valiant warrior, is another solution to this Homeric puzzle. Other elaborations upon Homer's text center on the name of Protesilaos's slayer: Hektor

[49] The association with Demeter is found also on a silver coin from Phthiotidan Thebes (302–286 B.C.E.) depicting on the obverse Demeter and on the reverse Protesilaos stepping from the prow of a ship; Hans Christoph Ackermann and Jean-Robert Gisler, eds. *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae (LIMC)* (8 vols.; Zurich: Artemis, 1981–1997), s.v. Protesilaos, no. 10; Paul Naster, *La collection Lucien de Hirsch: Catalogue des monnaies grecques* (Brussels: Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, 1959), 194, no. 1165, plate 63.

[50] According to Konon (133a3; Felix Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* [FGrHist] [Berlin: Weidmann, 1923–1958] 26 F 1, 13), Protesilaos did not die in Troy at all, but founded Skionê on his return from the war. Protesilaos's image appears on coinage from Skionê (fifth–fourth centuries B.C.E.); *LIMC*, s.v. Protesilaos, nos. 4–6; Cornelius C. Vermeule, "Protesilaos: First to Fall at Troy and Hero in Northen Greece and Beyond," in *Florilegium Numismaticum: Studia in Honorem U. Westermark Edita* (Stockholm: Svenska Numismatiska Föreningen, 1992), 342–43, fig. 3. Not surprisingly, the coins from Skionê do not portray any images that would be reminiscent of the story of his death.

[51] 575–550 B.C.E.; *LIMC*, s.v. Protesilaos, no. 15.

is by far the most common one named (*Cypria*; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 12.66–68; Apollodorus *Epitome* 3.30; Sophocles frg. 497; Lucian *Dialogues of the Dead* 28 [23]; Quintus of Smyrna *Fall of Troy* 1.816–17).[52]

Few images of Protesilaos are extant. In addition to appearing on coins from Skionê in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.E., his image is shown on the coinage of Thessaly (early third century B.C.E.) and Elaious (in the reign of Commodus, late second century C.E.). These coins depict him in the act of disembarking or standing on the prow of a ship.[53] Similar poses are depicted on a late geometric vase,[54] an early classical intaglio,[55] and a Roman copy of a Greek bronze.[56] A late fourth-century B.C.E. relief, found in Sigeion and belonging to an Attic treaty inscription, possibly depicts Protesilaos in the company of Athena and another heroic figure.[57]

Only two sanctuaries dedicated to Protesilaos are attested: At the sanctuary in Phulakê athletic contests were held in his honor (*Her.* 16.5; Pindar *Isthmian* 1.30, 58–59 and scholia). Better known is the sanctuary at Elaious on the Chersonesus, which provides the setting for the *Heroikos* (Herodotus *Hist.* 7.33.1; 9.116–120; Thucydides *Peloponnesian War* 8.102.3; Strabo *Geography* 13.1.31; 7.frg. 51). According to Pausanias, the whole of Elaious was dedicated to Protesilaos, and there he received divine

[52] On the mode of Protesilaos's death see Boedeker, "Protesilaos," 40, esp. n. 36.

[53] *LIMC*, s.v. Protesilaos, nos. 10–11; Jean Babelon, "Protésilas à Scioné," *Revue Numismatique* 5th ser. 3 (1951): 1–11; Louis Robert, *Études de numismatique grecque* (Paris: Collège de France, 1951). Vermeule identifies the hero depicted on the reverse of an early third-century C.E. bronze coin from Philippopolis in Thrace as Protesilaos, but we find this identification questionable; see Vermeule, "Protesilaos," 341–42, figs. 1 and 2.

[54] *LIMC*, s.v. Protesilaos, no. 12.

[55] 470–460 B.C.E.; C. C. Vermeule, "Protesilaos," 342–44, fig. 4.

[56] *LIMC*, s.v. Protesilaos, no. 14; see below. Unfortunately we know nothing about the pose of the bronze Protesilaos by Diomenes (early fourth century B.C.E.; see Pliny *Natural History* 34.76; cf. 34.50).

[57] See L. Budde and R. V. Nicholls, *A Catalogue of the Greek and Roman Sculpture in the Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964), 11–12, no. 27, plate 5; Vermeule, "Protesilaos," 344. Budde and Nicholl's cautious identification of the figure as Protesilaos rests upon a badly damaged inscription, which they reconstruct in light of the provenance of the find at Sigeion.

honors (*Description of Greece* 1.34.2).[58] Although the wealth of the sanctuary's treasury is presupposed by the story of its plundering by Artayktes (Herodotus *Hist.* 7.33.1; 9.116–120), according to the vinedresser the foundations of the sanctuary are the only remaining indications of its former greatness. The cult statue is badly worn (disfigured?) and stands apart from its original base (*Her.* 9.5–6).[59] Surrounding the tomb were remarkable trees that by their unusual life cycle imitated Protesilaos's fate (*Her.* 9.1–3; cf. Pliny *Natural History* 16.238; Quintus of Smyrna *Fall of Troy* 7.408–11). The oracle of Protesilaos to which Philostratus refers is mentioned also by Lucian (*Parliament of the Gods* 12; see also Aelius Aristides *Orations* 3.365).[60]

The tales of Protesilaos fall into two categories, both of which center on Protesilaos's return from the dead.[61] In fact, Protesilaos's resurrection was so well known in the ancient world that Christian writers were compelled to downplay its duration and even its possibility in order to highlight the uniqueness of Jesus'

[58] Artayktes calls Protesilaos θεός (Herodotus *Hist.* 9.120.3); Herodotus is here employing the terminology of hero cult, whereby a hero becomes θεός when he or she is immortalized after death. The description of Protesilaos's cult in the *Heroikos* also suggests that he received divine honors; see Mantero, *Ricerche*, 104–6, 115.

[59] The vinedresser indicates certain features of the statue: it depicts Protesilaos with a "perfect" nose, wearing a purple Thessalian cloak, and standing on the prow of a ship (*Her.* 9.6; 10.3–5). Based in part on this description, Gisela Richter identifies a marble Roman copy of a Greek bronze as Protesilaos; see her "A Statue of Protesilaos in the Metropolitan Museum," *Metropolitan Museum Studies* 1 (1928–29): 187–200; see also José Dörig, "Deinoménès," *Antike Kunst* 37 (1994): 67–80. For alternative identifications, see *LIMC*, s.v. Protesilaos, no. 14.

[60] Excavation of the presumed tomb of Protesilaos has not yielded any artifacts helpful for reconstructing the cult in the Greek or Roman periods; see R. Demangel, *Le Tumulus dit de Protésilas* (Fouilles du corps d'occupation français de Constantinople 1; Paris: De Boccard, 1926). Other oracles associated with a hero's cult include the oracle of Trophonios (Pausanias *Description of Greece* 9.39.2–13) and that of Amphiaraos (Pausanias *Description of Greece* 1.34.1–5).

[61] On the motif of apparent death and resurrection in literature beginning with the Neronian period (with special emphasis on Protesilaos), see G. W. Bowersock, *Fiction as History. Nero to Julian* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 99–119.

resurrection (Origen *Against Celsus* 2.55–56; Minucius Felix *Octavius* 11). Homer mentions the wailing of Protesilaos's wife[62] at his departure for war (*Il.* 2.700), and her grief was the subject of Euripides' tragedy *Protesilaos*.[63] In later literature Protesilaos returns from Hades for a brief reunion with Laodameia. Lucian depicts Protesilaos as the devoted lover who entreats Hades to allow him to return to his wife (*Dialogues of the Dead* 28 [23]). More common, however, is the celebration of Laodameia's devotion to Protesilaos: the elements of the tales vary, with Laodameia molding an image of Protesilaos and "consorting" with it, praying for and achieving his restoration from Hades, and either dying in his arms or by self-immolation (Catullus 68; Apollodorus *Epitome* 3.30; Hyginus *Fabulae* 103–4; Servius *Commentary on Virgil's Aeneid* 6.447; Ovid *Heroides* 13.153–57).[64] The story of Protesilaos and Laodameia's reunion was a common iconographic theme for sarcophagi in the Roman period.[65]

Another persona of Protesilaos is Protesilaos the *revenant*, the frightening ghost who brings vengeance and terror. Protesilaos acts as *revenant* in Herodotus's story of Artayktes, which strategically appears as the final episode of the *Histories* (9.116–120).[66] Not only has the Persian governor offended Protesilaos

[62] Even though Homer leaves Protesilaos's wife unnamed, she is identified in the *Cypria* (cited in Pausanias *Description of Greece* 4.2.7 = Allen, p. 123) as Polydorê; the more common name given is Laodameia.

[63] M. Mayer, "Der *Protesilaos* des Euripides," *Hermes* 20 (1885): 101–43.

[64] The connections of this story with Dionysos and the Athenian Anthestêria are striking. Cf. Philostratus *Imagines* 2.9.5. On the Dionysiac aspects of Laodameia's ecstatic entreaty for Protesilaos, see Burkert, *Homo Necans*, 244–45. Boedeker, "Protesilaos," 39–40. In a not atypical domestication of Dionysiac ritual, Laodameia's behavior—her refusing to live apart from her husband—is upheld as a model for women (Pausanias *Description of Greece* 4.2.7; Jerome *Against Jovinianus* 1.45). Boedeker suggests that a ritual marriage may have been part of the cult of Protesilaos at Elaious (p. 40). This suggestion would provide a context for understanding the offense of both Artayktes and the adulterer in *Heroikos* 16.3–4.

[65] *LIMC*, s.v. Protesilaos, nos. 21–22, 26–27. See also scenes from the same story in other media, nos. 20, 24–25, 28.

[66] On the importance of this passage for understanding Herodotus's aims, see Boedeker, "Protesilaos," 30–48; see also the excellent discussion by Gregory Nagy, "The Sign of Protesilaos," in *MHTIΣ: Revue d'anthropologie du monde grec ancien* 2/2 (1987): 207–13; reworked in Nagy, *Pindar's Homer*, 268–73.

personally by looting his sanctuary and having sex within its boundaries, but Protesilaos also takes revenge upon him as a representative of Xerxes, the Asian invader, for all the Persian offenses against the Greeks. The image of the *revenant* is illumined by the resurrection of dried fish, which leap from the fiery grill as a sign of Protesilaos's resurrection and coming vengeance.[67] This story must have been well known, since Protesilaos the avenger of Greeks against non-Greeks also appears as a commonplace in Chariton's novel (*Callirhoe* 5.10). Protesilaos was also recognized as the hero to whom one should sacrifice before going to war with non-Greeks. According to Arrian's *Anabasis*, after Alexander arrived at Elaious he sacrificed to Protesilaos with the hope that he would be luckier during his time in Asia (1.11.5). No doubt Protesilaos was invoked to aid Alexander during his campaigns.[68]

Protesilaos the lover lives on in the Western imagination. The story of his devotion to Laodameia and their conquering of death has continually found new bards.[69] Protesilaos the *revenant* lives on as well and has had his revenge upon those that refuse to honor him, a lesson François de Salignac de La Mothe-Fénelon learned too late. Protesilaos appears in Book 11 of the *Télémaque*, the Archbishop of Cambrai's epic of Telemachus's search for Odysseus.[70] Intended to guide young rulers, in particular the young Duke of Burgundy, who was also the grandson of Louis XIV, the *Télémaque* promoted the virtues of simplicity of life, disinterested statesmanship, and peace. Protesilaos appears as a

[67] See the note on *Her*. 9.5 and Nagy, "The Sign of Protesilaos," 207–13; and Boedeker, "Protesilaos," 41.

[68] Alexander is said to have imitated Protesilaos by being the first to disembark in Asia (Arrian *Anabasis* 1.11.7).

[69] Protesilaos and Laodameia's story reappears in a twelfth-century romance by Hue de Rotelande, *Protheselaus* (3 vols.; ed. A. J. Holden; London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1991–1993); Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* (The Franklin's Tale); a poem by Wordsworth ("Laodamia") composed in 1814; the *Amours de Voyage* by Arthur Clough; and at least two modern plays: Lillian F. Lewis's *Protesilaus and Laodamia: A Poetic Play in Two Acts* (Boston: Four Seas, 1925); and Stanislaw Wyspianski's *Protesilaus and Laodamia: A Tragedy* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1933; reprinted from *The Slavonic Review* Jan./Apr. 1933).

[70] François de Salignac de La Mothe-Fénelon, *Telemachus, Son of Ulysses* (ed. and trans. Patrick Riley; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

jealous, conniving, and underhanded advisor of Idomeneus; he is eventually arrested and banished to Samos.[71] The epic was published without the author's permission in 1699, and although it became the most read literary work in eighteenth-century France, its publication resulted in his permanent fall from favor at the court of Louis XIV, who read the text as a criticism of his own court[72]—a revenge worthy of Protesilaos himself. Protesilaos has also lent his name, quite appropriately, to butterflies and asteroids: as a butterfly, beautiful and short-lived, and as an asteroid, circling and guarding the heavens.[73]

THE TWO GREAT HEROES OF THE *HEROIKOS*: PROTESILAOS AND ACHILLES

No doubt Homeric criticism and the retelling of the heroes' stories are prominent themes in the *Heroikos*; their importance is emphasized by their central placement in the text (sections III–V in the table of contents). An important and often overlooked emphasis of the dialogue, however, is revealed by the carefully designed structure of the text. Framing these central sections are two lengthy discussions of Protesilaos and Achilles (sections II and VI in the table of contents), an arrangement which reveals

[71] The origin of this portrayal of Protesilaos is obscure; it may derive from Protesilaos's harsh words for Idomeneus in the *Heroikos* (30.1–3), in contrast to Idomeneus's central role in Dictys's *Trojan War*, which became one of the chief sources for medieval authors on the war.

[72] According to E. Cobham Brewer's *The Dictionary of Phrase and Fable* (1894), Protesilaos represented the French Minister of State Louvios. Protesilaos reappears in an English adaptation of the *Télémaque* by Charles Forman (*Protesilaus, or, The character of an evil minister being a paraphrase on part of the tenth* [sic] *book of Telemachus* [London, 1730]), which was intended as a satire on Robert Walpole.

[73] *Eurytides protesilaus*, a Central and South American swallowtail, was first described by Linnaeus in 1758; see Allan Watson and Paul E. S. Whalley, *The Dictionary of Butterflies and Moths in Color* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1975), 207. The minor planet Protesilaos (asteroid 3540), discovered on 27 October 1973 by Freimut Börngen in Tautenburg, Germany, is located in one of two stable groups of asteroids within Jupiter's orbit. The asteroids within one group have been named for warriors on the Greek side of the Trojan conflict; those within the other for warriors on the Trojan side. *Minor Planet Circulars* 11751 (14 April 1987).

the complementarity of these two great heroes of the dialogue. At first one might think that no two heroes could be more dissimilar. Achilles, after all, saved the Achaeans from utter defeat, and the great theme of Homer's *Iliad* is Achilles' wrath, whereas Protesilaos died before the conclusion of even the first battle and so receives barely a mention by Homer. Nevertheless, numerous parallels and associations between the two heroes can found both within Homer and in later literary sources.[74]

First of all, both heroes hail from Phthia in Thessaly (Strabo *Geography* 9.5.14), and their friendship is hinted at in a number of ways: according to Homer, it is only when the Trojans have laid hold of Protesilaos's ships and threatened to set them on fire that Achilles agrees to allow Patroklos to enter the battle (*Il.* 15.704–25; more explicitly in Apollodorus *Epitome* 4.6),[75] and later versions of that first engagement at Troy imply that Achilles avenged Protesilaos's death by slaying the hero Kyknos, not unlike Achilles' revenge upon Hektor for the death of Patroklos (*Cypria*; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 12.71–145; Apollodorus *Epitome* 3.31). Their respective deaths, though divided by the bulk of the war, share certain similarities. Homer describes Protesilaos as leaving behind "a house half-built" (*Il.* 2.701; see note on *Her.* 12.3), that is, as one who died without fully experiencing adult life, marriage, and children. Achilles, although fated to die later in the conflict, is similarly lamented as one cut off in the bloom of youth (*Il.* 9.410–16) and as the eternal bridegroom.[76] According to later authors, an oracle is said to have indicated that the first to land at Troy would be the first to die, and that both

[74] Based primarily on literature other than the *Heroikos*, Boedeker ("Protesilaos," 36) noted many parallels between Achilles and Protesilaos, whom she calls an "Achilles *manqué*." This assessment, however, privileges the *Iliad*'s perspective of the centrality of Achilles to the heroic tradition.

[75] In this episode, the threat to the ships of Protesilaos signals the threat to the entire Hellenic force and the decisive moment of the war. It is possible to say, then, that in the logic and diction of epic Protesilaos represents the destiny of the Hellenes. Although he is the first of the fighting force to die, his continuing life in hero cult ensures the ongoing protection of the people; see Gregory Nagy's comments on the etymology of the name Protesilaos in his "Prologue" to this volume.

[76] See Gregory Nagy, *The Best of the Achaeans: Concepts of the Hero in Archaic Greek Poetry* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979; 2d ed., with new introduction, 1999), 174–84.

Protesilaos and Achilles were warned (Protesilaos by Laodameia; Achilles by Thetis) not to let their valor eclipse their better judgment (Apollodorus *Epitome* 3.29–30; Ovid *Heroides* 13.93–102). Protesilaos and Achilles are two of the few major Achaean heroes to die at Troy, and their tombs face each other across the Hellespont (*Her.* 51.12–13).[77] Yet for neither hero was death the end of their amorous affairs: Protesilaos was well known for his return from Hades to be reunited with Laodameia (see above), while Achilles enjoyed a posthumous affair with Helen (*Her.* 54.2–55.6; Pausanias *Description of Greece* 3.19.11–13).

Both the structure and the specific details of the *Heroikos* emphasize the parallel lives, deaths, cults, and concerns of Achilles and Protesilaos. According to Protesilaos, the two heroes were well matched in their physical prowess (*Her.* 13.3–4); at the battle of Mysia they fought side by side, with Protesilaos in fact outdoing Achilles (*Her.* 23.16, 24–25). Each hero's death is associated with his wedding: Protesilaos confirms Homer's statement that his house was "half-built" and attests that Achilles died while negotiating his marriage to Polyxena at Thymbraion (*Her.* 12.3; 51.1); their spouses were similarly devoted to the point of self-sacrifice, choosing death over separation from their lovers (*Her.* 2.10–11; 51.2–6). Likewise each hero is reunited on an ongoing basis with his lover (*Her.* 11.1; 54.2–55.6), although Achilles' affections have turned from Polyxena to Helen. The cults of both heroes have suffered neglect, and each has exacted vengeance upon those from whom honor was due (*Her.* 4.2; 9.5–7; 16.5; 52.3–54.1).

By their valor in war, the brevity and tragedy of their lives, and their ongoing existence after death Protesilaos and Achilles are typical Greek heroes. Yet a more particular characteristic of the two heroes emerges from the *Heroikos*: Protesilaos and Achilles are watchful defenders of all that is Greek from all that is not. Standing on the Hellespont, the symbolic division between Europe and Asia, these two heroes guard the Greeks from barbarian invaders. Protesilaos avenges himself on the former owner of his sanctuary, one tellingly named Xeinis ("stranger, foreigner"; *Her.* 4.2); likewise the adulterer, whose presence at the sanctuary

[77] In Polygnotos's painting of the Nekyia (Odysseus's descent to Hades) Protesilaos gazes toward Achilles (Pausanias *Description of Greece* 10.30.1).

offended Protesilaos, dies from a dog-bite (*Her*. 16.3–4). Protesilaos, moreover, comes to life again to exact vengeance upon Artayktes, the Persian governor who plundered and desecrated Protesilaos's sanctuary (see *Her*. 9.5; Herodotus *Hist*. 7.33.1; 9.116–120). Achilles is presented in the same fashion in the *Heroikos*. The *Heroikos* ends with two such tales of heroic vengeance, a fact that must be taken into consideration when addressing Philostratus's purpose in writing the *Heroikos* (see below). The first tale brings to a close Achilles' vengeance upon the house of Priam; in a fury that seems at odds with Achilles' otherwise idyllic existence on Leukê, he dismembers the Trojan maiden as her wails echo from the shore (*Her*. 56.1–10).[78] The even more bloody destruction of the Amazons, who are explicitly identified as new enemies of Achilles (i.e., they were not at Troy according to Protesilaos), points again to Achilles as protector of the Greeks from the barbarians (*Her*. 56.11–57.17).

One result of this careful paralleling of Protesilaos and Achilles is the elevation of Protesilaos's heroic status through his close association with Achilles.[79] More significant is the way in which the similarities of the heroes allow for a more precise definition of Protesilaos's mythic importance for the *Heroikos*.[80] Certainly he is a devoted lover and a bringer of fertility to the land, but these themes receive relatively little attention in the text. Especially in light of the ending of the dialogue with the two stories of Achilles' vengeance, greater emphasis is laid on Protesilaos the *revenant*. Strategically poised at the Hellespont, Protesilaos maintains the boundary between Asia and Europe by defending Greek civilization from barbarian threats. More importantly, however, Protesilaos's vengeance against the hubris of

[78] This story has a number of similarities to the themes of Euripides' *Iphigeneia in Tauris* and the dismemberment of Pentheus in Euripides' *Bacchae*; Anderson, *Philostratus*, 247.

[79] In other words, the *Heroikos* foregrounds the high status of Protesilaos which is also apparent in the *Iliad*'s compressed version of his death as the first, and hence preeminent, among the Hellenes to die at Troy.

[80] Anderson notes some of the similarities between the two heroes, but misses the point by concluding "Achilles is little more than a doublet of Protesilaus on a grander scale" (*Philostratus*, 247).

the outsiders or foreigners in this narrative serves as a warning to Philostratus's own audience against adopting similar behavior.[81]

THE *HEROIKOS* AND HOMER: ON CRITIQUING HEROIC TRADITIONS

A central feature of the *Heroikos* is the characterization of the hero Protesilaos as both a reader and a critic of Homer. Although Protesilaos was the first Hellenic hero to die at Troy, his continued existence, "cleansed of the body" permits him to observe "the affairs of mortals" and thus to know what happened at Troy and thereafter (*Her*. 7.3). The hero is, moreover, among those who "critically examine" (διορῶ) the poems of Homer (*Her*. 7.4); he is able to set his own definitive version of the events against what Homer reports and to correct the Homeric tradition. Through this narrative device of the hero who knows the truth, the *Heroikos* engages in the practice of Homeric criticism which, as we have seen, is a standard sophistic endeavor, rooted in earlier poetic tradition.

It is important, however, not to dismiss the critical strategies of the *Heroikos* as simply another example of sophistic skill. Rather, by looking at the specific ways in which the Homeric poems are critiqued, we gain insight into both the purposes of the dialogue and its attitudes toward texts, practices, and experience as authoritative. It is thus necessary to inquire how the dialogue defines the sources of what is "true," as well as the content of that truth. What does getting the story right entail and what are the consequences of doing so? By attending to the dynamics of how authority is constituted in the *Heroikos* we are able to locate the dialogue in relation to the poetics of the Homeric tradition. From

[81] Boedeker ("Protesilaos," 37, 42–44) emphasizes Protesilaos's role in defending civilization against barbarian threats. It is important to recognize, however, that Herodotus's account of Protesilaos as *revenant* against the Persian governor is not a simplistic anti-Persian or ethnocentrically pro-Greek message. Rather the story stands as a warning for Herodotus's own Greek audience against hubris and tyranny, not least since it is Pericles's father, Xanthippos, the Athenian leader, who refused Artayktes' compensation for the wrongs done to Protesilaos and brutally executed him (Herodotus *Hist*. 9.120.3–4); see Nagy, *Pindar's Homer*, 308–13. A similar strategy may be operative in the *Heroikos*; see below.

a perspective of the history of religions, it also becomes possible to compare the dialogue's stance toward the "canon" of Homer and variant traditions with the development of canonical texts in cognate environments, for example, in ancient Christianity. In particular, the relation between story and cultic practice displayed in this text, with its concern for telling the right story and doing the proper ritual actions, may help in understanding the formation of religious identity in the early third century.

Throughout the dialogue, the hero Protesilaos is treated as a source of knowledge and instruction. He not only instructs the vinedresser about gardening and farming techniques (*Her*. 4.9–10), but also shares in the vinedresser's reflective, philosophical lifestyle (*Her*. 2.6). He is said to "excel in wisdom," and his sanctuary to be fruitful in "divine and pure wisdom" as well as in grapes and olives (*Her*. 4.10–11). The vinedresser's contemporaries treat Protesilaos's sanctuary as an oracle, going there to consult the hero about such matters as the disposition of giants' bones (*Her*. 8.9). Athletes visit the sanctuary regularly to receive oracular advice about how to succeed in their upcoming contests (*Her*. 14.4–15.10). The vinedresser sometimes appears as a mediator of the oracle, relaying information from Protesilaos to the inquirer, and he exercises this mediating role in the dialogue as he reports what Protesilaos has told him, but says little on his own authority. The visiting Phoenician is permitted to consult his host Protesilaos through the medium of the vinedresser (*Her*. 58.1–3). The vinedresser has obtained this status by his choice of the simple, agricultural life devoid of economic interchange, a choice based on his interpretation of Protesilaos's enigmatic advice to him upon his return from the city, "Change your dress" (*Her*. 4.8). Receiving knowledge from Protesilaos is possible for the vinedresser because of his lifestyle and his devotion to the hero.[82] Moreover, if the vinedresser did not report correctly what

[82] The vinedresser's offerings to the hero consist of wine, milk, and sweetmeats (*Her*. 11.9); we may note that wine is also offered in the funeral games for Patroklos (Homer *Il*. 23.218–21). Here and elsewhere the description of the vinedresser's relation to Protesilaos reflects the practices of hero cult. Samson Eitrem ("Zu Philostrats Heroikos," *Symbolae Osloenses* 8 [1929]: 34–35) suggests Neopythagorean overtones to the description of the vinedresser's offerings.

Protesilaos told him, he would dishonor the hero, especially because this hero values truth as "the mother of virtue" (*Her*. 7.8).[83] Thus telling the truth and accurately conveying knowledge from the hero gain religious value and are equated with giving proper honor to the hero.

The vinedresser obtains his information through direct encounter with Protesilaos who appears regularly in bodily form at his sanctuary and elsewhere and talks with the vinedresser.[84] The hero has come to life again (ἀναβιόω), although he refuses to disclose how this has happened (*Her*. 3.9–10; 58.2). The vinedresser has no need of a cult statue, because he spends time with the hero and sees him. Such immediate engagement with the hero contrasts with other sources of similarly authoritative knowledge, such as dreams, visions, oracular utterances, ancient histories, and the interpretation of sacred texts. The word of the hero who has returned to life and speaks to his worshippers thus has ultimate truth value in the dialogue. This revealed knowledge functions as the final authority in the *Heroikos*.

In addition, however, other experiences are proffered as the basis for belief or as authorities upon which to critique Homer. Philostratus invokes folk beliefs as a basis for authority; for example, there are others besides the vinedresser who have seen the heroes returned to life as phantoms, including the shepherds in the plain of Troy who hear the clattering of the warriors and see their figures covered with dust or blood (*Her*. 18.1–2). Both Ajax and Hektor are mentioned as appearing in vengeance to those

[83] On the hero as the one who honors truth and speaks authoritatively, see Richard P. Martin, *The Language of Heroes: Speech and Performance in the* Iliad (Ithaca: Cornell Univeristy Press, 1989), xiv. See also the discussion of heroic utterances in Leonard Muellner, *The Meaning of Homeric εὔχομαι Through its Formulas* (Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck, 1976, 1976), esp. pp. 74–78.

[84] In this respect, the vinedresser's relationship with Protesilaos bears strong similarities to the experience of a person initiated in the cult of a hero, that is, a person who participates through ritual in the *muthos* and ethos of that hero (for example, at the oracle of Trophonios). Protesilaos's epiphanies, the vinedresser's direct encounters with him (συνουσία), and his reception of authoritative information from the hero reflect the mystique of cult practices. On the practices of initiation at Trophonius's oracular cult, see above in Nagy's "Prologue" to this volume. On the motif of συνουσία with the gods or heroes, see Eitrem, "Zu Philostrats Heroikos," 12–21.

who insult them (*Her.* 18.3–19.7). The case of Ajax is instructive since a Trojan shepherd insults him with the words of Homer, "Ajax stood firm no longer" (*Il.* 15.727); in reply Ajax shouts from the tomb that he did stand firm. Here the *revenant* himself corrects the account of Homer, just as Protesilaos does. Devout worshippers of the heroes also receive appearances, as in the case of the farmer devoted to Palamedes[85] and the girl who falls in love with Antilokhos (*Her.* 21.1–22.4). The vinedresser hears about the experiences of the inhabitants of the Troad because they are his nearest neighbors (*Her.* 22.4). Likewise the merchants who sail the Black Sea bring back stories from Achilles' sanctuary on Leukê (*Her.* 56.1–4).

Certain experiences are available to all who care to look. In this regard, we may note the frequent references to cult statues of various heroes. Philostratus introduces these into the dialogue through the technique of *ekphrasis*, by which a visual representation is described in such detail as to make it appear before the eyes of the audience.[86] In many cases, the vinedresser supplements discussion of a hero with Protesilaos's description of the cult statue (ἀγάλμα); the depiction of Nestor is a good example (*Her.* 26.13). Even when a statue is not mentioned, as in the case of Palamedes, the discussion may include a similarly detailed *ekphrasis* of the hero (*Her.* 33.39–41). The heroes are thus available, through the techniques of verbal art, for the audience to see. Similarly, they may view the bones of the giants, about

[85] The relationship between the farmer and Palamedes parallels that between the vinedresser and Protesilaos.

[86] The technique of *ekphrasis* appears as early as Homer's description of Achilles' shield (*Iliad* 18); it was later treated at length in rhetorical handbooks and was an expected skill for a sophist in Philostratus's day (see Anderson, *Second Sophistic*, 144–55; see also his *Philostratus*, 244). See also G. Downey, "*Ekphrasis*," *RAC* 4:921–44; J. Palm, "Bemerkungen zur Ekphrase der griechischen Literatur," *Kungliga Humanistika Vetenskapssamfundet i Uppsala* 1 (1965): 108–211; Don Fowler, "Narrate and Describe: The Problem of Ekphrasis," *JRS* 81 (1991): 25–35, repr. as ch. 3 in his *Roman Constructions: Readings in Postmodern Latin* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Gottfried Boehm and Helmut Pfotenhauer, eds., *Beschreibungskunst, Kunstbeschreibung: Ekphrasis von Antike bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich: Fink, 1995); Ruth Helen Webb, "*Ekphrasis* Ancient and Modern: The Invention of a Genre," *Word and Image* 15 (1999): 7–18.

which the vinedresser tells the Phoenician in the process of convincing him that the marvels of myth really happened. Not only are there many reports from those who have seen the bones, but the Phoenician may go and see for himself (*Her.* 8.3–13). Common to reports about the bones and the appearance of the heroes is an appeal to the authority of the eyewitness and experiential knowledge. Just as the vinedresser sees and experiences the hero Protesilaos and thus receives wisdom and truth, so others see phenomena and have experiences that are not to be doubted. The audience is thus encouraged to attend to what is before their eyes.

What Protesilaos knows is similarly grounded in experience, albeit partially in the experience of a soul (ψυχή) free from the body and its diseases (*Her.* 7.3). He can, however, relate events in the battle with the Mysians—a tale not told in Homer—because he was there: this conflict took place before his death in Troy (*Her.* 23.7–30). Similarly he reports what Achilles and Helen do on Leukê because he frequently visits them there, talks with Achilles, and sees for himself. Indeed, according to the vinedresser, Protesilaos visited Achilles as recently as four years ago and tried to persuade him to temper his wrath against the Thessalians (*Her.* 53.19).

We can appreciate better the import of this appeal to direct experience and immediate engagement with the heroes by contrasting it with Homeric criticism in Dio Chrysostom's *Troikos*. Dio sets out to correct Homer first of all on the basis of what Homer himself says; he demonstrates internal inconsistencies and points out repeatedly where what Homer says is unbelievable or unlikely (e.g., *Troikos* 11, 54, 70). At each turn, Dio's critique counterpoises a more reasonable account than that of Homer. In this respect, Dio bases his Homeric critique on an appeal to something like what we might call common sense. The result is a minimalist approach to the gods and a revisionist, even rationalist, approach to human history.

Dio also appeals to an external authority in the person of the ancient Egyptian priest in Onuphis. This priest reports inscriptions of temple columns, now partly ruined and remembered only by a few, but containing "all the history of earlier times" (*Troikos* 38). The record of the Trojan War was based on a description provided by Menelaos during his visit to Egypt; the audience may thus suppose that the record was especially reliable

concerning the affairs of Helen, which form the core of Dio's criticism. Relying upon an old Egyptian priest and Egyptian temple inscriptions as sources of definitive history accords well with the Roman view that the most ancient and thus most accurate wisdom was to be found in Egypt. Although there may be an ultimate recourse to what Menelaos recounted, the kind of personal, eyewitness experience found in the *Heroikos* is not emphasized to any great degree in the *Troikos*. Rather, coupled with the appeal to the authority of common sense is the reliance upon ancient and sacred records.[87] In contrast, the *Heroikos* only occasionally proposes a correction of Homer on the basis of what is more likely or plausible (see, e.g., *Her.* 23.7) and never has recourse to sacred histories or a figure like an Egyptian priest. Thus the *Heroikos* uses quite different means to establish the authority of its version of events, namely, a hero who has returned to life and reveals the truth.[88]

The discussion of Homer in the *Heroikos* is considerable and not confined to correction and emendation of Homer's account. The central section of the dialogue, which is concerned with the Hellenic and Trojan heroes, is framed by two expositions of Protesilaos's opinions about Homer and his poetic technique (*Her.* 24.1–25.17; 43.1–44.4). Despite the corrections of Homer's account, Protesilaos has only the highest praise for Homer's skill. Homer is the preeminent poet, outdoing Hesiod and all the other poets, expert in the widest range of subjects, and working with divine assistance (*Her.* 25.2–5). Sensitive to the poetic conventions which seek divine inspiration for the singing of epic and lyric poetry, the dialogue makes it clear that although Homer's poems seem divine, they were not composed by Apollo or the Muses,

[87] The conceit in the second–third-century C.E. pseudonymous work of Dictys is that the true story of the Trojan War and hence the correction of Homer is available in recently discovered diaries from a solider who fought in the war. See *Dictys Cretensis, Ephemeridos Belli Troiani libri* (Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana; 2d ed.; Leipzig: Teubner, 1973); and *The Trojan War: The Chronicles of Dictys of Crete and Dares the Phrygian* (trans. R. M. Frazer; Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1966); F. Huhn and E. Bethe, "Philostrat und Diktys," *Hermes* 52 (1917): 613–24; Mantero, *Ricerche*, 198–200; Solmsen, "Some Works," 560; Edward Champlin, "Serenus Sommonicus," *HSCP* 85 (1981): 189–212, esp. 210–12.

[88] Solmsen ("Some Works," 560) suggests that this is a novel invention of Philostratus.

but by a mortal with the aid of a god (*Her.* 43.3–6). The dialogue wrestles with the questions of when and where Homer lived, remaining in the end equivocal on these matters (*Her.* 44.1–4). Clearly the *Heroikos* utilizes Homer as the culture hero of poetry, attributing to him the poems of the Trojan War and excellence in song.

What the dialogue regards as the "poems of Homer" appears to encompass the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, although these names are not used. Philostratus, however, does not present an account of the Trojan War, but of its heroes and of various episodes of their time at Troy and elsewhere. The Phoenician and Protesilaos both "read" (ἀναγινώσκειν; *Her.* 6.3; 7.4) the verses of Homer, but Homer is never said to "write" his poems; rather he regularly "sings" (ᾄδειν). It is clear that Protesilaos is presented as primarily concerned with the poems of Homer (i.e., the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*) and critiquing them, and that matters contained in the so-called Epic Cycle are not included under the umbrella of Homer's poems.[89] Nevertheless, the *Heroikos* contains numerous references to what "many other poets" sing (*Her.* 8.16; 11.2; 23.4, 10; 26.16; 33.4; 39.4; 51.2; 56.11), and frequently the stories in question are found in the Epic Cycle. Defining the relationship of the *Heroikos* and its stories to these epics precisely is difficult due to our fragmentary knowledge of the specific details of many of the stories. For example, the death of Odysseus at the hands of his son by Circe is found in the *Telegonia*, but, since Proclus's summary does not specify the manner of his death, it is not clear whether Protesilaos is expressing agreement with the *Telegonia* or is drawing upon a variant tradition that also appears in Apollodorus (see *Her.* 25.15; *Epitome* 7.36–37). What is clear, however, is that their stories are subject to the same kind of critique as the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. At times Protesilaos expresses disagreement with some details of an epic's story, while agreeing with its general truth. Two examples of this will suffice: Protesilaos discusses at length the sack of Mysia, a story found in the *Cypria*,

[89] Materials relating to the Epic Cycle are contained in the critical edition of Thomas W. Allen, *Homeri Opera V: Hymnos, Cyclum Fragmenta, Margiten, Batrachomyomachiam, Vitas Continens* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1912); for an easily accesible English translation, see Hugh G. Evelyn-White, trans., *Hesiod, The Homeric Hymns, and Homerica* (LCL; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967).

but disagrees with its claim that the Achaeans mistook Mysia for Troy (*Her*. 23.4). The retelling of the slaying of Antilokhos proceeds similarly: according to the hero, the *Aithiopis* tells this story rightly, except for the mistaken identification of this Memnôn as the son of Eos (*Her*. 26.16). Protesilaos also can completely repudiate a tale from the Epic Cycle (the Amazon presence in Troy is flatly denied in contrast to the *Aithiopis*; *Her*. 56.11; likewise, the story of Odysseus's feigned madness found in the *Cypria*; *Her*. 33.4) as well as introduce a story "unknown to Homer and all poets" (*Her*. 23.1). Of particular interest and worthy of further investigation is Protesilaos's emphasis on the tales of Palamedes (*Her*. 21.2–8; 33.1–34.7; 43.11–16) and Philoktêtês (*Her*. 28.1–14), both of whom figure prominently in the *Cypria* and the *Little Iliad*.

The dialogue also shows particular awareness of the tradition of the contest between Homer and Hesiod (*Her*. 25.2–7; 43.7–8), a contest that the vinedresser heard reenacted more recently at Protesilaos's sanctuary by two visiting poets (*Her*. 43.9–11). The comparison with Hesiod is not surprising, not only because of Hesiod's stature in antiquity, but also because there are clear affinities between the vinedresser's way of life at Elaious and the agricultural and economic ideals promoted in the *Works and Days*.[90] Besides Hesiod only a few other poets are named: in praising Homer Protesilaos quotes the verses of a certain Pamphôs (*Her*. 25.8), whom Pausanias knows as a pre-Homeric poet, although the extant fragments would appear to be somewhat

[90] For example, the description of the golden age, "they had all good things, for the fruitful earth unforced bare them fruit abundantly and without stint" (Hesiod *Works and Days* 110–20 [Evelyn-White, LCL], cf. *Her*. 1.5–2.5), and the dwelling of the demigods in the islands of the blessed, "And they live untouched by sorrow in the islands of the blessed along the shore of deep-swirling Ocean, happy heroes for whom the grain-giving earth bears honey-sweet fruit flourishing thrice a year" (*Works and Days* 170–73 [Evelyn-White, LCL]), as well as the advice that Hesiod gives his brother Perses (*Works and Days* 320–26). Nagy (*Best of the Achaeans*, 152–54, following Erwin Rohde, *Psyche: Seelencult und Unsterblichkeitsglaube der Griechen* [2 vols.; 2d ed.; Freiburg: Mohr, 1898], 1:111–45) argues that Hesiod's characterization of the generation of the Golden Age matches closely the description of heroes "as they are worshipped in cult" (p. 152). Thus the *Heroikos* is drawing upon the motifs of hero cult in depicting this way of life.

but by a mortal with the aid of a god (*Her*. 43.3–6). The dialogue wrestles with the questions of when and where Homer lived, remaining in the end equivocal on these matters (*Her*. 44.1–4). Clearly the *Heroikos* utilizes Homer as the culture hero of poetry, attributing to him the poems of the Trojan War and excellence in song.

What the dialogue regards as the "poems of Homer" appears to encompass the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, although these names are not used. Philostratus, however, does not present an account of the Trojan War, but of its heroes and of various episodes of their time at Troy and elsewhere. The Phoenician and Protesilaos both "read" (ἀναγινώσκειν; *Her*. 6.3; 7.4) the verses of Homer, but Homer is never said to "write" his poems; rather he regularly "sings" (ᾄδειν). It is clear that Protesilaos is presented as primarily concerned with the poems of Homer (i.e., the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*) and critiquing them, and that matters contained in the so-called Epic Cycle are not included under the umbrella of Homer's poems.[89] Nevertheless, the *Heroikos* contains numerous references to what "many other poets" sing (*Her*. 8.16; 11.2; 23.4, 10; 26.16; 33.4; 39.4; 51.2; 56.11), and frequently the stories in question are found in the Epic Cycle. Defining the relationship of the *Heroikos* and its stories to these epics precisely is difficult due to our fragmentary knowledge of the specific details of many of the stories. For example, the death of Odysseus at the hands of his son by Circe is found in the *Telegonia*, but, since Proclus's summary does not specify the manner of his death, it is not clear whether Protesilaos is expressing agreement with the *Telegonia* or is drawing upon a variant tradition that also appears in Apollodorus (see *Her*. 25.15; *Epitome* 7.36–37). What is clear, however, is that their stories are subject to the same kind of critique as the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. At times Protesilaos expresses disagreement with some details of an epic's story, while agreeing with its general truth. Two examples of this will suffice: Protesilaos discusses at length the sack of Mysia, a story found in the *Cypria*,

[89] Materials relating to the Epic Cycle are contained in the critical edition of Thomas W. Allen, *Homeri Opera V: Hymnos, Cyclum Fragmenta, Margiten, Batrachomyomachiam, Vitas Continens* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1912); for an easily accesible English translation, see Hugh G. Evelyn-White, trans., *Hesiod, The Homeric Hymns, and Homerica* (LCL; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967).

but disagrees with its claim that the Achaeans mistook Mysia for Troy (*Her*. 23.4). The retelling of the slaying of Antilokhos proceeds similarly: according to the hero, the *Aithiopis* tells this story rightly, except for the mistaken identification of this Memnôn as the son of Eos (*Her*. 26.16). Protesilaos also can completely repudiate a tale from the Epic Cycle (the Amazon presence in Troy is flatly denied in contrast to the *Aithiopis*; *Her*. 56.11; likewise, the story of Odysseus's feigned madness found in the *Cypria*; *Her*. 33.4) as well as introduce a story "unknown to Homer and all poets" (*Her*. 23.1). Of particular interest and worthy of further investigation is Protesilaos's emphasis on the tales of Palamedes (*Her*. 21.2–8; 33.1–34.7; 43.11–16) and Philoktêtês (*Her*. 28.1–14), both of whom figure prominently in the *Cypria* and the *Little Iliad*.

The dialogue also shows particular awareness of the tradition of the contest between Homer and Hesiod (*Her*. 25.2–7; 43.7–8), a contest that the vinedresser heard reenacted more recently at Protesilaos's sanctuary by two visiting poets (*Her*. 43.9–11). The comparison with Hesiod is not surprising, not only because of Hesiod's stature in antiquity, but also because there are clear affinities between the vinedresser's way of life at Elaious and the agricultural and economic ideals promoted in the *Works and Days*.[90] Besides Hesiod only a few other poets are named: in praising Homer Protesilaos quotes the verses of a certain Pamphôs (*Her*. 25.8), whom Pausanias knows as a pre-Homeric poet, although the extant fragments would appear to be somewhat

[90] For example, the description of the golden age, "they had all good things, for the fruitful earth unforced bare them fruit abundantly and without stint" (Hesiod *Works and Days* 110–20 [Evelyn-White, LCL], cf. *Her*. 1.5–2.5), and the dwelling of the demigods in the islands of the blessed, "And they live untouched by sorrow in the islands of the blessed along the shore of deep-swirling Ocean, happy heroes for whom the grain-giving earth bears honey-sweet fruit flourishing thrice a year" (*Works and Days* 170–73 [Evelyn-White, LCL]), as well as the advice that Hesiod gives his brother Perses (*Works and Days* 320–26). Nagy (*Best of the Achaeans*, 152–54, following Erwin Rohde, *Psyche: Seelencult und Unsterblichkeitsglaube der Griechen* [2 vols.; 2d ed.; Freiburg: Mohr, 1898], 1:111–45) argues that Hesiod's characterization of the generation of the Golden Age matches closely the description of heroes "as they are worshipped in cult" (p. 152). Thus the *Heroikos* is drawing upon the motifs of hero cult in depicting this way of life.

later.[91] On two occasions plays of Euripides are mentioned by title and author; we find reference to his *Oineus* (*Her.* 4.1) and a quotation from the *Palamedes* (*Her.* 34.7), both of which are no longer extant.[92]

In a dialogue in which a hero appears as the chief authority on subjects taken up by epic poetry, it should come as no surprise that the heroes are themselves singers of epic and lyric. Protesilaos is said to "sing" of the Trojan events that took place after his lifetime, as well as other events in the history of the Hellenes and the Medes (*Her.* 7.6). Achilles, however, is the heroic poet *par excellence*. He is said to have learned music from his tutor, the centaur Kheirôn, and received "musical skill and mastery of poetic composition" from the muse Calliope (*Her.* 45.7). Lamenting the death of Palamedes, he composed the "Palamedes," apparently a song about his heroic deeds (*Her.* 33.36). On Leukê, Achilles and Helen occupy themselves with epic and lyric in a symposium-like setting; Protesilaos reports that they sing the poems of Homer, as well as love songs to one another. In a reversal of roles, Achilles also sings a song in praise of Homer, which the vinedresser quotes to the Phoenician (*Her.* 55.3).

Philostratus presents in the *Heroikos* a brief chronology of poetic history. Epic recitation (ῥαψῳδία) began only with Homer and did not exist before the Trojan War. There was, nonetheless, some poetry, namely, "about prophetic matters"—the setting of oracular utterances in poetic form—and about Herakles (*Her.* 7.5). Herakles himself is credited with the composition of a poetic epigram in dactylic hexameter (*Her.* 55.5), which the vinedresser cites as evidence of the great age of poetic composition. By attributing such activities to the heroes, the dialogue implies that those who are engaged in poetic composition and in performance that remembers the deeds of the heroes are imitators of the heroes themselves. Just as the hero Protesilaos is the source of the accurate content for the performance, so too the heroes are the prototypical performers.

The primary trajectory for Protesilaos's correction of Homer lies in his assertion that Homer left Palamedes out of his

[91] Pausanias *Description of Greece* 8.37.9.

[92] The quotation from the *Palamedes* is frg. 588 Nauck and that from the *Oineus* is frg. 561 Nauck.

account and favored Odysseus (*Her.* 24.2). By omitting events concerning Palamedes, Homer distorts key matters. Protesilaos maintains that the cause of Odysseus's wanderings was Poseidon's wrath, not over the blinding of his son, the Cyclops Polyphemos (whom indeed Homer invented), but over the death of Palamedes, his grandson (*Her.* 25.13–15). Likewise, Achilles' wrath is not the result of being deprived of Khrysêis, but because of the unjust death of Palamedes (*Her.* 25.15–17). In this way, Protesilaos reshapes the motives underlying the plots of both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Odysseus becomes "Homer's plaything," (*Her.* 25.14), promoted along with Achilles at the expense of other heroes. Moreover, to heighten appreciation of Odysseus and Achilles, Homer is accused of inventing characters such as the Cyclopes, the fabulous stories of Odysseus's wanderings, the immortality of Achilles' horses, and even Achilles' divinely wrought armor. Some of these Protesilaos regards merely as unnecessary, poetic hyperboles; the omission of Palamedes is more serious, since it perpetuates the injustice and dishonor rendered to the hero.

In *Odyssey* 11, Odysseus conjures up spirits of the dead by making a libation of blood at the entrance to the Underworld; in this way he learns the post-war fate of many of his companions at Troy. In the *Heroikos*, it is Homer who makes such a libation and summons Odysseus from the dead in order to hear what really happened at Troy. Odysseus, from whom Palamedes demands justice for his murder, threatens to withhold the entire account from Homer unless Homer promises to say nothing at all about Palamedes and so erase him from the story. If Homer's account is favorable toward Odysseus and mortals come to believe that Odysseus had nothing to do with Palamedes, then the demands for Odysseus's punishment will lessen (*Her.* 43.12–16). In other words, Odysseus bribes Homer with the promise of revealing knowledge in return for a biased account. Protesilaos, in what he reveals to the vinedresser and hence to the audience, unmasks the deception.[93]

[93] In Dio Chrysostom's *Troikos*, Homer's misrepresentations of the truth are given an economic motive; since Homer was a beggar, he needed to please those for whom he sang and thus told a version of the story that benefited them (*Troikos* 15–16). In both the *Troikos* and the *Heroikos*, then, Homer is accused of distorting the story because of his own needs, in the one case for money and food, in the other for knowledge.

Two episodes involving women leaders are notable examples of Protesilaos's correction and emendation of the poetic accounts. The first concerns Hiera, the warrior queen of the Mysians who led the Mysian women into battle with the Achaeans alongside the male warriors. Protesilaos, who fought in that battle on the Achaean side, maintains that she was the most beautiful of all women, surpassing Helen, and that to exalt Helen Homer omitted all mention of Hiera from his poems (*Her.* 23.28–29). Although revision of the events surrounding the presence of Helen at Troy is a common theme of Homeric criticism,[94] the removal of Hiera from the story in connection with Homer's fondness for Helen is a surprising twist. It is tempting to suppose that Philostratus emphasizes the stature of Hiera either from an interest in the local traditions of the region surrounding the Troad or, as we shall explore below, as a model for the prominent women in the imperial family, such as Julia Domna.

The second example concerns Achilles and the Amazons. Protesilaos reports that Achilles did not fight the Amazons at Troy, and indeed the vinedresser maintains that it would not be plausible that the Amazons who earlier had been allied with the Phrygians against Priam would have come to Troy as Priam's allies (*Her.* 56.11). The Amazons then were never at Troy, according to this emendation.[95] This permits Philostratus, on the supposed authority of Protesilaos, to locate Achilles' brutal encounter with the Amazons on Leukê, Achilles' home in the Black Sea, when the Amazons decide to invade the island in order to seize its wealth, Achilles' mares, and even Achilles himself. The result of this revision is to make the Amazons appear as aggressors without warrant, foreigners who threaten a focal point of Hellenic cultural identity by attempting to despoil the home and sanctuary of Achilles. Again the question of the relation between putting forward such a version of the story and the historical situation of the *Heroikos* arises. We may speculate that the repelling of such an impious foreign invasion, matched by Protesilaos's reaction to

[94] See the discussion in the Glossary, s.v. Helen.

[95] We may note that this instance is marked in the text as a correction, not of Homer, but rather of what "some of the poets say" (*Her.* 56.11). Since "Homer" in the *Heroikos* is the author only of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, this is strictly correct: the story of the Amazons' fight with Achilles at Troy is told in the lost *Aithiopis*.

similar foreigners elsewhere in the dialogue, corresponds in some fashion to the perception of threats to the Roman empire and Hellenic culture from outsiders (see below).

We may also examine Protesilaos's critique of Homer from the perspective of the relation between local tradition and panhellenism.[96] The *Heroikos* presents Homer's poems as the official version of events, known and accepted by all people. Homer's poems are, to this extent, canonical and panhellenic; such a presentation corresponds well to the way in which the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were regarded in Greek and Roman culture from the second century B.C.E. onward. The dialogue also recognizes the process of centripetal diffusion by which local versions of epic are gathered into a centralized account.[97] It does so by attributing that process to the figure of Homer himself, who, according to the vinedresser, traveled around Greece and collected from each city the names and deeds of their local heroes (*Her.* 43.10). From these, combined with what he learned from Odysseus, Homer composed his poems.

Protesilaos's apparent reliance upon and revival of stories from the Epic Cycle is an important aspect of the *Heroikos* insofar as it represents a reassertion of the more local traditions of the Epic Cycle in contrast to the panhellenic tendencies of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.[98] Protesilaos's critiques of these local epic traditions on the basis of his own authority and on-going ritual tradition represent an even more radical localization of mythic authority. In a sense what we seem to be observing is the deconstruction of the panhellenic ideals found in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* and a reconstruction of a new Greek identity on the basis of local traditions, both epic and ritual. The particular local connections of the various poems of the Epic Cycle (e.g., the connection of the *Aithiopis* with Miletus) need further investigation in order to attempt to localize Philostratus's own cultural and political commitments.[99]

As we have seen, the dialogue questions the authority of Homer as soon as it introduces Protesilaos as the definitive bearer of

[96] On panhellenism, see Nagy, *Pindar's Homer*, chs. 2 and 3; Nagy, *Homeric Questions*, 40–41.

[97] On the phenomena of diffusion, see Nagy, *Homeric Questions*, esp. 43.

[98] Nagy, *Pindar's Homer*, ch. 2, esp. pp. 70–81.

[99] Nagy, *Pindar's Homer*, p. 71, 75, esp. n. 114.

the story and compares Homer's account to what Protesilaos has to say. It also does so by recognizing that there are stories that have been forgotten or neglected because of Homer's emphasis on Achilles and Odysseus. There may also be heroes whom Homer mentions in passing but with little remembrance of their deeds. In other words, Protesilaos is presented as bringing to light forgotten stories, much as the action of the sea brings to light the buried bones of the giants (*Her*. 8.5–6). They are not simply stories that are exclusively accessible to Protesilaos because of his supernatural knowledge; the implication is that had Homer not shaped his composition as he did, had the process of remembering in song occurred differently, the audience would be familiar with a broader, as well as more accurate set of stories.

It is therefore important to examine how the *Heroikos* links the alternative stories that Protesilaos recounts with the local tradition.[100] We have seen already the emphasis placed on the experience of the inhabitants of the Troad, the Chersonesus, and the Hellespont, especially around the tombs of the heroes and the giants. The vinedresser knows about the oracle of Orpheus not only from Protesilaos, but also from the inhabitants of Lesbos (*Her*. 28.9–10). Likewise, when he speaks about the sanctuary of Palamedes on the mainland across from Lesbos, he describes the practice of the Aeolians and the inhabitants of nearby coastal cities, including mention of their sacrifices (*Her*. 33.48). Remembering the exploits of Philoktêtês, the vinedresser mentions the healing powers of Lemnian soil and provides an etiology for the place name "Akesa" (*Her*. 28.6). The implication here is that local tradition is a source for correcting or emending the account of Homer. It is likely, moreover, that at this point and in the description of the rituals of purifying the sacred fire on Lemnos (*Her*. 53.5)

[100] It is the position of Simone Follet that Philostratus appeals to traditions local to the northern Aegean and the Troad; see the abstract of her unpublished dissertation, "Édition critique, avec introduction, notes et traduction, de l'*Héroïque* de Philostrate," 747–48. Eitrem ("Zu Philostrats Heroikos," 1) maintains that the author of the *Heroikos* came from this region and was familiar with the hero cults of the Hellespont from personal experience. See also Hans Dieter Betz, "Heroenverehrung und Christusglaube: Religionsgeschichtliche Beobachtungen zu Philostrats *Heroicus*," in *Geschichte—Tradition—Reflexion: Festschrift für Martin Hengel zum 70. Geburtstag*, vol. 2: *Griechische und Römische Religion* (ed. Hubert Cancik; Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1996), 131.

Philostratus is drawing upon his own expertise in the Lemnian myth and ritual.[101]

Issues of regional ritual practice also arise in the lengthy discussion of the cult of Achilles at Troy, which Philostratus includes in his description of Achilles. Distinct from Achilles' sanctuary on Leukê, the site of his burial at Sigeion in the Troad possesses its own rites, decreed, according to the vinedresser, by the oracle at Dodona (*Her.* 53.8). At this point in the dialogue, the vinedresser appears to speak on the authority of his own knowledge; there is scant reference in this section to what he heard from Protesilaos. The cult seems, moreover, to be distinctively Thessalian; in relating the history of full observance, neglect, resurgence under Alexander the Great, and its current status of observance, the vinedresser links it at each point to Thessalian and Macedonian political history (*Her.* 53.14–23). The ultimate authority for the proper observance of the cult is Achilles himself, endorsed by the witness of Protesilaos.

The dialogue's focus on the figure of Protesilaos similarly draws our attention to regional concerns. In making Protesilaos the ultimate authority for getting the story right, the dialogue grounds the "right" version of myth in the witness of a hero who enjoyed particular devotion in Thessaly and the Chersonesus. We have noted above the parallel treatment of Protesilaos and Achilles throughout the *Heroikos*. In matters of myth and ritual, the two heroes function rhetorically in like fashion. Discussion of the cult of Achilles provides an argument for the right performance of the cult of the hero, whereas the overarching conceit of the *Heroikos* concerns the authority of Protesilaos for the right telling of the story.[102] It is striking, therefore, that in both aspects of the phenomenon of proper cultic observance—story and ritual—the dialogue turns not to such institutions as the canon of Homer or the panhellenic festivals, but to regional and local experiences.

[101] Burkert, "Jason, Hypsipyle, and New Fire," 2.

[102] On this question, see Ellen Bradshaw Aitken, "The Cult of Achilles in Philostratus's *Heroikos*: A Study in the Relation of Canon and Ritual," in *Between Magic and Religion: Interdisciplinary Studies in Mediterranean Society* (ed. Sulochana Asirvatham, Corinne Pache, and John Watrous; Rowman & Littlefield, forthcoming).

If these observations are correct, then we may understand them within a context of the continued awareness of the multiformity of epic tradition, supported by the religious practices of cities and regions. If we suppose a world in which a standardized Homeric version of events, albeit of some antiquity by the early third century C.E., has obliterated variant traditions, then it becomes impossible to account for their emergence in art and literature, as well as their persistence in localized religious practice.[103] Rather when we recognize that local and regional stories and ritual practices continued alongside the poems of Homer and the panhellenic festivals and institutions, then we can understand the *Heroikos* as drawing upon the strength of that multiformity while seeking a different authority for adjudicating the truth. The *Heroikos* finds that authority in the experience of immediate engagement with the heroes, made possible by giving them proper honor which includes not only observance of the cult, but also the cultivation of an ethical and truth-loving life.

In this reading of the *Heroikos*, we thus disagree with Graham Anderson, to the extent that his description of the Second Sophistic applies to the *Heroikos*. His view that the sophists "lived in a world of books—or never too far away from it"[104] neglects the important role that local tradition and practice play in Philostratus's rhetoric. Moreover, Anderson includes Philostratus's choice of the short-lived Protesilaos as the central figure of the dialogue as part of the sophistic "reflex to focus attention on obscure characters in Homer."[105] This perspective disregards the importance of Protesilaos not only in Greek and Roman literature, but also as a foundational hero for parts of Thessaly and the Chersonesus with a cult continuing into the third century C.E.

We should be careful to distinguish, however, between the rhetorical claims of the *Heroikos* and Philostratus's compositional

[103] On this question, see, among other works, Thomas H. Carpenter, *Art and Myth in Ancient Greece* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1991). A discussion of an analogous phenomenon among early Christian traditions can be found in Helmut Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung bei den apostolischen Vätern* (TU 65; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1957).

[104] Anderson, *Second Sophistic*, 85.

[105] Anderson, *Second Sophistic*, 175. He connects the reflex with the concept that the sophists are engaged in a complex literary game of playing with Homer.

practices. When the dialogue, through the character of Protesilaos, claims to draw upon local stories at variance with Homer, the authenticity of this claim needs to be evaluated in each case. Indeed those variant traditions may well have been available to Philostratus in the works of other writers or his own literary creation. Nevertheless, Philostratus makes a strong argument for taking local tradition seriously as a source of truth over against the poems of Homer. He is saying, in effect, that if you consult those who live on the Hellespont, in the Chersonesus and the Troad, as well as those who live near the sanctuaries of the heroes, you will obtain knowledge more accurate than that which you hear from the poets, including Homer. Moreover, if you go to the tombs of the heroes and worship properly, you will receive knowledge and insight. This is a central message of the *Heroikos*. It does not mean necessarily, however, that Philostratus is an indubitable source of local stories about the Homeric heroes or the cult practices of his time. The fact that he makes such a rhetorical appeal, however, strongly suggests continuing tension between the canonicity of the Homeric poems, on the one hand, and stories and practices associated with local cult sites, on the other.

The *Heroikos* raises important issues about the authority upon which stories and practices are founded. Its rhetorical strategies thus provide a useful foil against which to read the concerns central to the developing identities of early Christian communities, roughly contemporary with the *Heroikos*. That is, within formative Christianity of the second and third centuries C.E. we find concerns with the formation of the canon of scripture that are comparable to the *Heroikos*'s interest in telling the "right" story and which likewise reflect growing tensions among a diversity of memories about Jesus and his followers.[106] We may also compare the *Heroikos*'s interest in proper observance of ritual with the varieties of cultic expression in early Christianity, including the proper way to perform and interpret actions such as eucharist and baptism. Similarly, we find both in the *Heroikos* and in early Christian texts discussion of the attitude

[106] For an introduction to these questions, see Harry Y. Gamble, "Canon: New Testament," *ABD* 1:852–61; see also Hans von Campenhausen, *The Formation of the Christian Bible* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1972); Helmut Koester, "Apocryphal and Canonical Gospels," *HTR* 73 (1980): 105–30.

or confession of the individual, the value of immediate experience of the divine world, and the appropriate ethical and ascetic practices. Questions such as these were by no means answered uniformly within the diversity of Christian communities before the middle of the third century. We raise the comparative questions between the *Heroikos* and early Christianity not to ignore the several differences, but so as to illumine the particular strategies by which each text constitutes and claims authority for its tradition.[107] For example, whereas the *Heroikos* presents a hero returned to life who provides the "true" version of the epic tradition and critiques Homer, the late first-century C.E. Gospel of Luke asserts that authoritative interpretation of scripture is available through association with Jesus after his resurrection, and the second-century C.E. *Apocryphon of James* shows the disciples receiving "sayings" from the risen Jesus. The strategy of establishing authority through a figure who has returned from the dead is common to each, but the nature of the utterance is significantly different: the epic tradition, the interpretation of a set of sacred texts, and enigmatic sayings. It has also been argued that although early Christians avoided veneration of Jesus as a hero, the *Heroikos* has "parallels" to early Christian literature and indirectly furnishes evidence for a confrontation between Christian and non-Christian beliefs about heroes.[108] Whether one agrees with such an interpretation, the *Heroikos* may be read from a comparative perspective as a text that sheds light upon the various means of creating and promoting religious identity in antiquity.

THE *HEROIKOS* AND ITS AIMS

The foregoing observations about the literary, religious, and cultural setting of the *Heroikos* lead us necessarily to inquire into the purposes for which Philostratus composed this work. Given the remaining uncertainty about the date of the dialogue and even its

[107] For example, Eitrem ("Zu Philostrats Heroikos," 23–24) draws a comparison between the recounting of supernatural marvels in the *Heroikos*, the summary of miracle stories in the *Pseudo-Clementine Homilies*, and Lucian's *Nekyomanteia*.

[108] This interpretation has been advanced strongly by Betz, "Heroenverehrung und Christusglaube," 119–39.

authorship, our proposals are tentative. We particularly recognize that this work may have had several purposes and have spoken in a multivalent fashion to various parts of its audience.

Samson Eitrem argues at length that the dialogue is an attempt to encourage belief in heroes among the educated, and to promote worship of them.[109] In this context it is often noted that Caracalla visited Achilles' tomb circa 214–215 C.E. during his expedition to the East and made an elaborate commemoration of Achilles in the Troad, and that as part of Julia Domna's entourage, Philostratus would have been present.[110] Although the emperor's devotion to Achilles probably arose from his desire to emulate Alexander the Great, Caracalla's mother Julia Domna had great interest in Apollonius of Tyana, and to satisfy this, Philostratus wrote his *Life of Apollonius*. In this work, the Neopythagorean sage visits Achilles' tomb and converses with him (*Life of Apollonius* 4.11–13, and 15–16).[111] Caracalla also had a temple built in honor of Apollonius. Given these historical considerations and the relationship between the *Life* and the *Heroikos* (see above), Eitrem regards the *Heroikos* as a serious effort to promote hero worship which, unlike the official cult of the Olympian gods, still had great popularity among the ordinary populace.[112] Yet, according to Eitrem, Philostratus in his "correction" of the Homeric tradition "quite unconsciously" undermined an essential support for renewal of belief in heroes; Philostratus was thus relying not only on a deep interest in the hero cult but also on the rationalizing and literary habits of the sophists.[113] Eitrem questions, for example, Philostratus's treatment of Polyxena's suicide and desire to be Achilles' bride in Hades (*Her.* 51.6), which suggests that Philostratus believed that marriage in Hades was possible. Eitrem concludes, however, that we "should not

[109] See Eitrem, "Zu Philostrats Heroikos," 1–56.

[110] Cassius Dio *Roman History* 78.16.7; Herodian *History of the Empire* 4.8.3. On the circle of Julia Domna and Philostratus's introduction to the imperial court, see the discussion above.

[111] On these historical considerations, see, for example, Eitrem, "Zu Philostrats Heroikos," 1; Solmsen, "Some Works," 558–59, and Anderson, *Philostratus*, 241.

[112] Eitrem, "Zu Philostrats Heroikos," 2.

[113] Eitrem, "Zu Philostrats Heroikos," 48.

take Philostratus so seriously on this point."[114] Moreover, in his opposition to Homer, Philostratus described Achilles as quite unsentimental in order to portray the grieving Achaeans in much more sentimental fashion (see *Her*. 48.10–11). Despite these misgivings about Philostratus's intentions, Eitrem claims that the *Heroikos* had a "national purpose," and by presenting ideal men, indeed "supermen" of the past, figures familiar to Greeks from their childhood, Philostratus indirectly combated anything anti-Hellenic, and thus promoted Hellenic culture.[115]

Following Eitrem, Teresa Mantero also argues that Philostratus had a religious purpose in composing the *Heroikos*, namely, the revitalization of hero cults. Her analysis points out the likely influence of Neoplatonic and Neopythagorean ideas on Philostratus's presentation of the heroes and their cults. As a result, her interpretation of the dialogue, like that of Eitrem, tends to subordinate literary approaches to a religio-philosophical and folkloric reading.[116] Mantero also discusses the pro-Hellenic tendencies in the *Heroikos*, suggesting that Philostratus was here promoting a Greek identity with ancient roots in the stories and cults of the heroes in the face of the syncretistic tendencies of the Severan dynasty.[117]

A far less positive evaluation of Philostratus's intentions is made by Graham Anderson. Contrary to the view that Philostratus is providing some kind of "propaganda for a genuine popular piety" and a "serious vindication of hero cults,"[118] Anderson observes that it is not always easy to see a "pious purpose" in Philostratus's reworking of myth. There is, however, what appears to be a sophistic penchant for the archaic and literary, and many details in the *Heroikos* seem related to the repertoire of sophistic literature (see above).[119] Anderson concludes that Philostratus's

[114] Eitrem, "Zu Philostrats Heroikos," 48.

[115] Eitrem, "Zu Philostrats Heroikos," 5–6.

[116] See, for example, Mantero, *Ricerche*, 12–13, and esp. her concluding remark on p. 18. See also Mantero, *Aspetti del culto degli eroi presso i greci* (Genoa: Tilgher, 1973).

[117] Mantero, *Ricerche*, 227–28. Betz ("Heroenverehrung und Christusglaube," 122) also indicates that the *Heroikos* needs to be read in a religious-political framework and not only a literary-aesthetic one.

[118] Anderson, *Philostratus*, 247–48.

[119] Anderson, *Philostratus*, 241–42.

commitment to the hero cults cannot be deduced from the *Heroikos* alone and that whatever piety is found in the dialogue seems quite compatible with the *paideia*, or literary culture, of Philostratus and his audience.[120] Indeed Anderson argues that the interest in hero cult and Protesilaos is only "a preliminary excursus before the main subject—the correction of Homer."[121]

Without reference to Anderson's book on Philostratus, Hans Dieter Betz, inspired by Eitrem's work, claims that although Philostratus never mentions Christianity, he knew of it. Moreover, the *Heroikos* is to be taken seriously as evidence for non-Christian religions in the second and third centuries, and given the popularity of hero worship, the early Christians "consciously" avoided the veneration of Jesus as a hero.[122] The evidence of Origen's *Against Celsus*, in which Celsus is said to ask about the similarity between Jesus' resurrection and the returning to life of various heroes, including Protesilaos,[123] indicates that early Christianity encountered the religious and philosophical categories of hero cult. Betz finds various parallels to the *Heroikos* in early Christian literature—for example, Protesilaos and Jesus both walk over water (*Her.* 13.3),[124] and the risen Jesus' associations with his disciples—which suggest that the Gospel writers knew "about the possibility of an existence of the risen Jesus as a hero."[125] To be

[120] Anderson, *Philostratus*, 248.

[121] Anderson, *Philostratus*, 253.

[122] See Betz, "Heroenverehrung und Christusglaube," 119. Betz writes very much under Eitrem's influence. For example, at the end of his study, Betz treats the appearances of the Christ figure and the empty grave, topics discussed by Eitrem in an excursus to his study. Betz acknowledges that the extent of Philostratus's knowledge of Christianity is very difficult to determine, not least because, unlike Lucian and Celsus, he never refers to it; see p. 120. The concept of "parallels" between Christian and non-Christian literature, moreover, deserves considerable attention, especially since a common culture and language makes drawing conclusions of influence of one upon the other quite difficult.

[123] Origen *Contra Celsum* 2.55; Betz, "Heroenverehrung und Christusglaube," 119.

[124] Although it is true that a number of divine humans are said to walk on water (see Betz, "Heroenverehrung und Christusglaube," 129 n. 44), as Protesilaos, however, exercises on the running tracks around the sanctuary, he is simply likened to one who floats upon the waves.

[125] See Betz, "Heroenverehrung und Christusglaube," 129. On this general question, see also Moses Hadas and Morton Smith, *Heroes and Gods: Spiritual Biographies in Antiquity* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965); Martin

sure, Betz does not claim that early Christian writers knew the *Heroikos*, but rather were acquainted with what it reflects about heroes and hero cults at the time Christianity was taking root.

Betz argues that one of the major themes of the *Heroikos* is the movement from skepticism to belief on the part of the Phoenician merchant.[126] In the initial section of the dialogue, he is "unbelieving" (ἀπιστέω; *Her.* 3.1).[127] Under the influence of the vinedresser and his stories he gradually relinquishes his skepticism about the legends of the heroes and especially about the possibility of their appearance to mortals in his own time, until he exclaims, "By Protesilaos, I am convinced" (πείθομαι; *Her.* 16.6) and then, "Finally, I am with you, vinedresser, and no one hereafter will disbelieve such stories" (*Her.* 18.1). Only at this point then does the vinedresser, on the authority of Protesilaos, begin to relate the characteristics and deeds of the heroes. This reading of the *Heroikos*'s rhetoric thus supposes a correspondence between the narrative movement of the dialogue and the position to which the text seeks to persuade its audience. The vinedresser seeks to bring the Phoenician to believe that what the hero says is true and that the heroes really do appear and associate with humans; likewise the dialogue seeks to persuade its audience of the value of stories and practices associated with the cult of the heroes.

Against this interpretation and in keeping with a reading that emphasizes correction of Homer as the primary point of the text, it may be objected that the Phoenician is indeed not "skeptical" at the outset of the dialogue: he has a propensity to believe in omens and dreams, as well as a solid knowledge of Homer already. At the end of the dialogue, accordingly, he is not so much "converted" as simply pleased at listening to the vinedresser's corrections of Homer and looks forward to hearing more stories. To be sure, his initial disbelief about the appearances of Protesilaos and other Trojan heroes is overcome, but, according to this perspective, this is simply a narrative device to establish the credibility of the vinedresser and Protesilaos.

Hengel, *The Atonement* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981); and Gregory J. Riley, *One Jesus, Many Christs* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1997).

[126] Betz, "Heroenverehrung und Christusglaube," 122–23.

[127] He is "inclined to disbelieve legends" and thinks that stories such as those about the great stature of the heroes are "false and unconvincing for one who observes things according to nature" (*Her.* 7.9).

Resolving this debate depends in part upon how one assesses the rhetorical conventions of the Second Sophistic. Moreover, because we lack any information about the commissioning of the dialogue, it is difficult to be certain of the ends for which it was written. We are, however, inclined to take the *Heroikos* with some seriousness as seeking to persuade its audience of the value of hero cults. That it reflects "mocking doubt" about ghosts, miracles, and other superstitious elements of popular belief,[128] cannot be fully demonstrated. The categories of conversion, belief, and disbelief are, however, not the most precise for understanding the *Heroikos*.[129] Rather, we find in the *Heroikos* a contrast in sources of authority, illustrated at the very beginning of the dialogue, when the vinedresser asks the Phoenician why he is "ignoring everything at his feet";[130] the Phoenician replies that he is seeking a sign and an omen, presumably in the sky, for fair sailing (*Her.* 1.2). This contrast is again illustrated in the dispute between Odysseus and Palamedes over an eclipse of the sun: Odysseus tells Palamedes that he "will be less foolish by paying attention to the earth rather than by speculating about what is in heaven." To this Palamedes responds, "If you were clever, Odysseus, you would have understood that no one is able to say anything learned about the heavens unless he knows more about the earth" (*Her.* 33.6–8). Since Palamedes is presented with characteristics of the true sophist, we may recognize in Palamedes' words an attitude that the dialogue is advocating. The Phoenician

[128] See Solmsen, "Philostratos," cols. 124–77. Solmsen writes of "spottischen Zweifel" ("mocking doubt") in col. 157, and notes that although Philostratos uses criteria like πιθανόν and ἀληθές, a concept such as truth ("Wahrheit") is probably an inappropriate starting point for understanding Philostratus's intellectual world. Legendary tradition and folklore ("Volksglauben") and Philostratus's own imagination probably played a great role in the *Heroikos*.

[129] A. D. Nock (*Conversion: The Old and the New in Religion from Alexander the Great to Augustine of Hippo* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1933; reprinted Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1988], 90–91) uses the *Heroikos* as an example of the propagandist use of miracle stories and speaks of the "sceptical but sympathetic" Phoenician's "conversion" by the vinedresser.

[130] That this question recalls Plato's story of the philosopher Thales (see the note on *Her.* 1.2 below) in a discussion of the characteristic of those who are σοφός ("skilled, wise") suggests that Philostratus is here entering a discussion of some standing; see also *Life of Apollonius* 2.5.

in the course of the dialogue is encouraged to look at what is "at his feet," namely, the tombs of the heroes and their appearances to mortals, and from that to learn higher truths and an enlightened way of life. The dialogue's emphasis on immediate experience and encounter is in keeping with this attitude. Thus it is possible that Philostratus was not only interested in a revitalization of hero cults, but also in a particular way of approaching the heroes as the basis of a reflective life.[131]

Aside from situating the *Heroikos* in connection with Caracalla's visit to the Troad in 214–215 and Julia Domna's patronage of Philostratus, discussions of the purposes of the *Heroikos* tend to speak little of the text's historical and political aspects, in favor of religious and literary questions.[132] Recognizing that the religious and political were inseparably intertwined in the early third century C.E. and that many sophists held religious and political offices, we think that it is appropriate to inquire into the political dimension. We can do no more than sketch an avenue of approach here.[133]

One of Protesilaos's most prominent appearances in Greek literature is at the end of Herodotus's *Histories* where he defends Greek territory against the outrages of the Persian governor, Artayktes (see above). His tomb guards Hellenic territory and culture and is matched on the other side of the Hellespont by the tomb of Achilles. Looking at the *Heroikos* in terms of its treatment of foreignness raises a distinct set of questions about its purpose. Throughout the *Heroikos*, as we have seen, a parallelism is drawn between Achilles and Protesilaos, and both appear at times as avenging *revenants*. A wrathful Protesilaos regained his sanctuary from the possession of a man named Xeinis

[131] Palamedes also advocates sacrificing to Helios, the sun god (*Her.* 33.6); the only other mention of Helios in the dialogue is at *Her.* 20.3, when the Phoenician swears "by Helios" that he has wept over the story of the injustice done to Palamedes. The association between Palamedes and Helios is suggestive in light of the promotion of the cult of the Sun under the Severans. It is possible that in the *Heroikos* Philostratus is interested in the hero cults as a preparation or foundation for the imperially sponsored cult of the Sun.

[132] An exception is Radet ("Notes sur l'histoire d'Alexandre") who discusses the *Heroikos* in relation to Severan economic policies.

[133] A similar direction is indicated in a recent unpublished paper by T. J. G. Whitmarsh, "'No More Heroes': Philostratos' *Heroikos*," in which he discusses the text in terms of the cultural politics of its time.

("foreigner"; *Her.* 4.2). The dialogue ends with two stories of Achilles' brutal wrath: in the first case upon a young girl, one of the last of Priam's descendants (*Her.* 56.6–10); in the second upon the Amazons who invade Achilles' island in the Black Sea (*Her.* 56.11–57.17). These stories appear, at first reading, to be an abrupt shift from the relatively peaceful descriptions of Protesilaos's and Achilles' current lifestyles, but their position as the climax of the dialogue suggests their importance for its overall purpose. Anderson, moreover, stresses "the element of similarity between the vengeance of Achilles at the end of the *Heroicus* and that of Protesilaos at the end of Herodotus's *Histories*: both have the last blood."[134]

It is important to notice not only the wrath of the heroes but also at whom it is directed: in each case at those who are quintessentially foreign or "other" from the Hellenic perspective. Hektor, to cite another instance, returns as *revenant* to avenge the insults hurled at him by the offending *Assyrian* youth (Her. 19.5–9). It is also worth noting that Achilles' victims are women, a point to which we shall return. Being a foreigner is also essential to the construction of character in the dialogue: we are introduced at the outset to a *Phoenician* merchant, from the region of Tyre and Sidon (*Her.* 1.1), who is realistically depicted as a "hellenized" Phoenician: he wears an Ionic style of dress, knows all about Homer, and speaks Greek. In addition to his skepticism, however, about the heroes of old, from the beginning of the dialogue the Phoenician is associated with the values of luxury and love of money (*Her.* 1.1–7), values which are typically understood as non-Greek, but which can also be employed to critique Hellenic behavior.[135] Throughout he is called ξένος ("stranger, foreigner, guest"), and it is possible to read his passage from foreign stranger to guest, within the hospitality of the vinedresser and Protesilaos, as taking place in tandem with his growing acceptance of the matters to do with the heroes. This foreigner, moreover, ends up being a listener devoted to Protesilaos, prepared to abide by the hero's reluctance to speak of certain matters,

[134] Anderson, *Philostratus*, 247.

[135] Thus, Nagy argues that in Herodotus the story of Artayktes is directed at the Athenians and "signals the threat of *hubris* from within, not from without" (*Pindar's Homer*, 308).

and ready to pour a libation to Protesilaos (*Her*. 58.1–6). It is perhaps not going too far to say that this foreigner, unlike Artayktes and Xeinis, becomes subject to Protesilaos.

The composition of the *Heroikos* in the early third century C.E., during the later Severan period, situates it in a time when the government of the Roman empire was strongly influenced by such imperial women as Julia Domna, Julia Maesa, Julia Mamaea, and Julia Soemias, all from the Syrian religious aristocracy. Religious practices were redefined, not only by a new wave of syncretism, but also by the introduction into Rome of the Syrian sun god and Elagabalus's installation of the Black Rock of Emesa on the Palatine. One result was a heightened awareness of issues of the relationship between foreignness and what was perceived as authentically "Hellenic" or Greek. It is therefore striking that the Phoenician merchant in the *Heroikos* is, like Julia Domna and her family, a Syrian.[136] It is perhaps not coincidental that in the stories of Achilles' wrath the victims were women who broke the taboos of the sanctuary.[137] As we have seen, the dialogue develops a contrast between two opposing stances toward the heroes of Hellenic culture, that is, between proper honor, as exemplified by the attitude of the Phoenician (Syrian) merchant by the end of the dialogue, and the extremes of dishonor exemplified by the quintessential foreigners—the Amazons, the Trojan girl, Xeinis, and the Assyrian youth. Such a contrast, therefore, may well serve to highlight attempts by the Syrian women of the Severan dynasty to present themselves as authentically "Greek" by engaging in the practices proper to the cult and culture of the Hellenic heroes.

[136] Phoenicia was considered part of the Roman province of Syria, which in 194 C.E. Septimius Severus divided into Syria Phoenice (governed from Tyre) and Syria Coele (governed from Antioch). The city of Emesa, the home of Julia Domna, Julia Mammea, and Julia Soemias, was located in eastern Syria Phoenice.

[137] For a discussion of the role of gender and foreignness in the construction of the other, see Sandra Joshel, "The Body Female and the Body Politic: Livy's Lucretia and Verginia" in *Pornography and Representation in Greece and Rome* (ed. Amy Richlin; New York: Oxford University Press, 1992); and Sandra Joshel and Sheila Murnaghan, *Women and Slaves in Greco-Roman Culture: Differential Equations* (London: Routledge, 1998).

The *Heroikos* may thus demonstrate the Hellenic piety of the emperor Alexander Severus and his highly influential mother, Julia Mamaea.[138]

Dating the dialogue to the reign of Alexander Severus, moreover, suggests a political situation in which the themes of the *Heroikos* would have had specific resonance, namely, renewed threats and campaigns from the East against the Romans. In the 220s, after the accession of Alexander Severus as emperor in 222, the Parthian empire was overthrown by the Sassanid ruler, Ardashir I.[139] This new Sassanid empire not only ruled formerly Parthian territory but also, during the attack on the Mesopotamian city of Hatra, declared an intent to reclaim the full extent of the Persian empire under the Achaemenids, namely, to the Aegean Sea.[140] Alexander Severus launched a campaign against the Persians in the early 230s, in response to their invasion of Roman Mesopotamia. In order to understand the particular valence Protesilaos may have had in this political situation, it is instructive to recall Herodotus's use of Protesilaos as the protector of Greece against the Persians. The *Heroikos* may then have been written around the time of Alexander Severus's Persian campaign

[138] The references to the imperially established "Market of the Swine" and the identification of Achilles' wrath with the punishment for Thessaly's violation of the imperial purple monopoly suggest a complimentary, rather than critical, attitude toward imperial policies. See Robert Muth, "Forum suarium," *Museum Helveticum* 2 (1945): 227–36.

[139] When he became emperor, Alexander Severus (born Gessius Alexianus Bassianus) adopted the name M. Aurelius Severus Alexander, which combined elements from the Antonine and Severan dynasty and the name Alexander. Fergus Millar points out (*The Roman Near East 31 BC—AD 337* [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993], 149) that this is the sole use of the name Alexander by a Roman emperor, suggesting that he was drawing upon the memory of Alexander the Great as the "liberator" of Greece from the Persians and presenting himself as the deliverer of the Roman empire from the renewed Persian threat. An inscription from Palmyra names him as "the deified Alexander Caesar" (*CIS* II, no. 3932, cited in Millar, *The Roman Near East*, 149).

[140] Millar, *The Roman Near East*, 146–47; G. W. Bowersock, *Roman Arabia* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1983), 126–128. Anthony Birley (*Septimius Severus: The African Emperor* [London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1971], 278) dates the accession of Ardashir to 226 C.E., his invasion of Roman Mesopotamia to 230, and Alexander Severus's campaign to 231–32.

in order to promote Greek (and hence Roman) identity and piety, by recalling not only the memory of the preeminent heroes of the Trojan War but most notably that of Protesilaos.[141]

The episode of the Amazons' attack on the abode of Achilles on the island of Leukê can also be understood within this political framework. In the fifth century B.C.E., at the time of the Persian Wars, the story of the Amazons' invasion of Attica and their defeat by Theseus was added to earlier stories about the Amazons and was used as pro-Athenian propaganda against the Persian invasion.[142] Thus Philostratus in the *Heroikos* may employ the literary topos of the Amazons in order to represent a contemporary foreign threat to Greek identity.[143] Achilles' destruction of

[141] In describing the Sassanid threat at the very end of his *Roman History*, Dio Cassius writes of Ardashir I, "He accordingly became a source of fear to us; for he was encamped with a large army so as to threaten not only Mesopotamia but also Syria, and he boasted that he would win back everything that the ancient Persians had once held, as far as the Grecian sea, claiming that all this was his rightful inheritance from his forefathers. The danger lies not in the fact that he seems to be of any particular consequence in himself, but rather in the fact that our armies are in such a state that some of the troops are actually joining him and others are refusing to defend themselves. They indulge in such wantonness, licence, and lack of discipline, that those in Mesopotamia even dared to killed their commander, Flavius Heracleo . . ." (Dio Cassius *Roman History* 80.4.1–2 [Cary, LCL, 9:483–85]). The mention of "wantonness, licence, and lack of discipline" in this context coincidences with the *Heroikos*'s criticism of such behavior (e.g., *Her.* 25.11; 42.1). In recalling the heroes' protection of Greece, Philostratus offers a more hopeful view of a Roman victory against Sassanids than does Dio Cassius in concluding his history on what Millar (*The Roman Near East*, 147) terms a "deeply pessimistic" note.

[142] See Josine H. Blok, *The Early Amazons: Modern and Ancient Perspectives on a Persistent Myth* (Religions in the Greco-Roman World 120; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 182, 441; John Boardman, "Herakles, Theseus, and the Amazons," in *The Eye of Greece: Studies in the Art of Athens* (ed. D. C. Kurtz and B. Sparkes; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 1–28. According to Herodotus (9.27), before the Battle of Plataea the Athenians referred to the Amazons' invasion. The story also appears in Aeschylus's *Eumenides* (657–66), first performed ca. 460–458 B.C.E., during the Persian Wars; see Blok, *The Early Amazons*, 182.

[143] If Whitmarsh is correct in his argument ("No More Heroes," 19) that Leukê represents a place of ideal "Greekness," then the Amazons' invasion replays the invasion of Attica in the Theseus stories and the invasion of Greece by the Persians.

the Amazons, like their defeat by Theseus, would then communicate the certainty of Roman success against the Sassanids, so long as the heroes receive due honor.

Given this interpretation, the *Heroikos* exhibits a strong anti-Persian perspective, which coheres well with Alexander Severus's campaign against the Sassanids. The difficulty is that we know nothing about imperial patronage for Philostratus in the period after the death of Julia Domna and during the reign of Alexander Severus. Nevertheless, the heroes' reaction to foreign threats in this dialogue means that questions of cultural identity in historical and political context must be set alongside discussion of religious and literary dimensions.

ON READING THE *HEROIKOS*

To the modern reader[144] the *Heroikos* may appear opaque at first, as though one were eavesdropping on a conversation about somewhat familiar topics but conducted with a knowledge one does not share. Philostratus's portrayal of the conversation between the vinedresser and the Phoenician relies upon a detailed body of assumed knowledge and experience. In the first place, the reader is expected to be intimately conversant with the poems of Homer and the numerous other traditions about the Homeric heroes. Without such "Homeric" fluency, the corrections of Homer which the vinedresser offers on the basis of what Protesilaos has told him remain incomprehensible and meaningless. The references to Homer's poems are seldom made through direct quotation, but rather by allusion to an episode, use of a key phrase, or inclusion of a recognizable epithet. Homer is referred to here not only as one who recounts stories of the Hellenic and Trojan heroes at Troy, but also as a source of practical information, such as the best

[144] Growing interest in the *Heroikos* is reflected in the number of translations published within the last decade: a Modern Greek translation in the Archaia Hellênikê Grammateia series (1995); a Spanish translation by Francesca Mestre (1996); an Italian translation by Valeria Rossi (1997); and a new German translation by Andreas Beschorner (1999). For full bibliographic information, see the Select Bibliography at the end of this volume.

way to plant trees (*Her.* 11.4–6). The *Heroikos* thus demonstrates a number of the uses to which the epic traditions were put.[145]

The *Heroikos* assumes, in addition to such familiarity with the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, that the audience has further knowledge about the heroic age. The heroes' ancestry and birth, the exploits of their fathers, their deeds before the Trojan War, as well as stories of their fate at the end of the war, their death and burial or their return to their homeland—all these are drawn into the dialogue, rendering it a rich resource for traditions about the heroes. Many of these traditions are attested elsewhere, in the summaries of the lost poems of the Homeric cycle, such as the *Aithiopis* or the *Cypria*, or in allusions in Pindar or the tragedians. Herodotus and Pausanias, chief among the Greek authors, frequently include information about the heroes found in the *Heroikos*. Moreover, it is not only the heroes of the Trojan War with which the *Heroikos* is concerned but also others, such as Herakles and the Seven Against Thebes, inasmuch as their exploits impinged upon the history of the warriors at Troy.

The dialogue displays a special concern with heroes' tombs and sanctuaries; here the reader is expected to be familiar with the burial of the heroes, the rites appropriate in each sanctuary, and the particular interests each hero has. In what way has a hero been offended, either in life or in death, that he or she might seek vengeance upon the living?[146] In this respect, the knowledge that

[145] On this issue see, for example, Robert Lamberton and John J. Keaney, eds. *Homer's Ancient Readers: The Hermeneutics of Greek Epic's Earliest Exegetes* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992); and Robert Lamberton, *Homer the Theologian: Neoplatonist Allegorical Reading and the Growth of the Epic Tradition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986).

[146] On the cults of female heroes see Jennifer Larson, *Greek Heroine Cults* (Wisconsin Studies in Classics; Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995); Walter Burkert, *Greek Religion* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1985), 203–5. Examples include the sacrifices to made to Iphigeneia in the Taurid (Herodotus *Hist.* 4.103, where the Taurians sacrifice all shipwrecked sailors and Greeks to her); according to Pausanias (*Description of Greece* 1.43.1), there was also a tomb and sacrificial cult of Iphigeneia in Megara. Evidence of a tomb cult for Iphigeneia in Brauron also exists, possibly associated with a rite of initiation for young girls; see Ken Dowden, *Death and the Maiden: Girls' Initiation Rites in Greek Mythology* (London and New York: Routledge, 1989), 22, 43–47; and Lilly Kahil, "Mythological Repertoire of Brauron," in Warren G. Moon, ed., *Ancient Greek Art and Iconography* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), 231–44. On the cult of

the audience has or acquires from the dialogue has important consequences. It is vital to know the right story about each hero, not least so that one does not offend or do violence to their memory. The consequences of ignorance and offense are great, from the perspective of the dialogue, since each hero is a *revenant*, still possessing the capacity to avenge injustice. The consequences of proper knowledge about the heroes and their ways are also great, with blessing and prosperity bestowed by the heroes upon those who maintain a right relationship with them. The *Heroikos* thus assumes a certain inculturation into the basic patterns of hero cult.

The *Heroikos* also refers at times to pieces of Greek literature other than the poems of Homer, most notably the poems of Hesiod and the dialogues of Plato. Consideration of Hesiod is included chiefly through comparison with Homer's compositional technique and skill, with the introduction of the motif of the contest between Homer and Hesiod (known as the *Certamen*). References to Plato are more complex and less foundational to the worldview of the *Heroikos*. The *Heroikos* contains no explicit references to Plato and yet by its genre draws upon the tradition of philosophical dialogue begun by Plato (see above). Philostratus also alludes to Platonic discussions about education, the acquisition of knowledge, the relation of the body and soul, and the role of sense perception (e.g., *Her.* 1.2; 7.3). A thorough analysis of the relation of the *Heroikos* to Platonic ideas and writings is not possible here, but a preliminary examination suggests that the dialogue is critical of certain Platonic perspectives (e.g., see *Her.* 1.2 and the discussion there).

References to contemporary events and figures are also found throughout the dialogue. The deeds of certain Olympic athletes and various events in Roman fiscal policies, although obscure and tantalizing to the modern historian, are cited in a way that assumes the ancient audience was quite familiar with them. In order to understand, for example, the full impact of Achilles'

Helen and Menelaos in Sparta, see M. L. West, *Immortal Helen* (London: Bedford College, 1975). On Delos, the tombs of the Hyperborean maidens are a site of an initiation cult for young boys and girls (see Pausanias *Description of Greece* 1.43.4; Herodotus *Hist.* 4.34). Plutarch (*Life of Pelopidas* 20–22) tells of sacrifices made at the tombs of the Leuctrian maidens, who though dead seek vengeance against the Spartans.

avenging wrath upon the Thessalians when they were overly casual about their sacrifices, it is necessary to be acquainted with the imperial monopoly on extraction of purple dye and the sanctions placed upon the Thessalians in the reign of Alexander Severus for their violation of the monopoly. Such references to imperial edicts suggest an interest in complimenting the imperial family, whose policies thus fulfill the wishes of the heroes; combined with discussion of contemporary athletes they render a dialogue that is otherwise about events of long ago quite up-to-date.

As one might expect in a dialogue in which a major characters is a Phoenician merchant who sails the Aegean and the Black Sea, the *Heroikos* is replete with geographical references. Like the merchant, the audience is expected to recognize the names of cities, regions, islands, mountains, and rivers where associated with the biographies, exploits, and sanctuaries of the heroes, their sanctuaries or where supernatural marvels are to be found. The majority of these are in the northern Aegean, the Hellespont, and the Troad, but the world circumscribed by the dialogue extends from India to Spain and from Ethiopia to the banks of the Danube (the ancient Istros). The dialogue conveys a strong sense of place, emphasized by the present-day appearance of the heroes in particular localities and especially the appearance of Protesilaos in his sanctuary at the tip of the Thracian Chersonesus. An underlying message of the dialogue is that part of obtaining true knowledge entails being in the right place. Moreover, as we have observed above, the role of Protesilaos as guardian of Greece against foreign invasion is connected with the location of his sanctuary on the western coast of the Hellespont, at the ancient gateway between Europe and Asia. Thus the geographic dimension of the dialogue cannot be ignored, and in many cases geography holds the key to the significance of an episode.

These observations about the knowledge that the *Heroikos* assumes on the part of its audience locate the dialogue in an intertextual web of stories, traditions, and practices. We have already explored the relation between the *Heroikos* and the epic traditions; here it is sufficient to say that this web should not be limited to what the audience could have obtained from written sources. Rather, as we consider how to read this text, we may suppose as a starting point that numerous stories about the heroes continued to be told alongside the poems of Homer. These stories may have

been told in connection with the legends about the foundations of cities and about cult sanctuaries; they may have enjoyed local prestige, even as they contradicted or complemented the panhellenic epics of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Inasmuch as these stories surface in Greek and Roman literature and art, the modern reader gains some access to them. We should emphasize, however, that references in the *Heroikos* to such traditions need not be thought of as resulting solely from literary dependence. The same may be said of references in the *Heroikos* to cultic practice. Although descriptions of cultic activity cannot be taken simplistically as eyewitness reports, we may suppose that Philostratus was well informed about certain ritual practices[147] and crafted them in ways that suited his aims in the *Heroikos*. In other words, we suggest that the *Heroikos* is read best if it is seen as situated within a world of performance, that is, the performances, including those in written form, of stories and ritual practices associated with the heroes of the epic traditions.

The *Heroikos* demands a certain expertise on the part of its audience. Thus, in producing the following translation of the *Heroikos*, we have tried to provide the reader with what is needed to understand the text. We have, above all, attempted to produce a translation that is fairly transparent to the Greek idiom, with a minimum of paraphrase; the translation is also sensitive to word-play and aware of the technical vocabulary of Greek poetics, rhetoric, and cultic practice. Second, we have supplemented the translation with notes, an extensive glossary, and maps. The notes do not pretend to provide a full commentary on the text; they are limited to elucidating obscure points, clarifying matters of translation, and supplying references to the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, and other ancient literature. A few notes contain a fuller discussion of phenomena or practices mentioned in the text. We have avoided extensive citation of secondary literature in the notes, reserving discussion of scholarship on Philostratus and the *Heroikos* for the Introduction.

The Glossary contains entries for every proper name mentioned in the text itself. The extent of this list indicates the high

[147] Particularly those in the northern Aegean, Thessaly, and Lemnos; see Burkert, "Jason, Hypsipyle, and New Fire at Lemnos," 2; Georges Dumézil, *Les crime des Lemniennes: rites et légendes du monde égéen* (Paris: Geuthner, 1924).

degree to which the *Heroikos* is concerned with the people and places of epic tradition and of the ancient world in general. Because of the oblique quality of many references in the *Heroikos*, readers are encouraged to make use of the Glossary alongside the text. In the entries we briefly identify the person or place and discuss those portions of the mythic or historical tradition most relevant to the *Heroikos*. Following Philostratus's lead, we have been particularly attentive to variant traditions about the heroes. The Glossary, however, should not be considered encyclopedic, but rather as an introductory aid to the reader of this text.

Since most modern readers are not as familiar with the geography of the ancient Mediterranean as the *Heroikos*'s Phoenician merchant, we have included two maps (pp. 183–85). These maps show the location of all place names that occur in the text with the exception of strictly mythological locales (such as Aiaia), the islands of Boura and Helikê, and the Ilissos river in Athens. One provides a general view of the Mediterranean, with indications of other, more distant sites mentioned in the text. The other map focuses on Greece and western Asia Minor, reflecting the *Heroikos*'s concern with this area.

The Numbering Used in this Volume

Three separate numbering systems are employed in this volume. In the outer margins of the English translation appear the chapter and paragraph divisions assigned on the basis of content by de Lannoy in his critical edition. The Glossary, notes, and Introduction use this system when referring to the text; it is also the system employed in the textual apparatus for cross-references within the text. The outer margins of the Greek contain both this system and the page numbers (enclosed in square brackets) from volume 2 of Kayser's *editio minor* of 1870, since both systems are employed in critical scholarship on the *Heroikos*. In the inner margins of the Greek are found line numbers, which are used only for the textual apparatus in this edition. It may be useful to readers to note, moreover, that citations of the *Heroikos* in Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, comp., *A Greek-English Lexicon* (rev. ed. Henry Stuart Jones; Oxford: Clarendon, 1989) also refer to Kayser's *editio minor* of 1870, but employ Kayser's chapter and paragraph numbers rather than the page numbers.

Concerning Transliteration

In this translation, we have adopted the following system for spelling the Greek names and the few other Greek words that appear. Names that have passed in common English usage appear as they are generally familiar: for example, Corinth, Euripides, Helen, Cassandra, and Achilles. Names that are much less familiar are strictly transliterated, according to the guidelines in the *Chicago Manual of Style*, 13th edition, but substituting the circumflex for the macron: for example, Protesilaos, Akhelôos, Idomeneus, and Borysthênes.

A Guide to the Textual Apparatus

For a full discussion of the manuscript history of the *Heroikos*, the reader is advised to consult the Preface in Ludo de Lannoy, ed., *Flavii Philostrati Heroicus* (Berlin: Teubner, 1977), v–xxv. The following guide to the sigla and manuscripts is taken from de Lannoy's edition (pp. xxxi–xxxii). In most cases, references in the apparatus to the conjectures of various scholars will be clarified by consulting the bibliography. The textual apparatus reproduces that found in de Lannoy's edition. It should be noted that the apparatus contains references to words and passages within the *Heroikos*; we have adapted these so that they refer to the chapter and paragraph divisions. In some instances, it has been necessary to add the word or phrase indicated so that the reader may more easily follow the discussion.

SIGLA

A = cod. Ambrosianus G 69 sup., 1463?

Å = Athous Laurae K 95 + Parisinus suppl. gr. 1256, saec. XIV

B = Parisinus gr. 1698, saec. XIV[1]

E = Ambrosianus B 86 sup., saec. XIV in.

F = Laurentianus plut. 58, 32, saec. XII–XIII

Φ = Laurentianus plut. 69, 30, saec. XIII

Γ = Guelferbytanus 25 Gudianus gr., fol., saec. XV

H = Palatinus gr. 143, saec. XV

I = Marcianus gr. cl. XI. 29 (coll. 1376), saec. XIV

K = Cantabrigiensis Collegii Trinitatis R. 9. 20, saec. XV–XVI

Λ = Bodleianus Laudianus gr. 12, saec. XV

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P = Parisinus gr. 1696, ca. 1320
S = Vaticanus gr. 953, saec. XIV[1]

T = Marcianus gr. cl. XI. 15 (coll. 1273), ca. 1317
V = Vindobonensis phil. gr. 331, ca. 1320
Y = Ambrosianus T 122 sup., saec. XV ex.

α = **ΦΓΙΡ**
σ = **εζ** (sed **σ** = **ÅBζ** inde a 56.8)
ε = **ÅBE**
ζ = **OST** (sed **ζ** = **OS**[**T**] inde a 57.7)
υ = **AVχ**
χ = **ϰY**
ϰ = **HKΛ**

Readings of the codices are distinguished in the following manner:

P^{i} cod. **P** in linea
P^{s} supra lineam
P^{m} in margine
P^{γρ} adscripsit, praecedente voce γρ(άφεται) vel γρ(άφεται) ϰαὶ
P^{ac} ante correctionem
P^{pc} post correctionem
P^{ec} e correctione, ubi quid ante corr. obscurum
P^{lit} in litura
P^{a}, **P**^{b} a prima, a recentiore manu
P^{Σ} in scholiis
⟦**P**⟧ codicis **P** lectio olim, ut videtur, exarata sed postea deleta
⟦**P**^{a}⟧ codicis **P** lectio olim, ut videtur, exarata sed postea deleta, cuius locum nunc recentioris manus scriptura obtinet
[**Å**] codicis **Å** lectio deperdita, ex apographis et gemellis restituta
S(b) codicis **S** manus recentior, ubi quae scripsit prima manus aut omnino deperdita sunt aut legi iam nequeunt
Σ scholion, scholia

α̣ littera α evanida vel incerta
●●● litterae evanidae quae legi non possunt
/// litterae erasae in codice
* lacune in textu exstat

⟦ ⟧	deleta sunt in codice
[ ]	perierunt in codice
{ }	delenda videntur
⟨ ⟩	addenda videntur

add.	= addidit, -erunt
ap.	= apud
codd.	= codices quibus textus nititur
coll.	= collato, -is
coni.	= coniecit, -erunt
del.	= delevit, -erunt
e corr.	= e correctione
edd.	= editores
fort.	= fortasse
om.	= omisit, -erunt; omissio
rell.	= reliqui
scr.	= scripsit, -erunt
transp.	= transposuit, -erunt
vid.	= videtur

Ald.	= editio princeps Aldina
Boiss.	= Boissonade
Kay.	= Kayser
Lan.	= de Lannoy
Ol.	= Olearius
Westerm.	= Westermann

Ap.	= Vita Apollonii
G.	= Gymnasticus
Im.	= Imagines maiores
Im. min.	= Imagines minores
VS	= Vitae Sophistarum

When references to works of Philostratus other than the *Heroikos* are indicated, unless another edition is mentioned, page and line numbers correspond to the *editio minor* of Kayser.

Philostratus, *Heroikos*
Text and Translation

Φιλοστράτου Ἡρωϊκός

[128] **I** Ἀ. Ἴων ὁ ξένος ἢ πόθεν; I

Φ. Φοῖνιξ, ἀμπελουργέ, τῶν περὶ Σιδῶνά τε καὶ Τύρον.

Ἀ. Τὸ δὲ Ἰωνικὸν τῆς στολῆς;

Φ. Ἐπιχώριον ἤδη καὶ ἡμῖν τοῖς ἐκ Φοινίκης.

Ἀ. Πόθεν οὖν μετεσκεύασθε; 5

Φ. Σύβαρις Ἰωνικὴ τὴν Φοινίκην κατέσχεν ὁμοῦ πᾶσαν, καὶ γραφὴν ἐκεῖ ἄν τις, οἶμαι, φύγοι μὴ τρυφῶν.

2 Ἀ. Βαδίζεις δὲ ποῖ μετέωρός τε καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντα τὰ ἐν ποσί;

tit. Φιλοστράτου Ἡρωϊκός **F**: Φιλοστράτου Λημνίου Ἡρωϊκός **A** Φιλοστράτου Ἡρωϊκά **HKVYaεOT** (τὰ Ἡρ. **Y**), inscr. om. **ΛS**(b); tit. Ἡρωϊκός praebent etiam Men. Rhet. 85.1 Bursian et Suda s. v. **Φιλόστρατος** | post tit. dialogi personas indicant codd. nonnulli: τὰ πρόσωπα ἀμπελουργὸς καὶ Φοῖνιξ **AYBEOT** (καὶ om. **O** | Φοίνιξ **BEOT**) τὰ τοῦ διαλόγου πρόσωπα ἀμπελουργὸς καὶ Φοίνιξ **I**^{b} τὰ τοῦ διαλόγου πρόσωπα ἀμπελουργὸς καὶ Φοίνιξ ἔμπορος. προλογίζει δὲ ὁ ἀμπελουργός **HK** (καὶ et δὲ om. **K**) τὰ πρόσωπα [[Νεόφρων καὶ Παλαίτιμος]] **Å** || 1 ὁ ξένος] ὦ ξένε **F** εἶ ξένε Kay. (sed cf. Heliod., Aeth. II 21.4) || 2 Φοῖνιξ **FAVYΦΓPS**(b): Φοίνιξ **ϰIεOT** (non amplius notatur) | τε om. **FAHVOS**(b) || 3 verba τὸ δὲ Ἰωνικὸν τῆς στολῆς vinitori tribuunt **Fχα S**(b), Phoenici **AεOT**; vinitori tribuit at cum sequentibus iungit **V** (cf. Heliod., 1.1.) || 6 κατέσχε πᾶσαν (om. ὁμοῦ) **ΦΓ^{a}IP^{a}S**(b)

Philostratus *Heroikos*

I. THE PHOENICIAN'S QUEST (1.1–8.18)

The Vinedresser and the Phoenician Meet (1.1–6.6)

VINEDRESSER. Stranger, are you an Ionian, or where are 1
you from?

PHOENICIAN. I am a Phoenician, vinedresser, one of those who live near Sidon and Tyre.

V. But what about the Ionic fashion of your dress?

PH. It is now the local dress also for those of us from Phoenicia.

V. How then did your people come to change their fashion?

PH. Ionian Sybaris[1] held sway over all Phoenicia at once, and there, I think, one would be prosecuted for not living luxuriously.

V. Where are you going so proudly and ignoring every- 2
thing at your feet?[2]

[1] "Ionian Sybaris" is a reference either to Ionia as a whole or, more likely, to Miletus in particular. The Ionians were well known as dedicated to luxury no less than were the Sybarites (Diodorus Siculus *Library* 8.18.2; *Suda*, s.v. Sybaritikais). A number of ancient authors single out Miletus as the center of Ionian extravagance and attest that Miletus and Sybaris were bound together by their common way of life (Herodotus *Hist.* 6.21; Athenaeus *Deipnosophists* 12.518; Diodorus Siculus *Library* 8.20; see also Juvenal *Satires* 6.296). The possible allusion to Thales (a Milesian) in the following line supports the identification of Miletus. Note Plutarch's similar reference to a "Parthian Sybaris" (*Crassus* 32.4).

[2] The vinedresser's question is reminiscent of Plato's anecdote about the philosopher Thales (*Theaetetus* 174a [Fowler, LCL]), "While Thales was studying the stars and looking upwards, he fell into a pit, and a neat, witty Thracian servant girl jeered at him, they say, because he was so eager to know the things in the sky that he could not see what was there before him at his very feet." Socrates' comment, "The same jest applies to all who pass their lives in philosophy," situates the anecdote in a description of the characteristics of those who are σοφοί and engage in φιλοσοφία, a matter also discussed by the vinedresser and the Phoenician in this dialogue. The vinedresser's question is

Φ. Ξυμβόλου καὶ φήμης, ἀμπελουργέ, δέομαι περὶ εὐπλοίας· φασὶ 1
γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἀφήσειν ἐς τὸν Αἰγαῖον αὐτόν, δεινὴ δέ, οἶμαι, ἡ θάλαττα καὶ
οὐ ῥᾳδία πλεῦσαι. βαδίζω δὲ τὴν ἐναντίαν ὁδὸν τῷ ἀνέμῳ· τὰ γὰρ ὑπὲρ
εὐπλοίας πρὸς τουτονὶ τὸν σκοπὸν θεωροῦσι Φοίνικες.

3 *Ἀ. Σοφοί γε, ὦ ξένε, τὰ ναυτικὰ ὄντες· ὑμεῖς γάρ που καὶ τὴν* 5
ἑτέραν ἄρκτον ἐνεσημήνασθε τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν πλεῖτε. ὥσπερ
δὲ τὰς ναυτιλίας ἐπαινεῖσθε, οὕτω τὰς ἐμπορίας διαβέβλησθε ὡς φιλο-
χρήματοί τε καὶ τρῶκται.

[129] 4 *Φ. Σὺ δὲ οὐ φιλοχρήματος, ἀμπελουργέ, ζῶν ἐν ταύταις ταῖς*
ἀμπέλοις καὶ ζητῶν ἴσως ὅστις μὲν ὀπωριεῖ καταβαλών σοι δραχμὴν 10
τῶν βοτρύων, ὅτῳ δὲ ἀποδώσῃ τὸ γλεῦκος ἢ ὅτῳ τὸν ἀνθοσμίαν; ὅν,
οἶμαι, καὶ κατορωρυγμένον φῂς ἔχειν ὥσπερ ὁ Μάρων.

1 ξυμβούλου **YI** || 2 αὐτόν] αὔριον Reiske | θάλασσα **AV** || 3 τὰ] καὶ **ΗΛΓ**^{a}⟦**I**^{a}⟧? || 4 σκοπὸν] τρόπον Ol. || 5 που **ΗΚΓ**^{a}**S**(b): πολὺ **FH**^{m} **K**^{m}**ΛVΥΦΙ** πω **ΑΗ**^{γρ}**Γ**^{b}**P**^{blit}**εΟΤ** || 9-10 ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἀμπέλῳ **P**^{a}**S**(b) || 11 ἀποδώσῃ **H**^{s}**P**^{blit}**EOS**(b): -δόσῃ **ȦBT** -δώσεις **FAH**^{i}**ΚΛVΥΦΙ** -δώσης **Γ** || 12 καὶ om. **Λσ**, lituram exhibet **P**

PH. I need a sign and an omen for good sailing,[3] vinedresser. For they say that we shall sail into the Aegean itself, and I believe the sea is dangerous and not easy to sail.[4] What's more, I am going against the wind. With this objective, Phoenicians seek omens for good sailing.

V. You people are at any rate skilled[5] in nautical affairs, 3
stranger, for you have also, I suppose, designated Cynosura[6] as a sign in the sky, and you sail by reference to it. Yet just as you are praised for your skill in sailing, so you are slandered as money-lovers and greedy rascals for your business dealings.[7]

PH. But are you not money-loving, vinedresser, living 4
among these vines and presumably seeking someone who will gather grapes after paying a drachma for them, and seeking someone to whom you will sell sweet new wine or wine with a fine bouquet—a wine that, I believe, you are going to say you have hidden, just as Marôn did?

ironic, since as the dialogue unfolds it is the vinedresser and not the Phoenician who is the source of knowledge and skill, which he has gained not by looking at the sky but by observing his surroundings. If the Phoenician wants to gain useful knowledge, he must, in the vinedresser's opinion, look down and observe the world of the heroes.

[3] As Rossi (*Filostrato: Eroico*, 193) notes, a "sign" (σύμβολον) is any divination understood by the eyes, whereas an "omen" (φήμη) is a divination by either the voice of an oracle or the voice of a human appointed for the oracle.

[4] Whenever possible ancient sailors followed the coastline rather than sailing across the sea. On the dangers of navigation, see "Seewesen," *Der Kleine Pauly: Lexicon der Antike* 5 (1979): cols. 67–71. On the turbulent waters of the Aegean, see Philostratus *Life of Apollonius* 4.15.

[5] The adjective σοφός, as well as the related noun σοφία and adverb σοφῶς all designate the height of cultural achievement in the ancient world. Although σοφός is commonly translated "wise," because achievement can be gained in various types of endeavors (not just abstract intellectual inquiry), at times the translation "skilled" or even "clever" is more appropriate. This "skill" or "cleverness," however, is not simply technical skill, but reveals the possession of "higher knowledge, exceptional understanding, insight into subjects far above the comprehension, though not the respect, of the common herd" (Werner Jaeger, *Paideia: The Ideals of Greek Culture* [3 vols.; 2d ed.; New York: Oxford University Press, 1943–1945], 1:219).

[6] Cynosura is the Greek name for Ursa Minor (literally, "the little bear"). The Phoenicians used this star for navigation, while the Greeks set their course by Helikê (Ursa Major; Aratus *Phaenomena* 24–44; Ovid *Fasti* 3.107–8).

[7] This reputation of the Phoenicians is first mentioned in Homer (*Od.* 14.288–89).

5 *Ἀ. Ξένε Φοῖνιξ, εἰ μὲν εἰσί που τῆς γῆς Κύκλωπες, οὓς λέγεται* 1
ἡ γῆ ἀργοὺς βόσκειν φυτεύοντας οὐδέν οὐδὲ σπείροντας, ἀφύλακτα μὲν
τὰ φυόμενα εἴη ἄν, καίτοι Δήμητρός γε καὶ Διονύσου ὄντα, πωλοῖτο
δ' ἂν οὐδὲν ἐκ τῆς γῆς, ἀλλ' ἄτιμά τε καὶ κοινὰ φύοιτ' ἄν, ὥσπερ ἐν
Συῶν ἀγορᾷ· σπείρειν δὲ ὅπου χρὴ καὶ ἀροῦν καὶ φυτεύειν καὶ ἄλλο ἐπ' 5
ἄλλῳ πονεῖν προσκείμενον τῇ γῇ καὶ ὑποκείμενον ταῖς ὥραις, ἐνταῦθα
6 *πωλεῖν τε χρὴ καὶ ὠνεῖσθαι. δεῖ γὰρ καὶ γεωργίᾳ χρημάτων, καὶ ἄνευ*
τούτων οὔτε ἀρότην θρέψεις οὔτε ἀμπελουργὸν οὔτε βουκόλον οὔτε αἰ-
πόλον, οὐδὲ κρατὴρ ἔσται σοι πιεῖν ἢ σπεῖσαι. καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἥδιστον τῶν
ἐν γεωργίᾳ, τὸ τρυγᾶν ἀμπέλους, μισθοῦ χρὴ πράττειν. εἰ δὲ μή, ἄοινοί 10
7 *τε καὶ ἀργοὶ ἑστήξουσιν, ὥσπερ γεγραμμέναι. ταυτὶ μέν, ὦ ξένε, ὑπὲρ*
παντὸς εἴρηκα τοῦ τῶν γεωργῶν κύκλου, τοὐμὸν δὲ πολλῷ ἐπιεικέστε-
ρον· οὐ γὰρ ξυμβάλλω ἐμπόροις, οὐδὲ τὴν δραχμὴν ὅ τι ἐστί γινώσκω,
ἀλλὰ βοῦν σίτου καὶ οἴνου τράγον καὶ τοιαῦτα τοιούτων ἢ ὠνοῦμαι ἢ
αὐτὸς ἀποδίδομαι σμικρὰ εἰπών τε καὶ ἀκούσας. 15

2 βόσκειν] τρέφειν **H^{i}ΚΛΓ** | φυτεύοντας . . . σπείροντας] σπείροντας . . . θερίζοντας **B** || 3 γε] τε **ϰaO** || 4 οὐδὲ **Φ^{a}I^{a}P^{a}** || 6 πονεῖν] ποιεῖν **FΓ^{a}** || 11 ἀργαὶ **P^{b}σ** praeter **S**(b) | μέν] μὲν οὖν **ΦΓI[[P]]** μὴ οὖν **Λ** || 15 ἀποδίδωμι **F^{ac}AV^{ac}χ** | εἰπών τε] τε εἰπὼν **ϰ** (sed non **H^{γρ}**) **ΦΓI[[P^{a}]]O**

V. Phoenician stranger, if somewhere on the earth there are 5
Cyclopes, whom the earth is said to nourish, though they are lazy, neither planting nor sowing anything, then things would grow unattended, even though they belong to Demeter and to Dionysos, and none of the produce of the earth would be sold.[8] Instead, everything would be by nature without price and common to all, just as in the Marketplace of Swine.[9] Wherever it is necessary, however, for one bound to the land and subject to the seasons to sow, plow, plant, and suffer one toil after another, there it is necessary to buy and sell as well. For money is needed for farming, and 6
without it, you will feed neither a plowman nor a vinedresser nor a cowherd nor a goatherd, nor will you have a *krater*[10] from which to drink or pour a libation. In fact, the most pleasant thing in farming, namely, gathering grapes, one must contract out for hire. Otherwise, the vines will stand idle and yield no wine, as though they had been cursed.[11] These things, stranger, I have said about 7
the whole crowd of farmers, but my own way is far more reasonable, since I do not associate with merchants, and I do not know what the drachma is. But I either buy or myself sell a bull for grain and a goat for wine and so forth, without much talking back and forth.

[8] That is, it would otherwise be expected that Demeter, the goddess of the grain, and Dionysos, the god of the vine, would tend the crops; compare Homer *Od.* 9.109 and the reference to the Cyclopes in Philostratus *Life of Apollonius* 6.11 (cf. *Imagines* 2.18).

[9] The Marketplace of the Swine is probably a reference to the Forum Suarium in the city of Rome. While the free distribution of meat in Rome is well attested under Aurelian, literary and epigraphic references to the Forum Suarium suggest that there was such a distribution already in the time of Caracalla. See Rossi, *Filostrato: Eroico*, 194 n. 7; Muth, "Forum Suarium," 227–36; S. Mazzarino, *L'Impero Romano* (Rome: Laterza, 1976), 441.

[10] General term for a vessel used to mix water and wine.

[11] This final phrase, "as though they had been cursed" (ὥσπερ γεγραμμέναι), most likely refers to the magical practice of inscribing a curse upon papyrus or a tablet; such a curse would render the vines barren (see LSJ, 360, s.v. γράφω). Compare another reference to magical practice in viticulture (*Her.* 21.8). It is equally possible to translate the phrase, "as though in a painting," suggesting that in artwork the grapes hang permanently upon the vines and are never made into wine. Similar uses of γεγραμμέναι include Philostratus *Life of Apollonius* 2.20, referring to the deeds of Alexander inscribed on a tablet, and Ps.-Cebes *Tabula* 1.2, used of a painting on a tablet.

2 *Φ. Χρυσῆν ἀγορὰν λέγεις, ἀμπελουργέ, καὶ ἡρώων μᾶλλον ἢ ἀν-* 1
θρώπων. ἀλλὰ ὁ κύων οὗτος τί ἐθέλει; περίεισι γάρ με προσκνυζώμενος
τοῖς ποσὶ καὶ παρέχων τὸ οὖς ἁπαλόν τε καὶ πρᾶον.

[130] 2 *Ἀ. Τοὐμὸν ἦθος ἑρμηνεύει σοι, ξένε, καὶ ὅτι πρὸς τοὺς δεῦρο*
ἀφικνουμένους οὕτω μετρίως καὶ χρηστῶς ἔχομεν, ὡς μηδὲ τῷ κυνὶ ξυγ- 5
χωρεῖν ὑλακτεῖν αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ προσδέχεσθαί τε καὶ ὑποπίπτειν ἥκοντας.

3 *Φ. Ἔξεστιν οὖν ἀμπέλῳ προσβαλεῖν;*

Ἀ. Φθόνος οὐδείς· εἰσὶ γὰρ ἡμῖν ἱκανοί γε βότρυς.

4 *Φ. Τί δὲ συκάσαι;*

Ἀ. Καὶ τούτου ἄδεια. περίεστι γὰρ καὶ σύκων. καὶ κάρυα δοίην 10
καὶ μῆλα δοίην καὶ μυρία ἀγαθὰ ἕτερα· φυτεύω δὲ αὐτὰ οἷον παροψήματα
τῶν ἀμπέλων.

5 *Φ. Τί ἂν οὖν καταβάλοιμι;*

Ἀ. Τί δ' ἄλλο γε ἢ φαγεῖν τε ἡδέως καὶ ἐπισιτίσασθαι καὶ ἀπ-
ελθεῖν χαίρων; 15

6 *Φ. Ἀλλ' ἦ φιλοσοφεῖς, ἀμπελουργέ;*

Ἀ. Καὶ σύν γε τῷ καλῷ Πρωτεσίλεῳ.

7 *Φ. Σοὶ δὲ τί καὶ τῷ Πρωτεσίλεῳ κοινόν, εἰ τὸν ἐκ Θετταλίας*
λέγεις;

Ἀ. Ἐκεῖνον λέγω, τὸν τῆς Λαοδαμείας· τουτὶ γὰρ χαίρει ἀκούων. 20

8 *Φ. Τί δὲ δὴ δεῦρο πράττει;*

Ἀ. Ζῇ καὶ γεωργοῦμεν.

9 *Φ. Ἀναβεβιωκὼς ἢ τί;*

Ἀ. Οὐδὲ αὐτὸς λέγει, ὦ ξένε, τὰ ἑαυτοῦ πάθη, πλήν γε δὴ ὅτι
ἀποθάνοι μὲν δι' Ἑλένην ἐν Τροίᾳ, ἀναβιῴη δὲ ἐν Φθίᾳ Λαοδαμείας 25
ἐρῶν.

2 ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ **κΦΓΙ[[P]]** | προσκνυζώμενος **ΦPσ**: -κνυζόμενος **FHΛVΓΙ** -κνιζόμενος **AKY** (cf. Ap. 202.12) || 5 ἀφικομένους **E** || 5-6 συγχωρεῖν **κ V** || 6 τε om. **κ** || 8 γὰρ καὶ **ΦΓ[[I]][[P]]** | γε **F**: καὶ **AVYΦΓ^{a}I[[P]]**, om. **κ Γ^{b}σ** || 10-11 καὶ καρύων καὶ μῆλα δοίην **Aχ** καὶ κάρυ' ἂν δοίην καὶ μῆλ' ἂν δοίην Papavasilios καὶ κάρυα δ' ἂν καὶ μ. δ. Richards καὶ κάρυα ἂν δοίην καὶ μ. δ. Eitrem || 13 ἂν om. **V** | καταβάλλοιμι **ΛΦ[[I]][[P]]** || 14 γε] γ' ἔφη **F**, unde γ' ὦ Φοῖνιξ Kay.; γε [[ἔφη]] **V**; γε om. **Y** || 21 δὴ om. **κBEOS**(b) [[δὴ]] **P** | τί δέ; ζῇ καὶ δεῦρο πράττει; Eitrem

PH. You mean a golden marketplace, vinedresser, which belongs to heroes rather than to humans.[12] Hey, what does this dog want? He keeps going all around me, whining at my feet and offering his ear gently and tamely. 2

V. He explains my character[13] to you, stranger—and that we are so moderate and gracious to those who arrive here that we do not allow the dog to bark at them, but rather to welcome and to fawn before those who arrive. 2

PH. Is it permissible to approach a vine? 3

V. No one is stingy, since there are enough grapes for us.

PH. What about picking figs? 4

V. This is also allowed, since there is a surplus of figs too. And I could give you nuts, apples, and countless other good things. I plant them as snacks among the vines.

PH. What might I pay you for them? 5

V. Nothing other than to eat them with pleasure, to be satisfied, and to go away rejoicing.

PH. But, vinedresser, do you live a reflective way of life?[14] 6

V. Yes, indeed, with the handsome Protesilaos.

PH. What connection is there between you and Protesilaos, if you mean the man from Thessaly? 7

V. I do mean that man, the husband of Laodameia, for he delights in hearing this epithet.

PH. But what, indeed, does he do here? 8

V. He lives here, and we farm together.

PH. Has he come back to life, or what has happened? 9

V. He himself does not speak about his own experiences, stranger, except, of course, that he died at Troy because of Helen, but came to life again in Phthia because he loved Laodameia.

[12] That is, the marketplace belongs to the golden age described by Hesiod (*Works and Days* 109–26).

[13] "Character" (ἦθος) includes not only a person's disposition and traits, but also one's habits and customs.

[14] φιλοσοφέω: To engage in philosophy in the ancient world consisted in more than simply abstract intellectual pursuits; philosophy consisted in a whole manner of life ruled by the key insights and principles of that philosophy.

10 *Φ. Καὶ μὴν ἀποθανεῖν γε μετὰ τὸ ἀναβιῶναι λέγεται καὶ ἀνα-* 1
πεῖσαι τὴν γυναῖκα ἐπισπέσθαι οἱ.

11 *Ἀ. Λέγει καὶ αὐτὸς ταῦτα, ἀλλ᾽ ὅπως καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀνῆλθε*
πάλαι μοι βουλομένῳ μαθεῖν οὐ λέγει, Μοιρῶν τι ἀπόρρητον, ὥς φησι,
[131] *κρύπτων. καὶ οἱ συστρατιῶται δὲ αὐτοῦ οἱ ἐν τῇδε τῇ Τροίᾳ, ἔτι ἐν τῷ* 5
πεδίῳ φαίνονται μάχιμοι τὸ σχῆμα καὶ σείοντες τοὺς λόφους.

3 *Φ. Ἀπιστῶ, νὴ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, ἀμπελουργέ, καίτοι οὕτω βουλόμε-*
νος ταῦτα ἔχειν. εἰ δὲ μὴ πρὸς τοῖς φυτοῖς εἶ μηδὲ ὀχετηγεῖς, ἤδη δίελθέ
μοι ταῦτά τε καὶ ὅσα τοῦ Πρωτεσίλεω γινώσκεις· καὶ γὰρ ἂν χαρίζοιο
τοῖς ἥρωσιν, εἰ πιστεύων ἀπέλθοιμι. 10

2 *Ἀ. Οὐκέτ᾽, ὦ ξένε, κατὰ μεσημβρίαν τὰ φυτὰ πίνει· μετόπωρον*
γὰρ ἤδη καὶ ἄρδει αὐτὰ ἡ ὥρα. σχολὴ οὖν μοι διελθεῖν πάντα. μηδὲ γὰρ
λανθάνοι τοὺς χαρίεντας τῶν ἀνθρώπων θεῖα οὕτω καὶ μεγάλα ὄντα.
βέλτιον δὲ καὶ ἐν καλῷ τοῦ χωρίου ἱζῆσαι.

Φ. Ἡγοῦ ὡς ἑψομένου καὶ ὑπὲρ τὰ μέσα τῆς Θρᾴκης. 15

3 *Ἀ. Παρέλθωμεν εἰς τὸν ἀμπελῶνα, ὦ Φοῖνιξ· καὶ γὰρ ἂν καὶ*
εὐφροσύνης τι ἐν αὐτῷ εὕροις.

Φ. Παρέλθωμεν· ἡδὺ γάρ που ἀναπνεῖ τῶν φυτῶν.

4 *Ἀ. Τί λέγεις; ἡδύ; θεῖον· τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἀγρίων δένδρων αἱ ἄνθαι*
εὔοσμοι, τῶν δὲ ἡμέρων οἱ καρποί. εἰ δὲ ἐντύχοις ποτὲ φυτῷ ἡμέρῳ 20
παρὰ τὴν ἄνθην εὐώδει, δρέπου τῶν φύλλων μᾶλλον· ἐκείνων γὰρ τὸ
ὀδωδέναι.

5 *Φ. Ὡς ποικίλη σοι ἡ ὥρα τοῦ χωρίου, καὶ ὡς ἐκδεδώκασιν ἱλαροὶ*
οἱ βότρυς, τὰ δένδρα τε ὡς διάκειται πάντα καὶ ὡς ἀμβροσία ἡ ὀσμὴ τοῦ
χωρίου. τοὺς δρόμους δέ, οὓς ἀνῆκας, χαρίεντας μὲν ἡγοῦμαι, τρυφᾶν 25
δέ μοι δοκεῖς, ἀμπελουργέ, τοσαύτῃ γῇ ἀργῷ χρώμενος.

6 *Ἀ. Ἱεροί, ξένε, οἱ δρόμοι· γυμνάζεται γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς ὁ ἥρως.*

1 γε om. **ϰ** || 1-2 καὶ ἀναπεῖσαι] ἀναπεῖσαί τε **F** || 7 Ἀθηνὰν **F** (non amplius notatur) || 7-8 βουλόμενος ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχειν **Aχ** || 8 ante ἤδη distinguunt **Fυα**, post ἤδη **V**(b)**σ** (cf. 18.2) || 9 τῷ Πρωτεσίλεῳ **HKÅEζ** (sed genetivum tamquam glossam add. **HÅζ**) || 11 οὐκέτι ὦ **χαÅB** | τὰ φυτὰ κατὰ μεσημβρίαν **ÅB** || 15 ἡγοῦ δὲ **ΦI** ἡγοῦ ⟦δὲ⟧ **P** ἡγοῦ δὴ **Γ** || 17 εὕρης **VΦIP**^{i} || 19 post λέγεις et post ἡδύ distinguunt **KΛΓI**, Eitrem: post λέγεις tantum **S**, post ἡδύ tantum codd. rell. et edd. || 20 ἐντύχης **AΦ⟦I**^{a}**⟧P**^{a} || 24 ὡς^{I} ⟨καλῶς⟩ Reiske, Eitrem

PH. And yet he is said to have died after he came to life again and to have persuaded his wife to follow him. 10

V. He himself also says these things. But how he returned afterwards too, he does not tell me even though I've wanted to find out for a long time. He is hiding, he says, some secret of the Fates. His fellow soldiers also, who were there in Troy, still appear on the plain, warlike in posture and shaking the crests of their helmets. 11

PH. By Athena, vinedresser, I don't believe it, although I wish these things were so. But if you are not attending to the plants, nor irrigating them, tell me now about these matters and what you know about Protesilaos. Indeed, you would please the heroes if I should go away believing. **3**

V. Stranger, the plants no longer need watering at midday, since it is already late autumn and the season itself waters them. Therefore, I have leisure to relate everything in detail. Since these matters are sacred to the gods and so important, may they not escape the notice of cultivated people! It is also better for us to sit down in the beauty of this place. 2

PH. Lead the way; I will follow even beyond the interior of Thrace.

V. Let us enter the vineyard, Phoenician. For you may even discover in it something to cheer you. 3

PH. Let us enter, for a scent that is, I suppose, pleasant comes from the plants.

V. What do you mean? Pleasant? It is divine! The blossoms of the uncultivated trees are fragrant, as are the fruits of those cultivated. If you ever come upon a cultivated plant with fragrant blossoms, pluck rather the leaves, since the sweet scent comes from them. 4

PH. How diverse is the beauty of your property, and how lush the clusters of grapes have grown! How well-arranged are all the trees, and how divine is the fragrance of the place! Indeed, I think that the walkways which you have left untilled are pleasing, but, vinedresser, you seem to me to live luxuriously since you use so much uncultivated land. 5

V. The walkways are sacred, stranger, for the hero exercises on them. 6

[132] **4** *Φ. Ἐρεῖς ταῦτα ἐπειδὰν ἱζήσωμεν οὗ ἄγεις. νυνὶ δέ μοι ἐκεῖνο εἰπέ·* 1
οἰκεῖα γεωργεῖς ταῦτα ἢ δεσπότης μὲν αὐτῶν ἕτερος, σὺ δὲ τρέφοντα
τοῦτον τρέφεις, ὥσπερ τὸν τοῦ Εὐριπίδου Οἰνέα;

2 *Ἀ. Ἓν τοῦτ᾽ ἐκ πολλῶν γήδιον λείπεταί μοι τρέφον οὐκ ἀνελευθέ-*
ρως, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἀγροὺς ἀφείλοντό με οἱ δυνατοὶ κομιδῇ ὀρφανόν. καὶ 5
τουτὶ δὲ τὸ χωρίδιον ὑπὸ Ξείνιδος ἤδη τοῦ Χερρονησίτου κατεχόμενον
ἐξείλετο ὁ Πρωτεσίλεως προσβαλών τι αὐτῷ ἑαυτοῦ φάσμα, ὑφ᾽ οὗ τὰς
ὄψεις ἀνακοπεὶς ἀπῆλθε τυφλός.

3 *Φ. Ἀγαθόν γε τοῦ ἀγροῦ φύλακα ἐκτήσω, καὶ οὐδὲ λύκου τινὸς*
ἔφοδον, οἶμαι, δέδιας ἐγρηγορότος οὕτωσὶ τοῦ φίλου. 10

4 *Ἀ. Ἀληθῆ λέγεις· οὐδὲ γὰρ θηρίῳ ξυγχωρεῖ ἐσφοιτᾶν οὐδενί· οὐδὲ*
ὄφις ἐνταῦθα, οὐδὲ φαλάγγιον, οὐδὲ συκοφάντης ἡμῖν περὶ τοῦ ἀγροῦ
ἐπιτίθεται. τὸ δὲ θηρίον τοῦτο δεινῶς ἀναιδές· ἀπόλλυσι γοῦν ἐν ἀγορᾷ.

5 *Φ. Τὴν δὲ φωνήν, ἀμπελουργέ, πῶς ἐπαιδεύθης; οὐ γάρ μοι τῶν*
ἀπαιδεύτων φαίνῃ. 15

6 *Ἀ. Ἐν ἄστει, ξένε, τὸ πρῶτον ἐτρίβομεν τοῦ βίου, διδασκάλοις*
χρώμενοι καὶ φιλοσοφοῦντες. πονήρως οὖν τὰ ἐμὰ εἶχεν· ἐπὶ δούλοις
γὰρ ἦν τὰ γεωργούμενα, οἱ δ᾽ ἀπέφερον ἡμῖν οὐδέν, ὅθεν δανείζεσθαί τε
7 *ἐπὶ τῷ ἀγρῷ ἔδει καὶ πεινῆν. καὶ δῆτα ἀφικόμενος ἐνταῦθα ξύμβουλον*
ἐποιούμην τὸν Πρωτεσίλεων, ὁ δ᾽ ὀργήν μοι δικαίαν ἔχων, ἐπειδὴ κατα- 20
8 *λιπὼν αὐτὸν ἐν ἄστει ἔζων, ἐσιώπα. λιπαροῦντος δέ μου καὶ ἀπολεῖσθαι*
9 *φάσκοντος εἰ ἀμεληθείην, «μεταμφίασαι» ἔφη. τοῦτ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνης μὲν τῆς*
[133] *ἡμέρας ἀργῶς ἤκουσα· μετὰ ταῦτα μέντοι βασανίζων αὐτό, ξυνῆκα ὅτι*
10 *μεταβαλεῖν κελεύει με τὸ τοῦ βίου σχῆμα. ὅθεν διφθέραν τε ἐναρμοσάμε-*
νος καὶ σμινύην φέρων καὶ οὐδὲ τὴν ἐς ἄστυ ὁδὸν ἔτι γινώσκων, βρύει μοι 25

3 τοῦ om. **ÅB** | post Οἰνέα nomen servi, qui vineas Oenei mercede pacta colebat, deesse putat Reiske; inde ὥσπερ ὁ τοῦ Εὐρ. τὸν Οἰνέα coni. C. Schenkl ("sed scriptura tradita ferri potest") || 4 τοῦτο ἐκ **FAY^{ac}O** || 6 χωρίον **Γ^{a}Ιε** | Χερ(ρ)ον(ν)ησίου **H^{i}ΛΦΓΙP^{a}** -νησιότου **H^{s}** -νησιώτου **K** || 7 τι om. **B** (deleverat Eitrem, at φάσμα hic Xenidem occaecans certe non est idem quod 11.4–6 vel 16.4 apparet) || 11 ἀληθῆ] εὖ **VP^{bγρ}** || 16 διετρίβομεν **ϰ P^{b}σ** (cf. 28.6) | post βίου distinguunt **FVχEζ**, post δι(ε)τρίβομεν **AαÅB** || 18 τε] τὰ **χ** || 24 τε om. **ϰ** || 24-25 προσαρμοσάμενος **ϰ** ἁρμοσάμενος **Y** ἐναρμοσαμένῳ **Γ** || 25 φέροντι **Γ** | καὶ^{2} om. **ΦΓΙP^{a}** | γινώσκοντι **Γ**

PH. You will discuss these things once we sit down where 4
you are leading us. But now tell me this: do you farm your own property, or is someone else the owner, and "do you provide food for the one who feeds you," like Oineus in Euripides' tragedy?[15]

V. This one small plot of land out of many has been left to 2
provide for me—as befits a free person. But powerful men have left me completely bereft of the other fields. Protesilaos took for himself this small piece of land, which was actually owned by Xeinis the Chersonesian. He took it for himself by projecting some kind of apparition of himself at Xeinis. The apparition so damaged Xeinis's eyes that he went away blind.

PH. I suppose you have acquired an excellent guard over 3
your estate, and because your friend is so alert, you do not even fear attack by any wolf.

V. You speak the truth. No beast is allowed to enter the 4
premises. No serpent, or poisonous spider, or extortionist[16] attacks us here in the field. This last beast is exceedingly shameless; it even kills in the marketplace.

PH. Vinedresser, how were you trained in speaking? You 5
do not seem to me to be among the uneducated.

V. At first, we spent our life in a city, and we were provided 6
with teachers and studied. But my affairs were really in a bad way because the farming was left to slaves, and they did not bring anything back to us. Hence it was necessary to take loans with the 7
field as security and to go hungry. And yes, on arriving, I tried to make Protesilaos my advisor, but he remained silent, since he was justifiably angry at me because, having left him, I lived in a 8
city. But when I persisted and said that I would die if neglected, 9
he said, "Change your dress." On that day, I heard this advice but did nothing; afterwards, examining it closely, I understood that he 10
was commanding me to change my way of life. From that point on, after I was suitably dressed in a leather jacket, carrying a hoe, and no longer knew my way to town, Protesilaos made everything

[15] August Nauck, *Tragicorum graecorum fragmenta* (2d ed.; Leipzig: Teubner, 1889), frg. 561.

[16] Extortionists or sycophants were those who for personal gain often prosecuted others without just cause, a practice that ironically became a prosecutable offense itself. The term may also be translated "informers," "slanderers," or "swindlers."

τὰ ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ πάντα, κἂν νοσήσῃ προβάτιον ἢ σμῆνος ἢ δένδρον, ἰατρῷ 1
χρῶμαι τῷ Πρωτεσίλεῳ· συνών ⟨τε⟩ αὐτῷ καὶ τῇ γῇ προσκείμενος,
σοφώτερος {τε} ἐμαυτοῦ γίνομαι· περίεστι γὰρ καὶ σοφίας αὐτῷ.

11 *Φ. Μακάριε τῆς ξυνουσίας καὶ τοῦ ἀγροῦ, εἰ μὴ μόνον ἐλάας καὶ*
βότρυς ἐν αὐτῷ τρυγᾷς, ἀλλὰ καὶ σοφίαν δρέπῃ θείαν τε καὶ ἀκήρατον. 5
καὶ ἴσως ἀδικῶ τὴν ἐν σοὶ σοφίαν, καλῶν γε ἀμπελουργόν.

12 *Ἀ. Οὕτω κάλει· καὶ γὰρ ἂν χαρίζοιο τῷ Πρωτεσίλεῳ γεωργόν*
τε ἐμὲ καὶ κηπουρὸν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ὀνομάζων.

5 *Φ. Ἐνταῦθα οὖν, ἀμπελουργέ, ξύνεστε ἀλλήλοις;*

Ἀ. Ἐνταῦθα, ξένε. πῶς δὲ ἐτεκμήρω; 10

2 *Φ. Ὅτι μοι δοκεῖ τὸ μέρος τοῦ ἀγροῦ τοῦτο ἥδιστόν τε εἶναι καὶ*
θεῖον. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἀναβιώῃ ἄν τις ἐνταῦθα, οὐκ οἶδα· βιώῃ δ' ἂν ἥδιστά
3 *που καὶ ἀλυπότατα ἐξελθὼν τοῦ ὁμίλου. δένδρα τε γὰρ ὑπερμήκη ταῦτα*
χρόνου αὐτὰ ἄραντος, ὕδωρ τε ἐκ πηγῶν τουτὶ ποικίλον, καὶ ἀρύεσθε,
οἶμαι, αὐτὸ ὥσπερ ἄλλου καὶ ἄλλου ἀνθοσμίου πίνοντες. σὺ δὲ καὶ σκηνὰς 15
φυτεύεις ξυμπλέκων τὰ δένδρα καὶ συναρμόττων, ὡς οὐδ' ἂν στέφανόν
τις ἐκ λειμῶνος ἀκηράτου ξυμβάλοι.

4 *Ἀ. Καὶ οὔπω, ξένε, τῶν ἀηδόνων ἤκουσας, οἷον τῷ χωρίῳ ἐνατ-*
τικίζουσιν, ἐπειδὰν δείλη τε ἥκῃ καὶ ἡμέρα ἄρχηται.

[134] 5 *Φ. Δοκῶ μοι ἀκηκοέναι ξυντίθεσθαί τε μηδὲ θρηνεῖν αὐτάς,* 20

2 post Πρωτεσίλεῳ plene distinxerunt edd. ante Boiss. et Eitrem, post προσκείμενος Boiss. et codd. **FÅES?T** (utroque loco dist. **υαB**, non dist. **O**) | ⟨τε⟩ Ol. || 3 {τε} Eitrem τι Reiske || 6 γε] σε **ΑΛΦP^{blit}σ** || 8 κηπωρὸν **VΥΦO** || 11 τούτου **AV** || 13 που] τε **F** || 14 τοῦ χρόνου **AP^{b}σ** || 16 ξυναρμόττων **AΓσ** | οὐδ'] οὐκ **F** || 17 συμβάλοι **Fα** || 20 δοκῶ **AH^{s}KΛΓ^{b}σ**: δοκεῖ **FH^{i}VΥΦΓ^{a}IP**

in the field grow luxuriously for me. Whenever a sheep, a beehive, or a tree became diseased, I consulted Protesilaos as a physician. Since I spend time with him and devote myself to the land, I am becoming more skilled than I used to be, because he excels in wisdom.

PH. You are fortunate indeed with such company and land, 11
if you not only gather olives and grapes in it, but also harvest divine and pure wisdom. I equally do an injustice to your wisdom by calling you a "vinedresser."

V. Do call me so, and indeed you would please Protesila- 12
os by addressing me as "farmer" and "gardener" and things like these.

PH. Do you then spend time with each other here, vine- 5
dresser?

V. Yes, right here, stranger. How did you guess?

PH. Because this portion of the land seems to me to be most 2
pleasant and divine. I do not know whether anyone has ever come to life again here, but if someone were to, he would live, I suppose, most pleasantly and painlessly after coming from the throng of battle. These trees are very tall, since time has reared them. This 3
water from the springs is varied in taste, and I suppose you draw it as though drinking first one vintage wine and then another. You also produce canopies by twining and fitting together the trees, as one could not even weave together a crown from an unmown meadow.[17]

V. Stranger, you have not yet even heard the nightingales 4
that sing here both when evening comes and when day begins, just as they do in Attica.[18]

PH. I suppose that I have heard and that I agree that they 5

[17] This comparison implies that the vinedresser's canopies surpass in piety and sanctity garlands woven for divine offerings from a sacred meadow. See Euripides *Hippolytus* 72–83. The implication may also be that an unmown meadow would contain a great variety of flowers, and hence that because the canopies in the hero's sanctuary are made from a variety of trees, they represent the full range of beauty and color.

[18] In Greek poetic tradition, the nightingale is the typical song bird of lament; see, for example, Penelope's comparison of herself to the nightingale (Homer *Od.* 19.518–23), as well as the story of Procne and Philomela (Apollodorus *Library* 3.14.8). The nightingale thus becomes a metaphor for the poet

ἀλλὰ ᾄδειν μόνον. πλὴν εἰπὲ τὰ τῶν ἡρώων· ἥδιον γὰρ ἂν τούτων ἀκούοιμι. ξυγχωρεῖς δέ που καὶ ἰζῆσαι;

Ἀ. Ξυγχωρεῖ ὁ ἥρως χρηστὸς ὢν ξενίζων τουτοισὶ τοῖς θάκοις.

Φ. Ἰδοὺ ἀναπαύομαι· τὸ γὰρ ξένιον ἡδὺ τῷ γε ἀκροασομένῳ λόγου σπουδαιοτέρου.

6 *Ἀ. Ἐρώτα ξένε, ὅ τι βούλει, καὶ οὐ μάτην ἀφῖχθαι φήσεις. Ὀδυσσεῖ μὲν γάρ, ὁπότε πόρρω τῆς νεὼς ἤλυεν, ἐντυχὼν ὁ Ἑρμῆς ἤ τις τῶν παρὰ Ἑρμοῦ σοφῶν, ἐς κοινωνίαν λόγου τε καὶ σπουδῆς ἀφίκετο (τουτὶ γὰρ ἡγεῖσθαι προσήκει τὸ μῶλυ), σὲ δὲ ὁ Πρωτεσίλεως ἱστορίας τε δι' ἐμοῦ ἐμπλήσει καὶ ἡδίῳ ἀποφανεῖ καὶ σοφώτερον. τὸ γὰρ πολλὰ γινώσκειν πολλοῦ ἄξιον.*

Φ. Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀλύω, βέλτιστε, κατὰ δὲ θεόν, νὴ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, ἥκω. ξυνίημι γὰρ λοιπὸν τοῦ ἐνυπνίου...

Ἀ. Καὶ πῶς ἔχει σοι τὸ ἐνύπνιον; θεῖον γάρ τι ὑποδηλώσεις.

4 ἀκροασομένῳ **FAKΛVYΦ^{b}P^{apc}** : ἀκροασαμένῳ **HΦ^{a}Γ^{ac}IP^{aac}** ἀκροασωμένῳ **Γ^{pc}** ἀκροωμένῳ **P^{b}ÀBE^{s}OS**(b)**T** ἀκροαμένῳ **E^{i}** || 7 πόρρω που **AκεOS^{s}T** || 8 παρ' **FAO** παρὰ τοῦ **χ** περὶ **Φ** | εἰς **ÀBOT** || 8-9 τοῦτο **κ** || 10 σοφώτατον **P^{b}ε** || 12 κατὰ θεὸν δέ **υ** || 13 medium sermonem post ἐνυπνίου a vinitore dirimi indicavit Eitrem

do not lament, but only sing. But say something about the heroes, for I would rather hear about them. Do you want to sit down somewhere?

V. The hero, who is a gracious host, agrees to offer us these seats of honor.

PH. Look, I am at ease, for hospitality is pleasant for one 6
listening to serious discourse.

V. Ask whatever you wish, my guest,[19] and you will not say **6**
that you came in vain. For when Odysseus, far from his ship, was perplexed, Hermes, or one of his clever followers, had an earnest conversation with him (the subject was probably the *moly*[20]). And Protesilaos by means of me will fill you with information and make you more content and wise. For knowing many things is worth much.

PH. But I am not perplexed, my good friend. By Athena! I 2
have come under the auspices of a god, and I finally understand my dream.

V. How do you interpret your dream? You hint at something divine.

(e.g., Hesiod *Works and Days* 203–8 where Hesiod compares himself as a poet to the nightingale) and a symbol of the poetic composition and performance (see especially Aeschylus *Suppliants* 60–67). In Aelian *On the Characteristics of Animals* 5.38, the nightingale has the epithet φιλόμουσος ("lover of the Muses"; see Gregory Nagy, *Poetry as Performance: Homer and Beyond* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996], especially 7–38, 57–66, where he argues well that the nightingale functions as a model of the rhapsode). The mention of nightingales here, as the vinedresser undertakes to narrate the deeds of the heroes, is an important reference to the variability of the heroic poetic tradition. For association of the nightingales with Attica, compare Sophocles *Oedipus at Colonus* 672: Attica is the place where the nightingale most likes to sing.

[19] Up to this point, ξένος has been translated "stranger." Now that some customs of hospitality have been observed, it seems appropriate to translate ξένος as "my guest" for the rest of the dialogue.

[20] The *moly* (τὸ μῶλυ) is a magical herb with a black root and white flower. Hermes gave it to Odysseus as an antidote to Circe's enchantments (Homer *Od.* 10.274–306). Pliny (*Natural History* 25.8) identified the *moly* with a plant that grew in Arcadia and Campania. Although he agrees with Homer that it is difficult to dig up, he disputes Homer's description of it. In the *Odyssey* (10.278–79) Hermes appears in the guise of a young man, never revealing himself as Hermes. This part of the story leads to an ambiguity voiced by the vinedresser, which is an early hint of the critique of Homer, particularly the stories about Odysseus developed later in the dialogue.

3 *Φ. Πλέω μὲν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου καὶ Φοινίκης πέμπτην καὶ τριακοστὴν* 1
ἤδη που ταύτην ἡμέραν. κατασχούσης δὲ τῆς νεὼς εἰς Ἐλεοῦντα τοῦτον
ἔδοξα τὰ Ὁμήρου ἔπη ἀναγινώσκειν, ἐν οἷς τὸν κατάλογον τῶν Ἀχαιῶν
φράζει, καὶ ξυνεκάλουν τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἐμβῆναι τὴν ναῦν ὡς ἀποχρῶσαν
4 *ὁμοῦ πᾶσιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξέθορον τοῦ ἐνυπνίου (καὶ γάρ με καὶ φρίκης τι* 5
ὑπελήλυθει), ξυνεβαλόμην μὲν αὐτὸ ἐς βραδυτῆτα τοῦ πλοῦ καὶ μῆκος·
5 *αἱ γὰρ τῶν ἀποθανόντων ὄψεις ἀργοὶ τοῖς ἐσπουδακόσι. βουληθεὶς δὲ*
ξυμβόλῳ περὶ τοῦ ἐνυπνίου χρήσασθαι (οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸ πνεῦμά πω ξυν-
[135] 6 *εχώρει πλεῖν), ἐξαλλάττω δεῦρο ἀπὸ τῆς νεώς. βαδίζων δέ, ὡς εἶδες,*
πρώτῳ ἐντετύχηκα σοὶ καὶ περὶ τοῦ Πρωτεσίλεω διαλεγόμεθα. διαλε- 10
ξόμεθα δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ καταλόγου τῶν ἡρώων· φῂς γὰρ οὕτω ποιήσειν.
καὶ τὸ καταλέγειν σφας ἐς τὴν ναῦν εἴη ἂν τὸ συλλεξαμένους τὸν περὶ
αὐτῶν λόγον εἶτα ἐμβῆναι.

7 *Ἀ. Κατὰ θεὸν ἥκεις ἀληθῶς, ξένε, καὶ ὑγιῶς ἐξηγῇ τὴν ὄψιν.*
περαίνωμεν οὖν τὸν λόγον, μὴ καὶ θρύπτεσθαί με φῇς διάγοντά σε ἀπ' 15
αὐτοῦ.

7 *Φ. Ἃ ποθῶ μαθεῖν, ξυνίης δή γε· αὐτὴν γὰρ τὴν ξυνουσίαν, ἥτις*
ἐστί σοι πρὸς τὸν Πρωτεσίλεων, καὶ ὁποῖος ἥκει καὶ εἴ τι παραπλήσιον
τοῖς ποιηταῖς ἢ διηγνοημένον αὐτοῖς περὶ τῶν Τρωικῶν οἶδεν, ἀκοῦσαι
2 *δέομαι. Τρωικὰ δὲ λέγω τὰ τοιαῦτα· τήν τε ἐν Αὐλίδι ξυλλογὴν τοῦ* 20
στρατοῦ καὶ καθ' ἕνα τοὺς ἥρως εἰ καλοί τε, ὡς ᾄδονται, καὶ ἀνδρεῖοι
καὶ σοφοὶ ἦσαν. τὸν γὰρ πόλεμον, ὃς περὶ τῇ Τροίᾳ ἐγένετο, πῶς ἂν
διηγοῖτο μήτε διαπολεμήσας αὐτὸν, ἀποθανών τε πρῶτος τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ
παντὸς ἐν αὐτῇ, φασί, τῇ ἀποβάσει;

3 *Ἀ. Εὔηθες τουτί σοι, ξένε. ψυχαῖς γὰρ θείαις οὕτω καὶ μακαρίαις* 25
ἀρχὴ βίου τὸ καθαρεῦσαι τοῦ σώματος· θεούς τε γάρ, ὧν ὀπαδοί εἰσι,
γινώσκουσι τότε οὐκ ἀγάλματα θεραπεύουσαι καὶ ὑπονοίας, ἀλλὰ ξυν-
ουσίας φανερὰς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ποιούμεναι, τά τε τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὁρῶσιν
ἐλεύθεραι νόσων τε καὶ σώματος, ὅτε δὴ καὶ μαντικῆς σοφίας ἐμφορουν-

1 πλέω μὲν] ἐπλέομεν **χ** (sed πλέω μὲν **H**^{γρ}) | καὶ^{1}] τε καὶ **χ** || 2 Ἐλαιοῦντα Cobet || 3 ἔδοξε **B** || 6 εἰς **A**^{i}**VB** || 7 ἀργαὶ **H**^{i}**KΛVY** || 8 ξυμβόλῳ **AΛσ**: ξυμβό⟦υ⟧λω **P** ξυμβούλῳ **FHKVYΦΓI** (cf. 1.2) | οὐδὲ] οὐ **ΦΓI** **P**^{a} | πω om. **ε** || 10 πρῶτον **H**^{i}**KΛY** || 12 καταλέγειν] ξυγκαλεῖν Eitrem (sed καταλέγειν Phoen. fort. propter καταλόγου usurpat) | συλλεξάμενον Kay. || 15 περαίνω μὲν **HΛΦO** | καὶ θρύπτεσθαι] διαθρύπτεσθαι **P**^{blit}**ε** || 21 εἰ] οἳ **κ** || 22 περὶ τῇ Τροίᾳ **FYΦΓI⟦P**^{a}**⟧**: περὶ τὴν Τροίαν **H**^{i}**K**^{i}**ΛV** παρὰ τῇ Τροίᾳ **AH**^{s}**K**^{s}**P**^{b}**σ** || 24 φασί **AχΓ**^{pc}**Pσ**: φησί **FΦΓ**^{ac}**I**, om. **V** | ἀποβάσει] ἀπομέ * **Φ**^{a} ἀπ * **I**^{a} || 25 σοι] σύ Eitrem (sed cf. 3.5, 6.2) | θείαις οὕτω **FVY**: οὕτω θείαις **Aκασ** || 29 τε om. **F**

PH. This is already about the thirty-fifth day, I suppose, 3
that I have been sailing from Egypt and Phoenicia. When the ship put in here at Elaious, I dreamed I read the verses of Homer in which he relates the catalogue of the Achaeans,[21] and I invited the Achaeans to board the ship, since it was large enough for all. When I awoke with a start (for a shuddering came over me), I at- 4
tributed the dream to the slowness and length of the voyage, since apparitions of the dead make no impression on those who travel in haste. Because I wished to be advised about the meaning of the 5
dream (for the wind has not yet allowed our sailing), I have disembarked here. While walking, as you know, I encountered you 6
first, and we are now talking about Protesilaos. We shall also converse about the catalogue of the heroes, for you say that we shall do so, and "cataloguing them on the ship" would mean that those who have compiled the story about them would then embark.

The Phoenician's Doubts Overcome (6.7–8.18)

V. My guest, you have truly arrived under the auspices of 7
a god, and you have described the vision soundly. Let us then recount the story, lest you say that I have corrupted you by diverting you from it.

PH. You know at least what I long to learn. I need to un- 7
derstand this association which you have with Protesilaos, what he is like, and if he knows a story about Trojan times similar to that of the poets, or one unknown to them. What I mean by "Trojan 2
times" is this sort of thing: the assembling of the army at Aulis and the heroes, one by one, whether they were handsome, brave, and clever, as they are celebrated. After all, how could he narrate the war round about Troy when he did not fight to the end, since they say that he was the first of the entire Hellenic army to die, the instant he disembarked there?

V. This is a foolish thing for you to say, my guest. To be 3
cleansed of the body is the beginning of life for divine and thus blessed souls.[22] For the gods, whose attendants they are, they then know, not by worshipping statues and conjectures, but by gaining visible association with them. And free from the body and its

[21] Homer *Il.* 2.484–760.

[22] The tomb-like nature of the body is characteristic of Platonic philosophy; see Plato *Phaedo* 80e–84b.

ται καὶ τὸ χρησμῶδες αὐταῖς προσβακχεύει. τὰ γοῦν Ὁμήρου ποιήματα 1
τίνα φήσεις οὕτως ἀνεγνωκέναι τῶν σφόδρα βασανιζόντων Ὅμηρον, ὡς
ἀνέγνωκέ τε ὁ Πρωτεσίλεως καὶ διορᾷ αὐτά; καίτοι, ξένε, πρὸ Πριάμου
καὶ Τροίας οὐδὲ ῥαψῳδία τις ἦν, οὐδὲ ᾄδετο τὰ μήπω πραχθέντα· ποιη-
[136] τικὴ μὲν γὰρ ἦν περί τε τὰ μαντεῖα περί τε τὸν Ἀλκμήνης Ἡρακλέα, 5
καθισταμένη τε ἄρτι καὶ οὔπω ἡβάσκουσα, Ὅμηρος δὲ οὔπω ᾔδεν, ἀλλ᾽
οἱ μὲν Τροίας ἁλούσης, οἱ δὲ ὀλίγαις ἢ ὀκτὼ γενεαῖς ὕστερον ἐπιθέσθαι
6 αὐτὸν τῇ ποιήσει λέγουσιν. ἀλλ᾽ ὅμως οἶδεν ὁ Πρωτεσίλεως τὰ Ὁμή-
ρου πάντα, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ᾄδει Τρωικὰ μεθ᾽ ἑαυτὸν γενόμενα, πολλὰ δὲ
Ἑλληνικά τε καὶ Μηδικά, τήν τε γοῦν στρατείαν τὴν Ξέρξου τρίτην ὀνο- 10
μάζει φθορὰν ἀνθρώπων μετὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνός τε καὶ Φαέθοντος
ξυμβᾶσαν, ἐπειδὴ πλεῖστα ἔθνη ἐν αὐτῇ ἐφθάρη.

7 Φ. Κέρας Ἀμαλθείας ἐμπλήσεις, ἀμπελουργέ, τοσαῦτα εἰδότος
τοῦ ἑταίρου. ὑγιῶς γάρ που ἀπαγγελεῖς αὐτὰ καὶ ὡς ἤκουσας.

8 Ἀ. Νὴ Δί᾽, ἢ ἀδικοίην φιλόσοφόν τε καὶ φιλαλήθη ἥρωα μὴ τιμῶν 15
ἀλήθειαν, ἣν ἐκεῖνος μητέρα ἀρετῆς ὀνομάζειν εἴωθε.

9 Φ. Δοκῶ μοι καὶ κατ᾽ ἀρχὰς τῶν λόγων ὡμολογηκέναι πρὸς σὲ
τὸ ἐμαυτοῦ πάθος· φημὶ γὰρ ἀπίστως διακεῖσθαι πρὸς τὰ μυθώδη. τὸ
δὲ αἴτιον· οὐδενί πω ἑωρακότι αὐτὰ ξυγγέγονα, ἀλλ᾽ ὁ μὲν ἑτέρου ἀκη-
κοέναι φησίν, ὁ δὲ οἴεσθαι, τὸν δὲ ποιητὴς ἐπαίρει. καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα δὲ 20
περὶ τοῦ μεγέθους τῶν ἡρώων, ὡς δεκαπήχεις ἦσαν, χαρίεντα μὲν κατὰ
μυθολογίαν ἡγοῦμαι, ψευδῆ δὲ καὶ ἀπίθανα τῷ γε θεωροῦντι αὐτὰ πρὸς
τὴν φύσιν, ἧς μέτρα οἱ νῦν ἄνθρωποι.

1 ἐμβακχεύει **F** (sed προσβ. $\mathbf{F}^{\gamma\rho}$) || 3 Πρωτεσίλαος **ΦΙΡ** || 4 μήπω] μὴ **ΦΓΙΡ**^{a}**χ** || 5 τε^{1} om. **ΑΦΓΙ**^{a}**Ρ**^{a} || 6 ἡβάσκουσα] ἐς βάσιν οὖσα **ΑΗ**$^{\gamma\rho}$ **Κ**$^{\gamma\rho}$**ζ**$^{\gamma\rho}$ (sed ἡβ. **Α**$^{\gamma\rho}$) || 7 ὀλίγαις] ἐλάττοσι(ν) **Σ** | ἢ] οἱ δ᾽ **ΑΣ** || 8 εἶδεν **Η**^{s}**Κ**$^{\gamma\rho}$**Λ**$^{\gamma\rho}$**Ο** || 9 δὲ] καὶ **Γ** τε **εOST**^{ec} || 10 τε^{2} om. **A** (deleverant Reiske et Headlam) δὲ **V** | τὴν^{2} **FΚΛΥ**: τοῦ **ΑΗVασ** || 12 πλεῖστοι ἐν αὐτῇ ἐφθάρησαν **χΙ**^{blit} | διεφθάρη(σαν) **Η**$^{\gamma\rho}$**ΛΟ** || 13 εἰδότος] ἐκδόντος **χΙ**^{blit} (sed εἰδ. **Η**$^{\gamma\rho}$**Κ**$^{\gamma\rho}$) || 15 ἢ **VY**, om. **ΗΛ** (sed ἢ **Η**^{m}) | ἀδικοίην ⟨ἂν⟩ Boiss. (in adnott.) || 22 γε om. **ΚΓ**^{ac}**Β**

diseases, souls observe the affairs of mortals, both when souls are filled with prophetic skill and when the oracular power sends Bacchic frenzy upon them.

At any rate, among those who critically examine Homer's 4
poems, who will you say reads and has insight into them as Protesilaos does? Indeed, my guest, before Priam and Troy there was 5
no epic recitation, nor had anyone sung of events that had not yet taken place. There was poetry about prophetic matters and about Herakles, son of Alkmênê, recently arranged but not yet developed fully, but Homer had not yet sung. Some say that it was when Troy was captured, others say it was a few or even eight generations later that he applied himself to poetic composition. Nevertheless, Protesilaos knows everything of Homer and sings 6
of many Trojan events that took place after his own lifetime, and also of many Hellenic and Median events. He calls at any rate the campaign of Xerxes the third destruction of mortals, after what happened in the time of both Deucalion and Phaethôn, when a great many nations were destroyed.

PH. You will fill the horn of Amaltheia, vinedresser, since 7
your companion knows so much. I suppose you will report them correctly, even as you heard them.

V. By Zeus, I would wrong the hero, who is both learned 8
and truth-loving, if I did not honor the truth, which he is accustomed to call the "mother of virtue."

PH. I think that I have confessed my own experience to 9
you from the beginning of our conversation: I am inclined to disbelieve legends. This is the reason: Until now I have not met anyone who has seen such fabulous things, but rather one person claims to have heard it from another, that other believes it, and a third one a poet convinces. What is said about the great size of the heroes—how they were ten cubits tall[23]—I consider pleasing in storytelling, but false and unconvincing for one who observes things according to nature, for which contemporary humans provide the measure.

[23] A unit of measure equivalent to the distance from the elbow to the tip of the middle finger (approximately eighteen inches). The heroes would thus be ca. 15′ tall, much taller than the biblical Goliath who, according to the MT of 1 Sam 17:4, was 6.5 cubits, or 9′ 9″ tall. The LXX and 4QSama give by contrast a height of 4.5 cubits, or only 6′ 9″ tall.

10 Ἀ. Ταυτὶ δὲ ἡγεῖσθαι ἀπίθανα πότε ἤρξω; 1

Φ. Πάλαι, ἀμπελουργέ, κἂν μειρακίῳ ἔτι. παῖς μὲν γὰρ ὢν ἔτι ἐπίστευον τοῖς τοιούτοις, καὶ κατεμυθολόγει με ἡ τίτθη χαριέντως αὐτὰ
[137] ἐπᾴδουσα καί τι καὶ κλάουσα ἐπ᾽ ἐνίοις αὐτῶν· μειράκιον δὲ γενόμενος οὐκ ἀβασανίστως ᾠήθην χρῆναι προσδέχεσθαι ταῦτα. 5

11 Ἀ. Τὸ δὲ τοῦ Πρωτεσίλεω, καὶ ὅτι ἐνταῦθα φαίνοιτο, ἀκηκοώς ποτε ἔτυχες;

Φ. Πῶς, ἀμπελουργέ, ὅς γε καὶ σοῦ τήμερον ἀκούων ἀπιστῶ;

12 Ἀ. Οὐκοῦν ἀρχὴ τοῦ λόγου σοι γινέσθω τὰ πάλαι σοι ἀπιστούμενα· φῂς δέ που ἀπιστεῖν, εἰ δεκαπήχεις ἐγένοντο ἄνθρωποι. ἐπειδὰν 10 δὲ τούτου ἱκανῶς ἔχῃς, ἀπαίτει λοιπὸν τὸν περὶ τοῦ Πρωτεσίλεω λόγον καὶ ὁπόσα βούλει τῶν Τρωικῶν· οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἀπιστήσεις.

Φ. Καλῶς λέγεις καὶ οὕτω ποιῶμεν.

8 Ἀ. Ἄκουε δή· πάππος ἦν μοι, ξένε, πολλὰ τῶν ἀπιστουμένων ὑπὸ σοῦ γινώσκων, ὃς ἔλεγε διαφθαρῆναι μέν ποτε τὸ τοῦ Αἴαντος σῆμα ὑπὸ 15 τῆς θαλάσσης, πρὸς ᾗ κεῖται, ὀστᾶ δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ φανῆναι κατὰ ἑνδεκάπηχυν ἄνθρωπον· καὶ ἔφασκεν Ἀδριανὸν βασιλέα περιστεῖλαι αὐτὰ ἐς Τροίαν ἐλθόντα καὶ τὸν νυνὶ τάφον περιαρμόσαι τῷ Αἴαντι ἔστιν ἃ καὶ προσπτυξάμενον τῶν ὀστῶν καὶ φιλήσαντα.

2 Φ. Οὐ μάτην ἀπιστεῖν ἔοικα τοῖς τοιούτοις, ἀμπελουργέ· καὶ σὺ 20 γὰρ πάππου μέν τι ἀκηκοέναι φῂς καὶ ἴσως μητρὸς ἢ τίτθης, σεαυτοῦ δὲ ἀπαγγέλλεις οὐδέν, εἰ μὴ ἄρα περὶ τοῦ Πρωτεσίλεω εἶποις.

3 Ἀ. Καὶ μήν, εἰ μυθολογικὸς ἦν, τόν τε τοῦ Ὀρέστου νεκρὸν

2 παῖς μὲν γὰρ ὢν ἔτι om. **ΦΙΓ^{a}Ι^{a}Ρ^{a}** | ἔτι ὢν **VP^{b}** | post ἔτι (ὢν) distinguunt **ΑΚΛVσ** || 4 τι] τοι **χÅ** | ἐνίους **H^{s}ΚΛΟ** || 6 καὶ delendum vel . . . ἔτυχες ⟨οὐδὲν πιστεύων⟩ ("vel simile aliquid") scribendum esse putat Eitrem || 8 πῶς γε **F** πῶς γάρ Hercher (sed cf. e.g. Soph. Philoct. 1386) | σήμερον **FA** || 9 σοι^{1}] μοι **P^{blit}σ** om. **Y** | γενέσθω **H^{ac}ÅBO** φαινέσθω **ΦΓΙ⟦P^{a}⟧** || 10 δέ] δή Eitrem (sed cf. 15.4, 53.18) || 12 οὐδὲν **FυΦΓ^{ac}ΙP^{a}E^{Σ}**: οὐδὲῒ **B** οὐδὲϊ **Å** οὐδενὶ **H^{γρ}K^{γρ}Γ^{pc}P^{b}Eζ** (cf. 7.12, 8.1, 8.4, 8.17, 8.18) || 14 μοι om. **ΦΙ^{a}P^{a}** * **F** || 15 τὸ τοῦ Αἴαντος σῆμα **Fα**: τὸ σ. τοῦ Αἴ. **υσ** || 21 τι] τοι **AH^{ac}YΦΓ^{s}B** || 22 ἄρα τι **AV** | Πρωτεσιλάου **F**

V. When did you begin to consider these things unconvinc- 10
ing?

PH. Long ago, vinedresser, while yet a young man. When I was still a child I believed such things, and my nurse cleverly amused me with these tales, singing and even weeping over some of them.[24] But when I became a young man, I did not think it necessary to accept such tales without question.

V. But concerning Protesilaos, have you ever happened to 11
hear that he appears here?

PH. Vinedresser, how could I when I do not believe what I am hearing from you today?

V. Then let the ancient things which you find unconvinc- 12
ing be the beginning of my story. You say, I suppose, that you disbelieve that human beings were ten cubits tall. When you can sufficiently accept this, you ought to demand the rest of the story about Protesilaos and whatever else you want about Trojan matters. You will disbelieve none of these things.

PH. You speak well. Let us proceed this way.

V. Listen now, my friend. I had a grandfather who knew **8**
many of the things you do not believe. He used to say that the tomb of Ajax was destroyed by the sea near which it lies, and that bones appeared in it of a person eleven cubits tall. He also said that upon his arrival at Troy the emperor Hadrian embraced and kissed some of the bones, wrapped them up, and restored the present tomb of Ajax.[25]

PH. Not without reason, vinedresser, am I likely to doubt 2
such things, since you say that you have heard something from your grandfather and probably from your mother or nurse; but you report nothing on your own authority unless you would speak about Protesilaos.

V. Indeed, if I were versed in legendary lore, I would de- 3

[24] See Plato *Republic* 376e–378e, on the use of stories in the education of the young.

[25] Pausanias (*Description of Greece* 1.35.5) relates a Mysian story of the poor condition of Ajax's grave and huge size of his bones. Hadrian's visit may have been during his tour of the province of Asia in 124 C.E.; see Anthony R. Birley, *Hadrian: The Restless Emperor* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 164.

διήειν, ὃν ἑπτάπηχυν ἐν Τεγέᾳ Λακεδαιμόνιοι εὗρον, καὶ τὸν ἐν τῷ χαλ- 1
[138] κῷ ἵππῳ τῷ Λυδίῳ, ὃς κατωρώρυκτο μὲν ἐν Λυδίᾳ πρὸ Γύγου ἔτι,
σεισμῷ δὲ τῆς γῆς διασχούσης θαῦμα τοῖς περὶ Λυδίαν ὤφθη ποιμέσιν,
οἷς ἅμα ὁ Γύγης ἐθήτευσεν. ἐς γὰρ κοῖλον τὸν ἵππον θυρίδας ἐν ἑκα-
4 τέρᾳ πλευρᾷ ἔχοντα νεκρὸς ἀπέκειτο μείζων ἢ ἀνθρώπου δόξαι. εἰ δὲ 5
ταῦτα οἷα ἀπιστεῖσθαι διὰ τὸν χρόνον, ἀλλὰ τοῖς γε ἐφ' ἡμῶν οὐκ οἶδ'
5 ὅ τι ἀντερεῖς. Ἀρυάδην γάρ, ὃν οἱ μὲν Αἰθίοπα, οἱ δὲ Ἰνδὸν ἔφασαν,
τριακοντάπηχυν ἐν τῇ Ἀσσυρίων γῇ κείμενον οὐ πάλαι ἀνέφηνεν ἡ τοῦ
6 Ὀρόντου ποταμοῦ ὄχθη σχισθεῖσα. τουτὶ δὲ τὸ Σίγειον πρὸ πεντήκον-
τα οὔπω ἐτῶν ἐν προβολῇ τοῦ ἀκρωτηρίου σῶμα ἀνέδειξε γίγαντος, ὃν 10
αὐτὸς Ἀπόλλων ἀπεκτονέναι φησὶν ὑπὲρ Τροίας αὐτῷ μαχόμενον· καὶ
εἶδον, ξένε, πλεύσας εἰς τὸ Σίγειον αὐτό τε τὸ πάθος τῆς γῆς καὶ τὸν
γίγαντα ὅσος ἦν. ἔπλεον δὲ καὶ Ἑλλησποντίων πολλοὶ καὶ Ἰώνων καὶ
νησιῶται πάντες καὶ τὸ Αἰολικὸν ἅπαν· ἐπὶ γὰρ μῆνας δύο μέγας ἐν με-
γάλῳ ἀκρωτηρίῳ προὔκειτο παρέχων ἄλλον ἄλλῳ λόγον οὔπω δηλοῦντος 15
αὐτὸν τοῦ χρησμοῦ.

7 *Φ.* Εἴποις ἂν οὖν ἔτι, ἀμπελουργέ, περί τε μεγέθους αὐτοῦ περί
τε ὀστῶν ἁρμονίας περί τε τῶν λεγομένων ὄφεων ξυμπεφυκέναι τοῖς
γίγασιν, οὓς ὑπογράφουσιν οἱ ζωγράφοι τῷ Ἐγκελάδῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀμφ'
αὐτόν; 20

8 *Ἀ.* Εἰ μὲν τερατώδεις ἐγένοντο ἐκεῖνοι, ξένε, καὶ ξυμβεβλημέ-
νοι θηρίοις, οὐκ οἶδα. ὁ δὲ ἐν τῷ Σιγείῳ δύο μὲν καὶ εἴκοσι πήχεις
ἐπεῖχεν, ἔκειτο δὲ ἐν πετρώδει σήραγγι, τὴν κεφαλὴν μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἤπει-
ρον ἔχων, τοὺς δὲ πόδας συναπολήγων τῷ ἀκρωτηρίῳ· δρακόντων δὲ
οὐδὲν σημεῖον περὶ αὐτὸν ἑωρῶμεν, οὐδὲ ἔστιν ὅ τι τῶν ὀστῶν παρ- 25

1 διήειν ἂν **V** (coniecerat Boiss.) | ἐν Τεγέᾳ **AT**^{m} (coniecerant Ol. et Cobet, coll. Hdt. I 66–68): ἔν τε γαίᾳ **Y** ἐν •ε͡γ **S**^{m} ἐν Νεμέᾳ **A**^{γρ}**HKVΓ**^{lit}**εOS**(b) **T** ἐν Νεμαίᾳ **ΓΛΦΙΡ** || 2 κατωρώρυκτο **HVΥΦΙΡε**: κατορώρυκτο **FAΓS**(b)**T** κατωρόρυκτο **ΚΛΟ** | μὲν om. **εS**(b) || 3 τὴν Λυδίαν **α** || 4 ἐθήτευεν **F**^{pc} **V**(b)**S**(b) || 5 ἐπέκειτο **ÅB** || 6 ταῦτ' αὖ **H**^{s}**ΚΛ** ταῦταυ **O** | οἷά τ' **ε** | ἡμῶν **AH**^{s}**P**^{blit}**σ**: ἡμῖν **FH**^{i}**ΚΛVΥΦΓΙ** || 8 ἀπέφηνεν **H**^{γρ}**K**^{γρ} (**O** ἀνέ- exhibet e corr.) || 11 φασὶν **FΦΓΙ**⟦**P**^{a}⟧ || 14 Αἰτωλικὸν **P**^{bγρ}**ε** Ἑλληνικὸν **ϰI**^{bγρ} (sed Αἰολ. **H**^{γρ}**K**^{γρ}) || 14-15 μεγάλῳ ⟨τῷ⟩ Reiske || 16 χρησμοῦ **FυΦΓ**^{a}**IP**^{Σ}**Å**^{γρ}**B**^{Σ} **E**^{Σ}**O**^{ac}**ζ**^{Σ}: χρόνου **H**^{Σ}**K**^{γρ}**Γ**^{b}**P**^{blit}**εO**^{pc}**ST** || 17 τε om. **χ** | τοῦ μεγέθους **AVÅ Bζ** | αὐτῶν **H**^{s}**Λ**^{s} || 19 οἱ ἑπτὰ ζωγρ. **χ** (sed οἱ ζωγρ. **H**^{γρ}**K**^{γρ}) | Ἐγκεφάλῳ **H**^{γρ}**K**^{γρ}**O** || 20 αὐτόν **FÅBOT** || 21 μὲν] μὴ **F** || 23 σήραγγι] φάραγγι **K**^{γρ}**ΛΣ** || 23-24 τῇ ἠπείρῳ **AH**^{Σ}**P**^{Σ}**ÅBE**^{γρ}**ζ**^{γρ} (sed τὴν -ον **Å**^{γρ}) || 25 ὅ τι] ὅτε **F**

scribe the seven-cubit-long corpse of Orestes, which the Lacedaemonians found in Tegea,[26] as well as that corpse inside the bronze Lydian horse, which had been buried in Lydia before the time of Gyges.[27] When the earth was split by an earthquake, the marvel was observed by Lydian shepherds with whom Gyges then served. The corpse, appearing larger than human, had been laid in a hollow horse that had openings on either side. Even if 4
such things can be doubted because of their antiquity, I do not
know anything from our own time that you will deny. Not long 5
ago, a bank of the river Orontes, when it was divided, revealed Aryadês—whom some called an Ethiopian, others an Indian—a thirty-cubit-long corpse lying in the land of Assyria.[28] Moreover, 6
not more than fifty years ago, Sigeion—right over here—revealed the body of a giant on an outcropping of its promontory. Apollo himself asserts that he killed him while fighting on behalf of Troy. When sailing into Sigeion, my guest, I saw the very condition of the earth and how big the giant was. Many Hellespontians and Ionians and all the islanders and Aeolians sailed there as well. For two months the giant lay on the great promontory, giving rise to one tale after another since the oracle had not yet revealed the true story.

PH. Would you speak further, vinedresser, about his size, 7
the structure of his bones, and the serpents, which are said to have grown together with the giants, and which the painters sketch below the torso of Enkelados and his companions?

V. If those monstrous beings existed, my guest, and if they 8
were joined with snakes, I do not know. But the one in Sigeion was twenty-two cubits long, and it was lying in a rocky cleft with its head toward the mainland and its feet even with the promontory. But we did not see any sign of serpents around it, nor is there

[26] The majority of manuscripts read "Nemea" here, but the variant "Tegea" is to be preferred following Herodotus *Hist.* 1.66–68 and Pausanias *Description of Greece* 3.3.5–7; 8.54.4, who recount a story of how in the time of Lycurgus, the Lacedaemonians were instructed to seek the bones of Orestes in Tegea.

[27] See the story of Gyges in Plato *Republic* 359d–e.

[28] According to Pausanias (*Description of Greece* 8.29.3–4), an unnamed Roman emperor wanted to build a canal from the Orontes near Antioch to the sea. A corpse was discovered, and the oracle at Klaros revealed his name to be Orontes, an Indian.

139] 9 *ἡλλαττεν ἀνθρώπου. καὶ μὴν καὶ Ὕμναιος ὁ Πεπαρήθιος, ἐπιτηδείως* 1
μοι ἔχων, ἔπεμψέ τινα τῶν ἑαυτοῦ υἱέων πρὸ ἐτῶν ἐνταῦθά που τετ-
τάρων, ἐρησόμενον δι' ἐμοῦ τὸν Πρωτεσίλεων περὶ ὁμοίου θαύματος·
ἐν ⟨Ἴ⟩κῳ γὰρ τῇ νήσῳ, (κέκτηται δὲ αὐτὴν μόνος) ἔτυχε μὲν ὀρύττων
ἀμπέλους, ἡ γῆ δὲ ὑπήχησε τοῖς ὀρύττουσιν οἷον κενή. διανοίξαντες οὖν, 5
10 *δωδεκάπηχυς μὲν ὁ νεκρὸς ἔκειτο, τὸ δέ γε κρανίον ᾤκει δράκων. ὁ μὲν*
δὴ νεανίας ἀφίκετο ἐπερησόμενος ἡμᾶς ὅ τι χρὴ πράττειν ἐπ' αὐτῷ, ὁ
δὲ Πρωτεσίλεως «τὸν ξένον» ἔφη «συγκαλύπτωμεν», κελεύων δήπου
ἐπιθάπτειν τὸν νεκρὸν καὶ μὴ γυμνοῦν ἑκόντας· εἶπε δὲ καὶ ὡς γίγας
11 *εἴη τῶν βεβλημένων. ὁ δὲ ἐν Λήμνῳ φανείς, ὃν Μενεκράτης ὁ Στειριεὺς* 10
εὗρε, μέγιστός τε ἦν καὶ εἶδον αὐτὸν πέρυσιν ἐξ Ἴμβρου πλεύσας· δι'
ὀλίγου γὰρ ἦν ἐς τὴν Λῆμνον. τὰ μὲν οὖν ὀστᾶ οὐκέτι ἐν κόσμῳ ἑωρᾶτο·
καὶ γὰρ οἱ σπόνδυλοι ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἔκειντο σεισμοῖς, οἶμαι διενεχθέν-
τες, καὶ τὰ πλευρὰ ἐξήρμοστο τῶν σπονδύλων. ἐνθυμουμένῳ δὲ αὐτὰ
ὁμοῦ τε καὶ κατὰ ἕν, φρικῶδες ἐδόκει τὸ μέγεθος καὶ οὐ ῥᾴδιον ἀνατυ- 15
ποῦσθαι· τὸ γοῦν κρανίον ἐμφορησάντων ἡμῶν ἐς αὐτὸ οἶνον οὐδὲ ὑπὸ
12 *δυοῖν ἀμφορέοιν ἐνεπλήσθη τῶν ἐκ Κρήτης. ἔστι δέ τι κατὰ νότον ἄνεμον*
ἀκρωτήριον τῆς Ἴμβρου, Ναύλοχος, ᾧ πηγὴ ὑφώρμισται τὰ μὲν ἄρσε-
να τῶν ζῴων εὐνούχους ἐργαζομένη, τὰ δὲ θήλεα οὕτω μεθύσκουσα,
ὡς καθεύδειν αὐτά. τρύφος οὖν ἐνταῦθα τῆς γῆς ἀπορραγὲν συνεπέσπα- 20
στο σῶμα μεγίστου γίγαντος· κἂν ἀπιστῇς, πλεύσωμεν· πρόκειται γὰρ
γυμνὸς ἔτι καὶ ὁ ἐς Ναύλοχον πλοῦς βραχύς.

13 *Φ. Ἐβουλόμην μὲν ἂν καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν Ὠκεανὸν ἐλθεῖν, ἀμπελουργέ,*
θαῦμα εἴ που τοιοῦτον εὕροιμι· ἡ δὲ ἐμπορία οὐ ξυγχωρεῖ τοσοῦτον
[140] *ἀποφοιτᾶν ἑαυτῆς, ἀλλὰ δεῖ προσδεδέσθαι τῇ νηί, καθάπερ τὸν Ὀδυσσέα·* 25
εἰ δὲ μή, καὶ τὰ ἐκ πρῴρας, φασί, καὶ τὰ ἐκ πρύμνης ἀπολεῖται.

14 *Ἀ. Ἀλλὰ μήπω, ξένε, πιστὰ ἡγοῦ, ἃ εἶπον, πρὶν ἔς τε τὴν νῆσον*

1 καὶ[2] om. ε || 2 ἔπεμψεν ἕνα **Aκ** (sed ἔ. τινα **H**^{γρ}) | αὐτοῦ **I**^{pc} αὐτοῦ **VΦΓI**^{ac}**PεO** | που om. **FΓ**^{ac} || 2-3 τεσσάρων **F** || 4 add. Wilamowitz || 5 διανοίξαντος **H**^{i}**YI**^{s} (= **I**^{b}?) || 7 ἐπ' αὐτῷ πράττειν **Aχ** || 11 τε] τούτων **AV** || 17 δυεῖν **F** || 18 Ναύλοχον **VΦ** || 20 αὐτά] αὐτίκα Eitrem | οὖν om. **Aχ** | ἀπορραγὲν] ἀποκοπὲν **H**^{i}**KΛ** || 20-21 συνεπεσπάσατο **FAV** συνεσπάσατο **χ** || 23 μὲν om. **FVO** | μὲν/ καὶ **P** || 24 οὐδὲ ⟦**Φ**⟧⟦**Γ**⟧**I**^{a}⟦**P**⟧ || 25 προσδέχεσθαι **FΦ**^{a}⟦**I**^{a}⟧⟦**P**^{a}⟧ προσέχεσθαι **Γ**^{a} || 27 ἀλλὰ **FΦΓ**^{a}**I**^{a}**P**^{a} : πάντα ὀρθῶς λέγεις ἀλλὰ **υΓ**^{b}**I**^{b}**P**^{b}**σ** (πάντα om. **Y**) | πρὶν ἂν **KΣ**

anything different about its bones from those of a human being. Furthermore, Hymnaios of Peparêthos, who is on friendly terms 9
with me, sent one of his sons here some four years ago to consult Protesilaos through me about a similar marvel. When Hymnaios happened to dig up vines on the island of Ikos (he alone owned the island), the earth sounded somewhat hollow to those who were digging. When they opened it up, they found a twelve-cubit corpse lying there with a serpent inhabiting its skull. The young 10
man then came to ask us what should be done in his honor, and Protesilaos said, "Let us cover the stranger completely," without doubt urging those who were willing to rebury the corpse and not to leave it exposed. He also said that the giant was one of those who were hurled down by the gods. But the corpse that came to 11
light on Lemnos, which Menekratês of Steiria found, was very big, and I saw it a year ago when I sailed from Imbros, only a short distance from Lemnos. Its bones, however, no longer appear in their proper order: the vertebrae lie separated from each other, tossed about by earthquakes, I suppose, and the ribs are wrenched out of the vertebrae. But if one imagines the bones together as a whole, the size seems to make one shudder and is not easily described. Certainly when we poured two Cretan amphoras[29] of wine into the skull, it was not filled. Now, there is a headland 12
on Imbros called "Naulokhos" facing the south, under which a spring is found that turns male animals into eunuchs, and makes females so drunk that they fall asleep. At this spot, when a piece of land was severed from the mainland, the body of a very large giant was pulled out. If you disbelieve me, let us set sail. The corpse still lies exposed, and the sea journey to Naulokhos is short.

PH. I would gladly go beyond Okeanos, vinedresser, if I 13
could find such a marvel. My business, however, does not allow me to stray so far. Rather, I must be bound to my ship, just like Odysseus.[30] Otherwise, as they say, the things in the bow and the things in the stern will perish.

V. But do not yet regard as credible what I have said, my 14

[29] An amphora is a large-bellied clay vessel with two handles. As a Greek liquid measure it held approximately nine gallons.

[30] Compare Homer *Od.* 12.154–200 where Odysseus is bound to the mast of his ship to prevent him from following the Sirens' singing.

τὴν Κῶ πλεύσῃς, ἐν ᾗ τὰ τῶν γηγενῶν ὀστᾶ ἀνάκειται, Μερόπων, φασί, 1
τῶν πρώτων, ἐν Φρυγίᾳ δὲ τά τε Ὕλλου τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἴδῃς, καὶ νὴ
Δί᾽ ἐν Θετταλίᾳ τὰ τῶν Ἀλωαδῶν, ὡς ἐννεόργυιοι ἀτεχνῶς ἐγένοντο
15 *καὶ ὁποῖοι ᾄδονται. Νεαπολῖται δὲ Ἰταλίαν οἰκοῦντες θαῦμα πεποίηνται*
τὰ τοῦ Ἀλκυονέως ὀστᾶ. λέγουσι γὰρ δὴ πολλοὺς τῶν γιγάντων ἐκεῖ 5
16 *βεβλῆσθαι καὶ τὸ Βέσβιον ὄρος ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς τύφεσθαι. καὶ μὴν καὶ ἐν*
Παλλήνῃ, ἣν Φλέγραν οἱ ποιηταὶ ὀνομάζουσι, πολλὰ μὲν σώματα ἡ γῆ
τοιαῦτα ἔχει γιγάντων στρατοπεδευσάντων ἐκεῖ, πολλὰ δὲ ὄμβροι τε καὶ
σεισμοὶ ἀνακαλύπτουσι. θαρσεῖ δὲ οὐδὲ ποιμὴν περὶ μεσημβρίαν ἐκεῖνο
17 *τὸ χωρίον ὑποπαταγούντων εἰδώλων, ἃ ἐν αὐτῷ μαίνεται. τὸ δὲ ἀπιστεῖν* 10
τοῖς τοιούτοις ἴσως που καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἦν, ὅθεν τὸν Γηρυόνην
ἐν τῇ Ἐρυθείᾳ ἀποκτείνας καὶ μεγίστῳ αὐτῷ ἐντετυχηκέναι λεγόμενος
ἀνέθηκε τὰ ὀστᾶ ἐς Ὄλυμπίαν, ὡς μὴ ἀπιστοῖτο τοῦ ἄθλου.
18 *Φ. Εὐδαιμονίζω σε τῆς ἱστορίας, ἀμπελουργέ. ἐγὼ δὲ μεγάλα*
μὲν ἠγνόουν, ἀνοήτως δὲ ἠπίστουν. ἀλλὰ τὰ τοῦ Πρωτεσίλεω πῶς ἔχει; 15
καιρὸς γάρ που ἐπ᾽ ἐκεῖνα ἥκειν μηκέτ᾽ ἀπιστούμενα.
9 *Ἀ. Περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἄκουε, ξένε. κεῖται μὲν οὐκ ἐν Τροίᾳ*

1 πλεύσῃς **ΗΚΓ^{b}P^{b}σ**: πλεύσεις **FAV**(b)**ΥΦP^{a}** πλεύσοις **Λ** πλεύσας **Γ^{a}I** || 2 πρώτων ⟨ἐκεῖ οἰκησάντων⟩ ("vel aliud quid simile") Eitrem | τε] τοῦ **ÅB** om. **Λ** | Ὕλλου **Φ** || 3 Ἀλωαδῶν Kay.: Ἀλωάδων vel Ἁλωάδων codd. | ἐννεόργυοι **F** || 3-4 ἀτεχνῶς post καὶ transp. Eitrem (sed cf. Ap. 91.22, Im. 331.1) || 4 ὁποῖα **F** | δὲ οἱ **κσ** || 6 Βέσβιον **A^{γρ}κΓ^{b}P^{blit}**ζ: Θέσβιον **ÅBE^{ec}** Σβέρβιον **F** Βέρβιον **AVY^{i}** Σέρβιον **Y^{s}ΦΓ^{a}I** | καὶ^{3} om. **KYO** || 12 Ἐρυθρᾷ **F** || 13 ⟨τὸ⟩ τοῦ Eitrem (sed cf. Schmid, Attic. IV 54s.) || 14 μεγάλα] μάλα **ΦΓΙΡ** || 16-17 . . .ἥκειν. — Ἀ. ἄκουε ξένε, μηκέτ᾽ ἀπιστούμενον περὶ τῶν τοιούτων **P^{bγρ}σ** . . . ἥκειν. — Ἀ. ἄκουε ξένε, μηκέτ᾽ ἀπιστούμενα π. τ. τ. **A** et, ut vid., **Γ^{b}**, qui post primae manus verbum ἥκειν add. ἄκουε ξένε; . . . ἥκειν. — Ἀ. π. τ. τ. ἄκουε, ξένε, μηκέτ᾽ ἀπιστουμένων Eitrem || 17 ἄκουσαι **χ** | tit. Πρωτεσίλεως (ante κεῖται) habent **H^{m}K^{m}ΥΦΙΡÅBE^{m}**ζ, -λαος **A**

guest, until you sail to the island of Cos, where the bones of earth-born men lie, the first descendants of Merops, they say, and until you see the bones of Hyllos, son of Herakles, in Phrygia[31] and, by Zeus, those of the Alôadai in Thessaly, since they are really nine fathoms long and exactly as they are celebrated in song.[32] The Neapolitans living in Italy consider the bones of Alkyoneus a 15
marvel. They say that many giants were thrown down there, and Mount Vesuvius smolders over them. Indeed in Pallênê, which 16
the poets call "Phlegra," the earth holds many such bodies of giants encamped there, and rainstorms and earthquakes uncover many others. Not even a shepherd ventures at midday to that place of clattering phantoms[33] which rage there. Disbelief in such 17
things probably existed even at the time of Herakles. Hence, after he killed Geryon in Erytheia and was alleged to have encountered the most enormous creature, Herakles dedicated its bones at Olympia so that his contest would not be disbelieved.

PH. I consider you fortunate for your knowledge,[34] vine- 18
dresser. I was ignorant of such great bones, and out of ignorance I disbelieved. But what about the stories of Protesilaos? It is time, I suppose, to come to those, since they are no longer unbelievable.

II. PROTESILAOS (9.1–23.30)

The Sanctuary of Protesilaos at Elaious (9.1–7)

V. Listen to such stories now, my guest. Protesilaos does **9**

[31] Pausanias (*Description of Greece* 1.35.6) offers an alternative identification: the inhabitants of a Lydian city called the Doors of Temenos discovered a huge corpse, which they at first claimed to be the body of Geryon; sacred officials later declared it to be the body of Hyllos, the son of Gê. A river was named after him, and Pausanias says that Herakles named his son Hyllos after the Lydian river.

[32] Homer *Od.* 11.305–20. One fathom is equivalent to the length of arms outstretched, or about six feet. These giants are described in the *Odyssey* (11.311–12 [Lattimore]) as the "tallest men the grain-giving earth has brought forth ever" and they grew "nine fathoms" tall.

[33] The phantoms (εἴδωλα) here are apparitions of the shades of the dead; see Homer *Odyssey* 11, where Odysseus summons the shades from Hades.

[34] Literally, ἱστορία, inquiry, observation, research, or the information obtained from such a process of investigation; implied is accurate discernment and the authority that accompanies it.

ὁ Πρωτεσίλεως ἀλλ᾽ ἐν Χερρονήσῳ ταύτῃ, κολωνὸς δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπέχει 1
μέγας οὑτοσὶ δήπου ὁ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ, πτελέας δὲ ταύτας αἱ νύμφαι περὶ
[141] *τῷ κολωνῷ ἔφυσαν καὶ τοιόνδε ἐπὶ τοῖς δένδρεσι τούτοις ἔγραψάν που*
2 *αὗται νόμον· τοὺς πρὸς τὸ Ἴλιον τετραμμένους τῶν ὄζων ἀνθεῖν μὲν*
πρωί, φυλλορροεῖν δὲ αὐτίκα καὶ προαπόλλυσθαι τῆς ὥρας (τοῦτο δὴ 5
τὸ τοῦ Πρωτεσίλεω πάθος), τῷ δὲ ἑτέρῳ μέρει ζῆν τὸ δένδρον καὶ εὖ
3 *πράττειν. καὶ ὁπόσα δὲ τῶν δένδρων μὴ περὶ τὸ σῆμα ἕστηκεν, ὥσπερ*
καὶ ταυτὶ τὰ ἐν κήπῳ, πᾶσιν ἔρρωται τοῖς ὄζοις καὶ θαρσεῖ τὸ ἴδιον.

4 *Φ. Ὁρῶ, ἀμπελουργέ, καὶ θαυμάζειν ἔχων οὐ τεθαύμακα· σοφὸν*
γὰρ τὸ θεῖον. 10

5 *Ἀ. Τὸ δέ γε ἱερόν, ἐν ᾧ κατὰ τοὺς πατέρας ὁ Μῆδος ὕβριζεν, ἐφ᾽*
ᾧ καὶ τὸ τάριχος ἀναβιῶναί φασι, τοῦτο ἡγοῦ, ὦ ξένε· καταλείπεται δὲ
αὐτοῦ ὁρᾷς ὡς ὀλίγα. τότε δέ, οἶμαι, χαρίεν τε ἦν καὶ οὐ μικρόν, ὡς
6 *ἔστι τοῖς θεμελίοις ξυμβαλέσθαι. τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τοῦτο βέβηκε μὲν ἐπὶ*
νεώς, τὸ γὰρ τῆς βάσεως σχῆμα πρῷρα, ἵδρυται δὲ ναύαρχος. περιτρίψας 15
δὲ αὐτὸ ὁ χρόνος καὶ νὴ Δί᾽ οἱ ἀλείφοντές τε καὶ οἱ ἐπισφραγιζόμενοι τὰς

1 δέ που **P**^{b}**εOS**(b)**T** | περιέχει Cobet || 2 ὁ om. **χO** | περὶ **FAY ΦΓ**^{a}**P**^{a}**P**$^{\Sigma}$**ε**$^{\Sigma}$**O**$^{\Sigma}$**S**$^{\gamma\rho}$?**T**$^{\Sigma}$: παρὰ **ϰVΓ**^{b}**I**^{blit}**P**^{b}**εOS**(b)**T** || 3 ἔφυσαν **FAHΛVYΦΓ**^{a} **IP**^{a} : ἐφύτευσαν **H**$^{\gamma\rho}$**KΓ**^{b}**P**^{b}**σ** || 6 τὰ δένδρα **Γ**^{ac} || 7 δὲ] τε **ϰ** | σῶμα **F Φ**[[**I**^{a}]]**P**^{a} || 8 τῷ κήπῳ **AϰP**^{b}**σ** | θαρσεῖ] θεωρεῖ **ϰ** (sed θαρσ. **H**$^{\gamma\rho}$**K**$^{\gamma\rho}$) || 11 ἐφ᾽ ᾧ **FP**^{blit} : ἐφ᾽ ὃν **VχΦΓ**^{ac}**I** ἐφ᾽ ὃ **AH**$^{\gamma\rho}$**K**$^{\gamma\rho}$**Γ**^{pc}**σ** (cf. 15.9, 23.29) || 12 ἀπολείπεται **P**$^{b\gamma\rho}$**ε**$^{\gamma\rho}$**O**$^{\gamma\rho}$**T**$^{\gamma\rho}$ (**S** non liquet) || 13 ὡς ὁρᾷς ὀλίγα **KVÅB** ὡς ὁρᾶς ὡς ὀλ. **Λ** || 15 περιτρέψας **H**^{s}**K**$^{\gamma\rho}$**P**^{b}**εOS**(b)**T**

not lie buried at Troy but here on the Chersonesus. This large mound here on the left no doubt contains him. The nymphs created these elms around the mound, and they made, I suppose, the following decree concerning these trees: "Those branches turned 2
toward Ilion will blossom early and will then immediately shed their leaves and perish before their season (this was indeed the misfortune of Protesilaos), but a tree on the other side will live and prosper." All the trees that were not set round the grave, such as 3
these in the grove, have strength in all their branches and flourish according to their particular nature.[35]

PH. I see, vinedresser, and I am not surprised that I con- 4
tinue to marvel, because what is divine is cleverly devised.

V. Consider this sanctuary, my guest, where the Mede 5
committed a sacrilege in our forefathers' time. It was because of this they say even the preserved fish came back to life.[36] You see how little of the sanctuary is left. But back then it was lovely and not small, as can be made out from its foundations. This cult 6
statue stood upon a ship, since its base has the shape of a prow, and the ship's captain dedicated it. Time has worn it away and, by Zeus, those who anoint it and seal their vows here have changed its

[35] The strange life cycle of the trees planted around the sanctuary of Protesilaos was well known. See *Anthologia Palatina* 7.141, 385; Pliny *Natural History* 16.88; Quintus of Smyrna *Fall of Troy* 7.408–11. Elms were often planted around tombs, perhaps as symbols of the dead since they do not bear fruit; see Homer *Il.* 6.420 for the elms planted around the tomb of Andromakhê's father, Êetiôn, and the discussion by Rossi (*Filostrato: Eroico*, 203).

[36] τάριχος, translated here as preserved fish, may also designate a corpse embalmed according to Egyptian custom (see Herodotus *Hist.* 2.85–89), and thus Philostratus retains an implicit reference to Protesilaos's return to life. According to Herodotus, Artayktes, the Persian governor of Sestus and a subordinate of Xerxes, "brought women into the sanctuary of Protesilaos at Elaious and committed sacrilegious acts" and stole the offerings to Protesilaos housed in the sanctuary (*Hist.* 7.33; 9.116 [Godley, LCL]). Protesilaos performed a miraculous sign of bringing to life preserved fish (τάριχοι) to indicate the coming vengeance that he would exact upon Artayktes. Despite his offer to compensate Protesilaos with one hundred talents and the Athenians with two hundred, he was nailed alive to a plank (*Hist.* 9.120). As Herodotus narrates the episode in light of the Persian claim that all Asia belongs to them, it is Protesilaos's preserved corpse (τάριχος) who exacts retribution from Artayktes not only for these injustices, but also as vengeance for his own death as the first Hellene to die on Asian soil (*Hist.* 9.120.2–3). See the discussion in Nagy, *Pindar's Homer*, 268–73.

7 *εὐχὰς ἐξηλλάχασι τοῦ εἴδους. ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐδὲν τοῦτο· αὐτῷ γὰρ ξύνειμι καὶ* 1
αὐτὸν βλέπω καὶ οὐδὲν ἄν μοι γένοιτο ἄγαλμα ἐκείνου ἥδιον.

10 *Φ. Ἦ καὶ διαγράψεις μοι αὐτὸν καὶ κοινωνήσεις τοῦ εἴδους;*

2 *Ἀ. Χαίρων γε, νὴ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, ὦ ξένε. γέγονε μὲν γὰρ ἀμφὶ*
τὰ εἴκοσί που μάλιστα ἔτη. τηλίκος δὲ ἐλάσας ἐς Τροίαν, ἁβρῷ ἰούλῳ 5
βρύει καὶ ἀπόζει αὐτοῦ ἥδιον ἢ τὸ μετόπωρον τῶν μύρτων. φαιδρὰν δὲ
ὀφρῦν περὶ τὸ ὄμμα βέβληται· τὸ γὰρ ἐπίχαρι αὐτῷ φίλον. βλέπει δὲ ἐν
μὲν ταῖς σπουδαῖς σύντονον καὶ σφοδρόν, εἰ δὲ ἀνειμένου τύχοιμεν, φεῦ
[142] 3 *τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ὡς ἐπαφρόδιτοί τε καὶ φιλικοὶ φαίνονται. καὶ μὴν καὶ*
κόμης ξανθῆς ἔχει τὸ μέτριον· ἔστι γὰρ ὡς ἐπικρέμασθαι τῷ μετώπῳ 10
μᾶλλον ἢ κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ πίπτειν. καὶ τετράγωνος ἡ ἰδέα τῆς ῥινός, οἷον
ἀγάλματος. φθέγγεται δὲ γεγωνότερον ἢ αἱ σάλπιγγες καὶ ἀπὸ μικροῦ
4 *γε τοῦ στόματος. γυμνῷ δὲ ἐντυχεῖν ἥδιστον· εὐπαγὴς γὰρ καὶ κοῦφος,*
ὥσπερ οἱ δρομικοὶ τῶν ἑρμῶν. τὸ δὲ μῆκος δεκάπηχυς τάχα, δοκεῖ δ᾽
ἄν μοι καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦτο ἀναδραμεῖν εἰ μὴ ἐν μειρακίῳ ἀπέθανεν. 15

5 *Φ. Εἶδον τὸν νεανίαν, ἀμπελουργέ, καὶ ἄγαμαί σε τοῦ ἑταίρου.*
ὥπλισται δὲ ἢ τί;

Ἀ. Χλαμύδα ἐνῆπται, ξένε, τὸν Θετταλικὸν τρόπον, ὥσπερ τὸ
ἄγαλμα τοῦτο. ἁλουργὴς δὲ ἡ χλαμύς, θείου ἄνθους. ἄρρητον γὰρ τὸ
τῆς πορφύρας ἄνθος. 20

11 *Φ. Ὁ δὲ δὴ ἔρως, ὃν τῆς Λαοδαμείας ἥρα, πῶς ἔχει αὐτῷ νῦν;*

Ἀ. Ἐρᾷ, ξένε, καὶ ἐρᾶται, καὶ διάκεινται πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὥσπερ
οἱ θερμοὶ τῶν νυμφίων.

2 αὐτὸ **ΚΛΥ** (sed -ὸν $\mathbf{K}^{\gamma\rho}$) | γένοιτο om. **F** || 4 Ἀθηνᾶν] ἀλήθειαν **κ** (sed Ἀθ. $\mathbf{H}^{\gamma\rho}\mathbf{K}^{\gamma\rho}$) | ὦ om. **υσ** || 5 τηλίκος δὲ **FυαE**: τηλικόσδε **ÅBζ** | εἰς **FAVσ** | τὴν Τροίαν **VP**$^{\mathbf{b}}$ | ἁβρῷ **FυΦΓ**$^{\mathbf{a}}$**IP**: ἁβρῷ δ᾽ **Γ**$^{\mathbf{b}}$**σ** || 6 ἴδιον **OS** | τοῦ μετοπώρου (gen. temp.) Kay. (sed cf. 54.9) || 7 τὰ ὄμματα **Γ** || 9 καὶ μὴν om. **P**$^{\mathbf{a}}$ || 10 ὡς] ὅση **A** | ἐπικρέμμασθαι **FΓ** || 14 τάχα] ἅμα **AΣ** || 16 σε om. **AVY** || 18 ἀνῆπται **AY** || 19 ἁλουργὶς **χΦΓP**$^{\mathbf{a}}$ (**I**$^{\mathbf{a}}$ non liquet)

shape. But this means nothing to me. For I spend time with him 7
and see him, and no statue could be more pleasant than that man.

Protesilaos's Appearance, Character, and Way of Life (10.1–13.4)

PH. Why don't you describe him to me and share what he 10
looks like?

V. Gladly, my guest, by Athena. He is about twenty years 2
old at most. Because he sailed to Troy at such a young age, he has a full, splendid beard and smells sweeter than autumn myrtles. Cheerful eyebrows frame his eyes, which gives him a pleasant, friendly manner. When he exerts himself, he looks intense and determined. But if we meet him at ease, ah, how lovely and friendly his eyes appear! He has blond hair of moderate length. 3
It hangs a little over his forehead rather than covering it. The shape of his nose is perfect,[37] like the statue's. His voice is more sonorous than trumpets and comes from a small mouth. It is most 4
enjoyable to meet him naked, since he is well built and nimble, just like the herms set up in race courses.[38] His height is easily ten cubits, and it seems to me that he would have exceeded this had he not died in his early twenties.

PH. I can envision the young man, vinedresser, and I ad- 5
mire you because of your companion. Is he armed as a soldier, or how is he attired?

V. He is clad in a riding cloak, my guest, in Thessalian style, just like this statue. The cloak is sea-purple, of a divine luster, for the luster of purple cannot be expressed.

PH. And his passionate love for Laodameia—how is it now? 11

V. He loves her, and he is loved by her, and they are disposed toward one another just like those hot from the bridal chambers.

[37] τετράγωνος, literally, "four-sided," "square," hence, "perfect as a square" (LSJ, 1780, s.v. τετράγωνος). The vinedresser here refers to a cult statue of Protesilaos visible in the shrine. The statue would by custom have been painted and clothed. The way in which the Phoenician in his description of the hero refers to the statue is reminiscent of Philostratus's *Imagines*, in which the visual arts are depicted verbally.

[38] A herm was a tall oblong stone, often with a bearded human head at the top and a phallus halfway up; it represented the god Hermes and was placed as a boundary stone or distance marker. Vase paintings show sacrifices being made at herms (Burkert, *Greek Religion*, 156).

2 *Φ. Περιβάλλεις δὲ ἥκοντα ἢ διαφεύγει σε καπνοῦ δίκην, ὥσπερ* 1
τοὺς ποιητάς;

Ἀ. Χαίρει περιβάλλοντι καὶ ξυγχωρεῖ φιλεῖν τε αὐτὸν καὶ τῆς δέρης ἐμφορεῖσθαί γε.

3 *Φ. Θαμίζει δὲ ἢ διὰ πολλοῦ ἥκει;* 5

Ἀ. Τετράκις τοῦ μηνὸς ἢ πεντάκις οἶμαι αὐτοῦ μετέχειν, ὁπότ' ἢ φυτεῦσαί ποτε τουτωνὶ τῶν φυτῶν τι βούλοιτο ἢ τρυγῆσαι ἢ ἄνθη κεῖραι. φιλοστέφανος γάρ τις καὶ ἡδίω ἀποφαίνων τὰ ἄνθη ὁπότε περὶ αὐτὰ εἴη.

4 *Φ. Ἱλαρόν γε τὸν ἥρω λέγεις καὶ ἀτεχνῶς νυμφίον.* 10

[143] *Ἀ. Καὶ σώφρονά γε, ὦ ξένε. φιλόγελως γὰρ ὢν ὑφ' ἡλικίας ὕβρει οὐδὲν πράττει. καὶ σμινύης δὲ ἅπτεται πολλάκις εἴ που ὀρύττων πέτρᾳ ἐντύχοιμι, καὶ ξυλλαμβάνει μοι τῶν δυσέργων, κἂν ἀγνοήσω τι τῶν κατὰ*
5 *γεωργίαν, διορθοῦταί με. τά τε δένδρα ἐγὼ μὲν παρακηκοὼς τοῦ Ὁμήρου μακρὰ ἐφύτευον μεῖον τοῦ ἄνω τὸ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐμβιβάζων, καὶ ὁπότε* 15
ἐπελάβετό μου ὁ Πρωτεσίλεως, ἐχρώμην τοῖς τοῦ Ὁμήρου πρὸς αὐτόν, ὁ δὲ ὑπολαβὼν «αὐτὸς μέντοι Ὅμηρος τὸν ἐναντίον» ἔφη «κελεύει τρόπον ἢ σὺ πράττεις· μακρὰ γὰρ ὑπὸ σοφίας τὰ βαθέα οἶδεν, ὥς που τὰ φρέατα μακρὰ ὀνομάζει, βαθέα ὄντα»· καὶ τὰ δένδρα δὲ εἶπεν ἐμβιώσεσθαι τῇ
6 *γῇ μᾶλλον, εἰ τῷ μὲν πλείονι ἑστήκοι, τῷ δὲ ὀλίγῳ κινοῖτο. ἐπιστὰς δέ* 20
μοί ποτε ἄνθη ποτίζοντι «τὸ μύρον» εἶπεν, «ὦ τᾶν, οὐ δεῖται ὕδατος», διδάσκων δήπου μὴ ἔκπλυτα ποιεῖν τὰ ἄνθη.

7 *Φ. Τὸν δὲ ἄλλον χρόνον, ὦ ἀμπελουργέ, ποῦ διαιτᾶται;*

Ἀ. Ποτὲ μὲν ἐν Ἅιδου, φησί, ποτὲ δὲ ἐν Φθίᾳ, ποτὲ δ' αὖ ἐν Τροίᾳ, οὗ οἱ ἑταῖροι, καὶ πρὸς θήρᾳ συῶν τε καὶ ἐλάφων γινόμενος, 25
ἀφικνεῖται κατὰ μεσημβρίαν καὶ καθεύδει ἐκταθείς.

8 *Φ. Ποῦ δὲ τῇ Λαοδαμείᾳ ξύνεστιν;*

1 περιβάλλει **ΦΓ^{a}[I^{a}]PS**(b) | ῆφεύγει **V**(b)**Y** || 4 γε om. **υ** || 6 ὁπότε **VχȦBS**(b) || 7 φυτεύειν **HΛY** (sed -σαι **H^{γρ}**) | ποτε τουτωνὶ τῶν φυτῶν βούλοιτο **FΦΓ^{a}I**: ποτε τ. τ. φ. τι βούλοιτο **Γ^{b}** τι βούλοιτο τ. τ. φ. **υP^{blit}σ** || 9 ἴοι **H^{s}K^{γρ}Γ^{m}σ** ᾖει **Γ** || 10 τὸν om. **VY** || 14 ἀκηκοὼς **HΛY** (sed παρ- **H^{γρ}**) || 15 μικρὰ **ϰ** || 16 τοῦ om. **υσ** || 20 ἑστήκει **ΛΦΓI[P^{a}]S**(b)**T** εἱστήκει **H^{s}K** || 25 θήρᾳ **FEζ**: θύρα **A** θῆρα **V** θήραν **χΦΓIB** θήρα[ν] **P** θήρας **Ȧ** || 26 κατὰ μεσημβρίαν ἀφικνεῖται **χ**

PH. Do you embrace him when he arrives, or does he es- 2
cape you like smoke, as he does the poets?[39]

V. He enjoys my embrace and allows me to kiss him and cling to his neck.

PH. Does he come often or only once in a great while? 3

V. I think that I converse with him four or five times a month, whenever he wishes to plant some of these plants, to gather them, or to cut flowers. When someone is garlanded, he makes the flowers even sweeter, whenever he is around them.

PH. You say the hero is cheerful and really married. 4

V. And self-controlled, my guest. For loving laughter because of his youth, he does not act with violence. If I chance on a rock while digging somewhere, he often takes up a hoe and assists me with difficult jobs, and if I don't know something about farming, he corrects me. Because I heard from Homer about "long 5
trees," I used to plant them by putting into the ground less of the tree than was above, and when Protesilaos stopped me, I quoted the verses of Homer to him. He, understanding, said, "Yet Homer commanded the opposite of what you are doing. For from his skill he knew that the depths are 'long' so that somewhere he called the cisterns 'long' since they are deep." He said that the trees take better root in the earth if a great part is firmly rooted and only a little bit is able to move.[40] Standing near me as I wa- 6
tered the flowers, he said, "The perfume, my good friend, does not need water," presumably teaching me not to drench the flowers.

PH. Where does he spend the rest of the time, vinedresser? 7

V. He says that sometimes he lives in Hades, other times in Phthia, and even sometimes in Troy, where his companions are. And when he hunts wild boar and deer, he arrives here at midday, stretches out, and falls asleep.

PH. Where does he spend time with Laodameia? 8

[39] When Achilles tried to embrace the ghost of Patroklos he disappeared like a vapor (*Il.* 23.65–101). Likewise in Hades Odysseus tried unsuccessfully to hold his dead mother and Agamemnon (*Od.* 11.204–22, 390–94).

[40] This passage is a discussion about the meaning of the word μακρά ("long") in Homer. The vinedresser recalls from Homer the phrase τὰ δένδρα μακρά (e.g., *Od.* 18.359), which he understands to mean "tall trees." Protesilaos, however, refers to Homer's use of μακρά to mean "deep" (*Il.* 21.197).

Ἀ. Ἐν Ἅιδου, ξένε. καὶ λέγει αὐτὴν εὐδοκιμώτατα γυναικῶν 1
πράττειν, ἀριθμουμένην ἐν αἷς Ἄλκηστίς τε ἡ Ἀδμήτου καὶ Εὐάδνη
ἡ Καπανέως καὶ αἱ ταύταις ἴσαι σώφρονές τε καὶ χρησταί.

9 *Φ. Ξυσσιτοῦνται δὲ ἀλλήλοις ἢ οὐ θέμις;*

Ἀ. Οὔπω, ξένε, σιτουμένῳ ἐνέτυχον οὐδὲ πίνοντα ἔγνων. καίτοι 5
σπένδω γε αὐτῷ κατὰ ἑσπέραν ἀπὸ τουτωνὶ τῶν Θασίων ἀμπέλων, ἃς
[144] *φυτεύει αὐτός, καὶ τρωκτὰ δὲ ὡραῖα τίθεμαι κατὰ μεσημβρίαν, ἐπειδὰν*
θέρος τε ἥκῃ καὶ μετόπωρον ἱστῆται· σελήνης τε ἰούσης ἐς κύκλον ἐν
τῇ τοῦ ἥρος ὥρᾳ, γάλα ἐγχέας ἐς τὸν ψυκτῆρα τοῦτον «ἰδού σοι» λέγω
«τὸ τῆς ὥρας νᾶμα, σὺ δὲ πῖνε»· κἀγὼ μὲν εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἀπαλλάττομαι, 10
τὰ δὲ βέβρωταί τε καὶ πέποται θᾶττον ἢ καταμῦσαι.

12 *Φ. Περὶ δὲ τῆς ἡλικίας ἣν γεγονὼς ἀπέθανε, τί φησιν;*

Ἀ. Ἐλεεῖ, ξένε, τὸ ἑαυτοῦ πάθος καὶ τὸν δαίμονα, ἐφ' ᾧ τότε ἦν,
ἄδικόν τε ἡγεῖται καὶ βάσκανον μὴ συγχωρήσαντα οἱ τὸν γοῦν πόδα ἐς τὴν
Τροίαν ἐρεῖσαι· μὴ γὰρ ἂν μήτε Διομήδους τι ἐλαττωθῆναι μαχόμενος, 15
2 *μήτ' ἂν Πατρόκλου, μήτ' ἂν τοῦ δευτέρου Αἴαντος. τῶν γὰρ Αἰακιδῶν*
λελεῖφθαι τὰ πολέμια δι' ἡλικίαν φησίν· αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ εἶναι μειράκιον,
3 *ἐκείνων δὲ τὸν μὲν Ἀχιλλέα εἶναι νεανίαν, τὸν δὲ Αἴαντα ἄνδρα. καὶ*

2 Ἄλκυστις $H^{i}Kζ$ | Εὐάδνη $AH^{γρ}KΓ^{blit}P^{blit}σ$: Ἀριάδνη $FHΛVYΦI$ || 3 ταύταις **A**: ταύτης $FH^{i}ΛVYΦIP^{a}$ ταύτῃ $H^{s}KP^{b}εOS$(b)**T** ταύτη⟦ς⟧ **Γ** || 5 ἔγνων] εἶδον $H^{s}K$ || 7 προτίθεμαι $υI^{b}P^{b}σ$ | ἐπειδὰν $P^{b}σ$: ἐπειδὰν δὲ **FυΦ** $ΓI⟦P^{a}⟧$ || 8 τε²] δὲ $P^{b}σ$ | ἰούσης] οὔσης $H^{m}K^{ac}K^{γρ}Γ^{ac}$ | εἰς **σ** || 9 ἐκχέας $ΛΦΓIP^{a}$ | εἰς $VIPσ$ || 14 εἰς $ΓȦ^{ac}$?**B**ζ || 15 τι om. **VY**, post ἐλαττωθῆναι transp. **A** || 16 μήτ' ἂν τοῦ] μήτε τοῦ **F** || 17 πολεμικὰ **ȦB** | γὰρ om. $H^{γρ}K^{γρ}EO$ | εἶναι μειράκιον] ἦν ἐν μειρακίῳ **ϰ**

V. In Hades, my guest. He says that she fares most favorably among women, since she is numbered with such women as Alcestis, the wife of Admêtos, and Euadnê, the wife of Kapaneus, and others equally chaste and worthy.

PH. Do they eat together, or is that not their custom? 9

V. I have not yet met him when he is eating, my guest, nor have I observed him drinking. Indeed, I make a drink-offering[41] for him every evening from these Thasian vines, which he himself planted, and I dedicate seasonal sweetmeats every day at noon, whenever summer has come and fall stands at the door. When the moon becomes full in the season of early spring, I pour milk into this chilled vessel and say, "Behold, here is the flowing essence of the season for you. Drink." When I have said this, I go away, and the things are eaten and drunk faster than the blink of an eye.

PH. What does he say about his dying at such a young age? 12

V. My guest, Protesilaos regrets his suffering, and the daimon[42] who was against him at that time he considers unjust and malicious since, although his foot was compliant, it was not fixed firmly in Troy. As a fighter, he would not have been inferior in any way to Diomedes, Patroklos, or the lesser Ajax. He says 2 that, compared with the descendants of Aiakos, he lacked military skills because of his youth, since he was in late adolescence, but Achilles was a young man and Ajax a grown man. He confirms 3

[41] That is, a libation or the outpouring of liquid (wine, water, honey, or oil) as a ritual act. The verb used here (σπένδειν) is usually associated with a libation of wine, which was made whenever wine was drunk. The libation was accompanied by invocation of a god or hero. Libations were also a part of prayer and supplication, occurring at both the beginning and the conclusion of animal sacrifices. They were also made to mark the cessation of hostilities, as for an armistice or ceremonial games. Libations for the dead were poured into offering pits (βόθροι) around the graves. See Burkert, *Greek Religion*, 70–73.

[42] An unpredictable, unnamed, and sometimes frightening manifestation of supernatural power, "daimon" designates more a "mode of activity" rather than a category of god (Burkert, *Greek Religion*, 180). In Homer, gods and heroes are called "daimones." From Hesiod on, the term "daimon" was used to refer to heroes from the past who bring prosperity or destruction to humans; prominent figures are honored after death as daimons. To be "eudaimon," that is, happy or fortunate is to be possessed of and influenced by a favorable daimon; hence "daimon" came to be a rough synonym for τύχη "good fortune."

τὰ ἔπη τὰ ἐς αὐτὸν Ὁμήρῳ εἰρημένα ἐπαινεῖ, καίτοι μὴ πάντα ἐπαινῶν 1
τὰ Ὁμήρου, ὡς ἀμφίδρυφον μὲν αὐτῷ τὴν γυναῖκα εἶπεν, ἡμιτελῆ δὲ
τὴν οἰκίαν, περιμάχητον δὲ τὴν ναῦν ἐφ᾽ ἧς ἔπλευσε, πολεμικόν τε αὐτὸν
4 *καλεῖ. ἑαυτὸν δὲ ὀλοφύρεται μηδὲν ἐν Τροίᾳ ἐργασάμενον, ἀλλὰ πεσόντα*
ἐν γῇ ἧς οὐδὲ ἐπέβη. καὶ τὴν οὐλὴν δὲ ἐντετύπωται τῷ μηρῷ· τὸ γὰρ 5
τραῦμα συναπορρύψασθαί φησι τῷ σώματι.

13 *Φ. Γυμνάζεται δέ, ὦ ἀμπελουργέ, τίνα τρόπον; ἐπειδὴ ἔφασκες*
αὐτὸν καὶ τοῦτο ἐξασκεῖν.

Ἀ. Γυμνάζεται, ξένε, τὰ πολεμικὰ πλὴν τοξικῆς, τὰ δὲ γυμνα-
στικὰ πλὴν πάλης· τὸ μὲν γὰρ τοξεύειν δειλῶν ἡγεῖται, τὸ δὲ παλαίειν 10
ἀργῶν.

2 *Φ. Παγκρατιάζει δὲ πῶς ἢ πυκτεύει;*

[145] *Ἀ. Σκιᾶς, ὦ ξένε, τούτων γυμνάζεται, καὶ δισκεύει μεῖζον ἢ ἐφι-*
κέσθαι ἄνθρωπον. ἀνακρούει μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ τὰς νεφέλας τὸν δίσκον, ῥίπτει
δὲ ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἑκατὸν πήχεις καὶ ταῦθ᾽, ὡς ὁρᾷς, διπλάσιον τοῦ Ὀλυμπι- 15

1 εἰς **AVYσ** | εἰρημένα Ὁμήρῳ **F** || 5 τῇ γῇ **κPS**(b) | δὲ om. **ε** || 6 συναπορρύψασθαι **ΥΦΓΙεΟΤ**: συναπορρίψασθαι **FAκVPS**(b) || 12 δέ πως ἢ **OS^{a}T** δέ; πῶς; ἢ Eitrem (post δέ distinguere vid. **Λ**, at cf. vinitoris responsum) || 13 σκιᾶς **AH^{s}KΛεOS**(b): σκιὰς **H^{i}VYαT** σκῐ **F** || 15-20.1 Ὀλυμπιακοῦ **A** **κVP^{ec}S**(b) (sed -ικοῦ **H^{γρ}**)

Homer's verses about him,[43] although he does not confirm all of them: how, for example, Homer says that his wife's cheeks were torn on both sides, that his house was half-built,[44] that the ship upon which he sailed was under attack, and that he calls him warlike. He grieves that he accomplished nothing at Troy, and how he 4
fell in a land that he had not even assaulted.[45] He is marked with a scar on his upper thigh, for he said that his wound was washed together with his body.

PH. Vinedresser, how does he train his body, since you 13
claimed that he also practices this activity?

V. My guest, he practices all warlike exercises except archery, and all kinds of sports except wrestling. He considers archery for cowards and wrestling for the lazy.

PH. How good is he at the pancratium,[46] and how well does 2
he box?

V. My guest, he practices these with a shadow,[47] and he throws the discus farther than a mortal can. He tosses the discus above the clouds, and he casts it more than one hundred cubits, and that, you see, with it being twice the Olympic weight! When

[43] Homer *Il.* 2.695–710.

[44] The meaning of the phrase, "his house was half-built (ἡμιτελής)" was debated in antiquity. According to Lucian (*Dialogues of the Dead* 27.1), it referred to Protesilaos's death; according to Strabo, however, a "half-built house" is one that is bereft of women (Strabo *Geography* 7.3.3). Other interpreters took it to mean that Protesilaos was childless or that his wedding-chamber was unfinished when he went to war (see R. O. A. M. Lyne, "Love and Death: Laodamia and Protesilaus in Catullus, Propertius, and Others," *Classical Quarterly* 48/1 (1998): 201 n. 6).

[45] Protesilaos here agrees with Homer's tale of his death. An alternative story portrays Protesilaos as the first of the Greeks to land in Troy and the first to die, but says that he slew many Trojans before his death (Apollodorus *Epitome* 3.30).

[46] An athletic contest in which each contestant tried to force his opponent to admit defeat. The tactics of wrestling and boxing, as well as kicking, were allowed; only biting and gouging of the eyes, nose, and mouth were prohibited.

[47] In other words, since Protesilaos has no real opponent with whom to train, he competes against his own shadow, a practice corresponding to σκιαμαχία or shadow-boxing (compare 1 Cor 9:26). See Rossi, *Filostrato: Eroico*, 207–8 n. 52.

κοῦ ὄντα. δραμόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἂν εὕροις ἴχνος, οὐδ᾽ ἂν ἐνσημήναιτό τι τῇ γῇ ὁ πούς. 1

3 Φ. Καὶ μὴν καὶ ἴχνη μεγάλα ἐντετύπωται τοῖς δρόμοις, ἐς τὸ δεκάπηχυ μέγεθος τοῦ ἥρω.

Ἀ. Βαδίζοντος, ξένε, τὰ ἴχνη ἐκεῖνα καὶ γυμναζομένου τι ἕτερον· δραμόντος δὲ ἄσημος ἡ γῆ· μετέωρος γάρ τις καὶ οἷον ἐπικυματίζων αἴρεται. φησὶ δὲ καὶ παραδραμεῖν ἐν Αὐλίδι τὸν Ἀχιλλέα ἐν ἄθλοις, γυμναζομένης ἐπὶ Τροίαν τῆς Ἑλλάδος, καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸ πήδημα τὸ ἐκείνου
4 ἀρθῆναι. τὰ δὲ πολέμια ξυγχωρεῖ, ὡς ἔφην, τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ πλὴν τῆς ἐν Μυσοῖς μάχης· ἐκεῖ γὰρ πλείους ἀπεκτονέναι τῶν Μυσῶν ἢ ἐκεῖνος, ἀριστεῖα δὲ ἀπενηνέχθαι· κεκρατηκέναι δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν περὶ τῆς ἀσπίδος.

14 Φ. Καὶ τί ἂν εἴη, ἀμπελουργέ, τὸ τῆς ἀσπίδος; οὔτε γὰρ ποιητῇ εἴρηταί πω, οὔτε ἐς λόγον τινὰ τῶν Τρωικῶν ἥκει.

Ἀ. Περὶ πολλῶν, ξένε, τοῦτ᾽ ἐρεῖς· πολλὰ γὰρ περί τε ἀνδρῶν περί τε πολεμικῶν ἔργων ὁ ἥρως λέγει μήπω τοῖς πολλοῖς δῆλα ὄντα.
2 τὸ δὲ αἴτιον· φησὶν αὐτούς, κατὰ ἔκπληξιν τῶν Ὁμήρου ποιημάτων, ἐς μόνους Ἀχιλλέα τε καὶ Ὀδυσσέα βλέψαντας ἀμελῆσαι καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν, καὶ τῶν μὲν οὐδὲ ἐπιμνησθῆναι τὸ παράπαν, τοῖς δὲ ἀναθεῖναι τριήρη τεττάρων ἐπῶν. τὸν μὲν δὴ Ἀχιλλέα φησὶν ἐπαξίως ὑμνῆσθαι,
3 τὸν δὲ Ὀδυσσέα μειζόνως. καὶ ὁπόσα δὲ Σθενέλου τε καὶ Παλαμήδους καὶ τῶν τοιῶνδε ἀνδρῶν παραλέλειπται, δίειμί σοι μικρὸν ὕστερον· μὴ
[146] γὰρ ἀγνοήσας γε ἀπέλθοις τι τούτων. καὶ τὸν λόγον δὲ τὸν Μύσιον, ἐς ὃν
4 ἥκει ἡ ἀσπίς, αὐτίκα ἀποτελοῦμεν. νῦν δέ, ἐπειδὴ παγκρατίου καὶ πυγμῆς καὶ δίσκου μνημονεύοντες ἐς τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀπηνέχθημεν, ἄκουε τοῦ ἥρω θαύματα πρὸς ἀθλητὰς οἳ ἐχρήσαντο αὐτῷ συμβούλῳ. τὸν Κίλικα, οἶμαι,

3 καὶ[2] om. **εO** || 5 τι] τὸ **Γ^{b}BOT** || 7 φασὶ **κE** (sed φησὶ **H^{m}K^{γρ}**) | δραμεῖν **κ** (sed παραδρ. **H^{m}K^{γρ}**) | τὸν Ἀχ. ἐν Αὐλ. **VB** | ἐν[2]] τοῖς **V** || 9 ἔφη **ΦΓΙP^{a}** || 10 τῶν om. **F** | ἐκεῖνον **V^{pc}E^{s}** || 11 δὲ[1]] τε **Kσ**, om. **V** || 13 καὶ τί — ἀσπίδος om. **Γ^{ac}I^{a}** || 19 καὶ ⟨διὰ τὸ ἐκεῖνον⟩ τῶν μὲν Reiske | ἐπιμνησθῆναι ⟨αὐτὸν⟩ dubitanter Kay. || 20 τριήρη τεττάρων] τρί᾽ ἢ τέτταρα τῶν orationis vigorem pessumdans Cobet | τεσσάρων **F** | ὑμνῆσθαι **FA^{pc}Φ ΓIP^{pc}**: ὑμνεῖσθαι **A^{ac}VχP^{ac}εOS**(b)**T** || 21 τε om. **κV**(b)**σ** || 23 δὲ] καὶ **F** | το ν μυ σι ον **F** || 23-24 ἐς ὃν — νῦν δέ om. **T**, * **Å^{a}BE^{a}O^{ac}** | ἐς ὃν — ἀσπίς om. **S^{a}**? | ἐς ὃν ἥκει e.g. Preller (cf. 13.4–14.1): ἐς ὃν τί **AαE^{b}O^{pc}S**(b) ἐς ὃν τι **F** ἐς ὅντινα **VχÅ^{b}** ἐς ὃν τείνει Reiske, e.g. Preller, Westerm. ἐς ὅν ἐστιν Kay. ὅσον τι Eitrem || 24 η ἀσπις **F** | αὐτίκα ἀποτελοῦμεν. νῦν δέ Boiss. (cf. e.g. 3.6): αὐτίκα· ἀποτελουμένου δέ **AΦΓI^{blit}⟦P^{a}⟧** αὐτίκα απο τε λου μενους δε. * **F** αὐτίκα ἀποτελουμένου **O^{pc}** αὐτίκα ἀποτελοῦμεν ἰδού **VP^{b}Å^{b}E^{b}S**(b) αὐτίκα ἀποτελοῦμεν **χ** αὐτίκα ἀποτελῶμεν Eitrem | ἐπειδὴ δὲ Ald. * **O^{ac}** || 24-25 δίσκου καὶ πυγμῆς **ε** || 26 οἳ] οἷον **F**

he runs, you would not find a trace, nor does his foot leave any impression on the ground.

PH. But there are huge footprints on the walkways, which suggest that the hero is ten cubits tall.

V. Those prints, my guest, are from his walking or doing some other exercise; but when he runs, the earth remains unmarked because he is raised off the ground and like someone floating on the waves. He said that in Aulis, when Hellas was training for war against Troy, he outran Achilles in the competitions and that he jumped farther than Achilles. But in warlike exercises he yields to Achilles, as he said, except in the fight against the Mysians, for there he killed more Mysians than Achilles and carried away the rewards of valor. He also outdid Achilles in the contest over the shield.

3 4

Suppliants at Protesilaos's Sanctuary (14.1–17.6)

PH. And, vinedresser, what would be the contest over the shield? No poet has mentioned it, nor does it appear in any story of the Trojan War.

14

V. That, my guest, you will say about many matters, because the hero tells many things about warriors as well as deeds of battle that are not yet known to most people. This is the reason. He says that, in their passion for the poems of Homer, most people, looking only at Achilles and Odysseus, neglect good and brave men, so that some are not remembered at all, and for others Homer dedicates a trireme[48] of four verses. He says that Achilles is celebrated in song worthily but Odysseus at too great a length. But I shall tell you a little later whatever was left untold of Sthenelos, Palamedes, and other such men, lest you go away knowing nothing about them. In a moment we shall complete the Mysian story, into which the matter of the shield enters. But now, since we mentioned the pancratium, boxing, and throwing the discus, which will bring us back to the shield, hear the wonderful deeds

2 3 4

[48] A ship, usually with three banks of oars, often a warship; here the metaphor may refer to the way in which, within Homer's Catalogue of Ships (*Il.* 2.494–759), only a very few verses are devoted to some heroes (e.g., Telamônian Ajax, *Il.* 2.557–58) in contrast to the lengthier mention of other commanders. See Rossi, *Filostrato: Eroico*, 208 n. 55.

παγκρατιαστὴν ἀκούεις, ὃν Ἅλτῆρα ἐκάλουν οἱ πατέρες, ὡς μικρὸς ἦν καὶ τῶν ἀντιπάλων παρὰ πολύ.

Φ. Οἶδα τεκμαιρόμενος δήπου τοῖς ἀνδριᾶσι· χαλκοῦς γὰρ πολλαχοῦ ἕστηκε.

Ἀ. Τούτῳ, ξένε, περιῆν μὲν καὶ ἐπιστήμης, περιῆν δὲ καὶ θυμοῦ, καὶ μάλα ἐρρώννυ αὐτὸν ἡ εὐαρμοστία τοῦ σώματος. ἀφικόμενος οὖν ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦτο ὁ παῖς (ἔπλει δὲ εὐθὺ Δελφῶν ἀγωνιούμενος τὴν κρίσιν) ἠρώτα τὸν Πρωτεσίλεων, ὅ τι πράττων περιέσοιτο τῶν ἀντιπάλων· ὁ δὲ «πατούμενος» ἔφη. ἀθυμία οὖν αὐτίκα τὸν ἀθλητὴν ἔσχεν ὡς καταβεβλημένον ὑπὸ τοῦ χρησμοῦ· τὸ δ' ἀποπτερνίζειν ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ πρῶτος εὑρὼν ξυνῆκεν ὕστερον ὅτι κελεύει αὐτὸν μὴ μεθίεσθαι τοῦ ποδός· τὸν γὰρ προσπαλαίοντα τῇ πτέρνῃ πατεῖσθαί τε ξυνεχῶς χρὴ καὶ ὑποκεῖσθαι τῷ ἀντιπάλῳ. καὶ τοῦτο πράττων ὁ ἀθλητὴς οὗτος ὀνόματος λαμπροῦ ἔτυχε καὶ ἡττήθη οὐδενός. ἀκούεις δέ που καὶ Πλούταρχον ἐκεῖνον τὸν δεξιόν;

Φ. Ἀκούω. τὸν γὰρ πύκτην, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, λέγεις.

Ἀ. Οὗτος ἀνιὼν τὴν δευτέραν Ὀλυμπιάδα ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἱκετεύει τὸν ἥρω χρῆσαι οἱ περὶ τῆς νίκης· ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν κελεύει Ἀχελῴῳ ἐναγωνίῳ εὔχεσθαι.

Φ. Τί οὖν τὸ αἴνιγμα;

[147] Ἀ. Ἠγωνίζετο μὲν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ πρὸς Ἑρμείαν τὸν Αἰγύπτιον τὴν περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου νίκην. ἀπειρηκότες δὲ ὁ μὲν ὑπὸ τραυμάτων, ὁ δὲ ὑπὸ δίψης (καὶ γὰρ ἀκμάζουσα μεσημβρία περὶ τὴν πυγμὴν εἱστήκει), νεφέλη ἐς τὸ στάδιον καταρρήγνυται καὶ διψῶν ὁ Πλούταρχος ἔσπασε τοῦ ὕδατος

1 Ἁλτῆρα **ΑΛΥ^{pc}εS**(b)^{ac}**T**: Ἀλ. **FHKVY^{ac}**? **αOS**(b)^{pc} | πατέρες] παλαιοί **χI^{blit}** (sed πατ. **H^{γρ}**) || 5 καὶ^{1} om. **κεOT** (habet **S**(b)) || 6 εἰς **AHεOT** || 11 αὐτῷ **αS**(b)^{pc} || 12 τε om. **AV** || 16 ἀκούω om. **P^{a}** | τὸν πύκτην γάρ **α** || 18 αὐτῶ **F** | Ἀχελλώω **F** || 19 ἐν ἀγωνίῳ **H^{s}O** ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ **H^{i} ΛΥI^{b}** ἐναγωνίᾳ **K^{i}** | ἐναγωνίῳ εὔχεσθαι] ἐνεύχεσθαι **ΦΓ^{a}I^{a}**⟦**P^{a}**⟧ | εὔχεσθαι] χρῆσθαι **ÅB** || 21 ἠγωνίζετο om. **F** || 21-22 τὴν περὶ . . . νίκην] τὴν περὶ . . . {νίκην} Kay. (1871) περὶ τῆς . . . νίκης Kay. ap. Westerm. {περὶ} τὴν . . . νίκην Kay. (1844) (περὶ τὴν . . . νίκην habet cod. **L**)

performed by our hero for the athletes who consulted Protesilaos as advisor. For example, you have heard, I think, of the Cilician pancratic athlete, whom our fathers called "Halter,"[49] how small he was, indeed much smaller than his opponents.

PH. I certainly am aware of him, in view of his statues, for **15** bronze ones stand in many places.

V. He possessed excellence in skill and courage, and harmony of body made him very strong. When the young man 2 arrived at this sanctuary (he sailed directly to Delphi for the trial of strength) he asked Protesilaos how he might overcome his rivals. He said, "By being trampled upon." Faintheartedness im- 3 mediately seized the athlete, as if he had been struck down by the oracle. After he first discovered the heel maneuver during a contest, he later realized that the oracle ordered him not to let go of his opponent's foot. For the one who wrestles with the heel must be trampled upon repeatedly and lie under his opponent.[50] By doing so, the athlete gained an illustrious name for himself and was defeated by no one. Possibly you have also heard of the dexterous 4 Ploutarkhos?

PH. I have, for in all likelihood you mean the boxer.

V. On his way to compete in his second Olympiad, he pe- 5 titioned the hero to give him an oracular response about victory. The hero ordered him to pray to Akhelôos, presider over the games.

PH. What then was the riddle?

V. Ploutarkhos contended against Hermeias the Egyptian 6 in Olympia for the crown of victory. When both were exhausted—the one from wounds, the other from thirst (for the noonday sun glared down on the boxing ring)—a cloud burst over the stadium,

[49] Literally a jumping weight held in the hand and originally used for gaining momentum and greater distance in the long jump. These weights, made of metal or stone, ranged from two to ten pounds and were also used for muscle strengthening through lifting, swinging, and throwing them (Philostratus *On Gymnastics* 55; E. Norman Gardiner, *Athletics of the Ancient World* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1930], 145–53). Here the term is used as a nickname of an athlete, perhaps for his trademark method of training; modern equivalents might be "Weights," "Dumb-bell," or "Shot put."

[50] The vinedresser here describes a maneuver in which the pancratist, while lying on his back, holds his opponent's heel and throws him into a worse position. See Gardiner, *Athletics*, 215.

ὃ ἀνειλήφει τὰ περὶ τοῖς πήχεσι κώδια· καὶ τὸν χρησμὸν ἐνθυμηθείς, 1
7 *ὡς μετὰ ταῦτα ἔφασκεν, εἰς θάρσος ὥρμησε καὶ ἔτυχε τῆς νίκης. Εὐ-*
δαίμονα δὲ τὸν Αἰγύπτιον θαυμάζεις τῆς καρτερίας ἴσως, εἰ πυκτεύοντί
που παρέτυχες. τούτῳ ἐρομένῳ, πῶς ἂν μὴ ἡττηθείη, «θανάτου» ἔφη
«καταφρονῶν». 5

Φ. Καὶ πείθεταί γε, ὦ ἀμπελουργέ, τῷ χρησμῷ· παρασκευάζων
γὰρ οὕτως ἑαυτόν, ἀδαμάντινος τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ θεῖος δοκεῖ.

8 *Ἀ. Ἥλιξ δὲ ὁ ἀθλητὴς αὐτὸς μὲν οὔπω προσπέπλευκε τῷ ἱερῷ*
τούτῳ, πέμψας δέ τινα τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἑταίρων ἤρετο ποσάκις νικήσοι τὰ
Ὀλύμπια· ὁ δὲ «δὶς» ἔφη «νικήσεις, ἐὰν μὴ ἐθέλῃς τρίς». 10

9 *Φ. Δαιμόνιον, ἀμπελουργέ· λέξεις γάρ που τὸ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ πραχ-*
θέν· προϋπαρχούσης γὰρ αὐτῷ νίκης μιᾶς, ὅτ' ἀνὴρ ἐκ παίδων ἐνίκα
πάλην, ἀπεδύσατο τὴν ἐπ' ἐκείνῃ Ὀλυμπιάδα πάλην τε καὶ παγκρά-
τιον, ἐφ' ᾧ δυσχεράναντες οἱ Ἠλεῖοι διενοοῦντο μὲν ἀμφοῖν εἴργειν
αὐτὸν ἐγκλήματα Ὀλυμπικὰ ξυντιθέντες αὐτῷ· μόγις δ' οὖν ἀνέδησαν 15
10 *τὸ παγκράτιον. καὶ τοῦτον ἄρα τὸν φθόνον ὁ Πρωτεσίλεως φυλάξασθαι*
προὔλεγεν, εἰδὼς αὐτὸν ἀντίπαλον τοῖς ἐξῃρημένοις ὄντα.

Ἀ. Ἄριστα, ξένε, τοῦ χρησμοῦ ἐτεκμήρω.

16 *Φ. Τῶν δὲ δὴ νόσων τίνας ἰᾶται; πολλοὺς γὰρ αὐτῷ φῂς εὔχεσθαι.*

1 περὶ **Fυ**: παρὰ **ασ** | κώδια codd. || 4 περιέτυχες **H^{γρ}KO** ἐνέτυχες **V** || 6 παρασκευάζων etc. vinitori tribuunt **H^{m}KΛYαεOS**(b)**T** (spatio tantum relicto vel signo: aut. posito **YαBS**(b); spatium etiam post 15.7 δοκεῖ relinquit **α**) || 9 ὁσάκις **AΓ** | νικήσοι Kay. (sed cf. Jaekel 89) || 9-10 τὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα **ϰ** (sed τὰ Ὀλ. **H^{γρ}**) || 11 λέγεις Westerm. || 12 προϋπαρχούσης etc. vinitori tribuunt **AYPȦBE^{b}S**(b)**T** (spatio tantum relicto vel signo: posito **YPB S**(b)) et Boiss.; tum καὶ τοῦτον etc. (15.10) Phoenici rursus tribuit Boiss. || 13 Ὀλυμπιάδα **FVY**⟦**P^{a}**⟧?: Ὀλυμπιάδι rell. || 15 Ὀλυμπιακὰ **υΦΓIȦB** | ἐπ' αὐτῷ Kay. (sed cf. e.g. 53.19 αὐτοῖς) | δ' οὖν] οὖν **AY** γοῦν **α** τε **S**(b)

and the thirsty Ploutarkhos drank some water that the sheepskins around his forearms had soaked up.[51] When he reflected on the oracular response, as he said later, he screwed up his courage and gained the victory. (You would equally marvel at the endurance of 7
Eudaimôn the Egyptian if you had encountered him boxing somewhere.) When asked how he had not been defeated, he said, "By despising death."

PH. He does indeed trust the oracle, vinedresser, for by preparing himself in this way, he seems unconquerable and divine to the crowds.

V. The athlete Helix himself has not yet sailed toward this 8
sanctuary, having sent one of his companions to ask how often he would win at the Olympic games. And Protesilaos said, "You will win twice, if you do not want three times."

PH. Amazing, vinedresser! I suppose you will relate what 9
happened at Olympia. For he had won one victory already, when as a man among boys he won the wrestling contest.[52] At the Olympiad after that he stripped himself for wrestling as well as for the pancratium. The Eleans were displeased at this and decided to exclude him from both these events by making accusations that he had violated Olympic regulations. Nevertheless, they grudgingly crowned him for the pancratium. And Protesilaos told him be- 10
forehand to be on his guard against this kind of envy, because he knew that Helix was a rival of choice athletes.

V. You have made a most excellent interpretation of the oracle, my guest.

PH. But what diseases does he heal? For you say that many **16**
pray to him.

[51] The vinedresser is referring to the "sharp thongs" worn by boxers. These thongs consisted of leather strips wrapped around the knuckles and forearms and ending in a thick strip of fleece near the elbow. The meaning of the oracle is, presumably, that praying to the river god, Akhelôos, resulted in a flow of refreshing water.

[52] There were two classes of competition at the Olympic games: boys and men. The phrase "man among boys" indicates that Helix was probably eighteen years old and that although he competed in the boys' division, his physique and strength made him appear older. Disputes about age were not uncommon. See Plutarch *Agesilaos* 13; Pausanias *Description of Greece* 6.14.1.

[148] *Ἀ. Πάσας ἰᾶται, ὁπόσαι εἰσί, μάλιστα δὲ τὰς φθόας τε καὶ τοὺς* 1
ὑδέρους καὶ τὰς τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν νόσους καὶ τοὺς τεταρταίῳ πυρέσσοντας.
2 *ἔστι καὶ ἐρῶντι τυχεῖν αὐτοῦ ξυμβούλου· ξυναλγεῖ γὰρ σφόδρα τοῖς τὰ*
ἐρωτικὰ ἀτυχοῦσι καὶ ὑποτίθεται αὐτοῖς ἐπῳδὰς καὶ τέχνας, αἷς τὰ παι-
δικὰ θέλξουσι. μοιχοῖς δὲ οὔτε προσδιαλέγεται οὐδὲν οὔτε ὑποτίθεταί τι 5
ἐρωτικόν· φησὶ γὰρ ἀπηχθῆσθαι αὐτοῖς, ἐπειδὴ τὸ ἐρᾶν διαβάλλουσιν.
3 *ἀφικομένου γοῦν ἐνταῦθα μοιχοῦ ποτε αὐτῇ γυναικὶ ἦν ἐπείρα, καὶ ξυν-*
ομνύναι βουλομένων ἐπὶ τὸν ἄνδρα παρόντα μέν, ξυνιέντα δὲ οὔπω—ὁ
μὲν γὰρ ἔτυχε καθεύδων μεσημβρίας ἐνταῦθα, οἱ δ᾽ ὤμνυσαν ἤδη προσ-
εστηκότες τῷ βωμῷ... 10

Φ. Τί οὖν ὁ Πρωτεσίλεως;

4 *Ἀ. Ἐξορμᾷ τοῦτον τὸν κύνα καίτοι χρηστόν, ὡς ὁρᾷς, ὄντα προσ-*
πεσεῖν τε αὐτοῖς κατόπιν καὶ δακεῖν ἔτι ὀμνύντας· καὶ τὸν ὅρκον οὑτωσὶ
ξυγχέας ἐφίσταται τῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ κελεύει αὐτὸν ἐκείνων μὲν ἀμελεῖν, τὸ
γὰρ δῆγμά σφων ἀνίατον εἶναι, σῴζειν δὲ νῦν γοῦν αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸν 15
αὐτοῦ οἶκον· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ θεοὺς πάντα γινώσκειν, τοὺς δὲ ἥρωας θεῶν
5 *μὲν ἐλάττω, πλείω δὲ ἀνθρώπων. πολὺς ἐπιρρεῖ τῶν τοιούτων ὄχλος*
εἰ πάντων ἀπομνημονεύοιμι, ὄντων γε καὶ τῶν ἐν Φθίᾳ τε καὶ Φυλάκῃ
φανερῶν πᾶσιν ὅσοι Θετταλίαν οἰκοῦσι· καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἐκείνῃ ἱερὸν ἐνεργὸν
τῷ Πρωτεσίλεῳ, καὶ πολλὰ τοῖς Θετταλοῖς ἐπισημαίνει φιλάνθρωπά τε 20
καὶ εὐμενῆ, καὶ ὀργίλα αὖ εἰ ἀμελοῖτο.

6 *Φ. Πείθομαι, νὴ τὸν Πρωτεσίλεων, ἀμπελουργέ· καλὸν γάρ, ὡς*
ὁρῶ, καὶ ὀμνύναι τοιοῦτον ἥρω.

17 *Ἀ. Ἦ ἀδικήσεις γε ἀπιστῶν, ξένε. τόν τε Ἀμφιάρεων, ὃν λέγεται*
[149] *ἡ γῆ ἐν σοφῷ ἀδύτῳ ἔχειν, Ἀμφίλοχόν τε τὸν τούτου παῖδα πλείω ἴσως ἢ* 25

2 πυρέσσοντας **FΦΓI^{bec}P**: πυρέττοντας **υσ** || 3 ἔστι δὲ καὶ **ΦΓI[[P]]** || 3-4 ξυναλγεῖ — ἀτυχοῦσι om. **ΦIP^{a}** || 3 γὰρ om. **VP^{b}** γὰρ δὴ **K** || 4 αἷς] αἳ **F** (sed cf. Ap. 28.27) || 5 δὲ] τε **ε** || 7 ἐπήρα **F** || 8 τὸν παρόντα **ÅB** | οὔπω] οὐδέπω **ÅB** || 9 γὰρ om. **Vε** [[γὰρ]] **P** || 9-10 προεστηκότες **KY** || 11 τί οὖν ὁ Πρ. vinitori tribuunt **FAκV** || 12 τοῦτον om. **ε** || 13 δάκνειν **H^{i}ΛVY** || 15 ἑαυτόν **Y** αὐτόν **FAκV^{ac}Φ^{ac}I^{ac}P^{ppc}εOT^{ac}** || 16 ἑαυτοῦ **υ** αὐτοῦ **FΦ^{ac}I^{ac}P^{ppc}O** || 18 ἀναμνημονεύοιμι **HΛY** (sed ἀπο- **H^{γρ}**) || 19 ἐν ἐκείνῃ **Å BP^{Σ}E^{Σ}ζ^{Σ}** ἐκεῖθι **V** | καὶ ἐνεργὸν **κ** || 24 ἢ **F** | τε **FAHKYΦΓI[[P^{a}]]**: δὲ **H^{γρ}ΛP^{b}εOS**(b)**T**, om. **V**

V. He heals all the illnesses there are, especially consumptions, edemas, diseases of the eyes, and quartan fever.[53] Lovers 2
can also gain his counsel, for he sympathizes deeply with those unlucky in erotic matters, and he suggests charms and tricks with which they enchant their boy lovers. But he neither converses with adulterers nor offers them any erotic advice. He says that he dislikes them because they give love a bad name. An adulterer 3
once arrived here with the very wife whom he was trying to seduce, and both of them wished to conspire against her husband who was present but did not yet realize the situation—for he was sleeping there at midday, but they already made their conspiracy while standing at the altar. . .

PH. What did Protesilaos do?

V. He egged on this dog, even though you can see that it 4
is good-natured, to attack them from behind and bite them while they were still conspiring. When he had frustrated the conspiracy in this way, Protesilaos stood near the husband and ordered him not to trouble himself about the adulterers, since their bites were incurable, but now at least to save himself as well as his own household. The gods know everything; but the heroes know less than the gods but more than humans. A great crowd of such ones 5
streams in—if only I could remember them all; they include at least even those who in Phthia and Phulakê have appeared to all the inhabitants of Thessaly. For you see, Protesilaos has an active sanctuary there, and he gives many benevolent and favorable signs to the Thessalians and wrathful ones if he is neglected.[54]

PH. By Protesilaos, I am convinced, vinedresser. It is good, 6
I see, to swear by such a hero.

V. You would be wrong to disbelieve, my guest. Since **17**
you live near the mainland of Cilicia, perhaps you know more than I do about both Amphiaraos, whom the earth is said to

[53] One of three forms of malaria known in the ancient world; Hippocrates declared quartan fever "the safest, easiest to bear and yet longest of all" fevers (*Epidemics* 1.24 [Jones, LCL]).

[54] Pindar (*Isthmian* 1.58–59) mentions the sacred ground of Protesilaos in Phulakê.

2 ἐγὼ γινώσκεις, οὐ πολὺ ἀπέχων τῆς Κιλίκων ἠπείρου. καὶ Μάρωνα 1
δὲ τὸν Εὐάνθους ἀδικοίης ἂν ἐπιφοιτῶντα ταῖς ἐν Ἰσμάρῳ ἀμπέλοις
καὶ ἡδυοίνους αὐτὰς ἐργαζόμενον φυτεύοντά τε καὶ κυκλοῦντα, ὅτε δὴ
ὁρᾶται τοῖς γεωργοῖς ὁ Μάρων καλός τε καὶ ἁβρὸς καὶ ἀναπνέων πότιμόν
3 τε καὶ οἰνῶδες. γινώσκειν δὲ χρὴ καὶ τὰ τοῦ Θρᾳκὸς Ῥήσου· Ῥῆσος 5
γάρ, ὃν ἐν Τροίᾳ Διομήδης ἀπέκτεινε, λέγεται οἰκεῖν τὴν Ῥοδόπην καὶ
πολλὰ αὐτοῦ θαύματα ᾄδουσιν· ἱπποτροφεῖν τε γάρ φασιν αὐτὸν καὶ
4 ὁπλιτεύειν καὶ θήρας ἄπτεσθαι. σημεῖον δὲ εἶναι τοῦ θηρᾶν τὸν ἥρω τὸ
τοὺς σῦς τοὺς ἀγρίους καὶ τὰς δορκάδας καὶ ὁπόσα ἐν τῷ ὄρει θηρία
φοιτᾶν πρὸς τὸν βωμὸν τοῦ Ῥήσου κατὰ δύο ἢ τρία, θύεσθαί τε οὐδενὶ 10
5 δεσμῷ ξυνεχόμενα καὶ παρέχειν τῇ μαχαίρᾳ ἑαυτά. λέγεται δὲ ὁ ἥρως
οὗτος καὶ λοιμοῦ ἐρύκειν τοὺς ὅρους· πολυανθρωποτάτη δὲ ἡ Ῥοδόπη
6 καὶ πολλαὶ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν αἱ κῶμαι. ὅθεν μοι δοκεῖ καὶ βοήσεσθαι ὑπὲρ
τῶν ἑαυτοῦ συστρατιωτῶν ὁ Διομήδης, εἰ τὸν μὲν Θρᾷκα τοῦτον, ὃν
ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτὸς μηδὲν εὐδόκιμον ἐν Τροίᾳ ἐργασάμενον, μηδὲ δείξαντά 15
τι ἐκεῖ λόγου ἄξιον πλὴν ἵππων λευκῶν, εἶναί τι ἡγοίμεθα καὶ θύοιμεν
αὐτῷ διὰ Ῥοδόπης τε καὶ Θρᾴκης πορευόμενοι, τοὺς δὲ θεῖά τε καὶ
λαμπρὰ εἰργασμένους ἔργα ἀτιμάζοιμεν, μυθώδη τὴν περὶ αὐτοὺς δόξαν
ἡγούμενοι καὶ κεκομπασμένην.

18 Φ. Μετὰ σοῦ λοιπόν, ἀμπελουργέ, τάττω ἐμαυτὸν καὶ οὐδεὶς ἔτι 20
τοῖς τοιούτοις ἀπιστήσει· οἱ δὲ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τῷ ἐν Ἰλίῳ, οὓς ἔφασκες
τὸν μάχιμον τρόπον δι᾽ αὐτοῦ στείχειν, πότε ὤφθησαν;

[150] 2 Ἀ. Ὁρῶνται, ἔφην, ὁρῶνται ἔτι βουκόλοις τε τοῖς ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ
καὶ νομεῦσι μεγάλοι καὶ θεῖοι, καὶ θεῶνταί ἐστιν ὅτε ἐπὶ κακῷ τῆς γῆς·
εἰ μὲν γὰρ κεκονιμένοι φαίνοιντο, αὐχμοὺς ἐπισημαίνουσι τῇ χώρᾳ, εἰ δὲ 25

2 δὲ om. **F** | Εὐάνθους **V**χ**Γ**^{b}**P**^{b}**σ**: Εὐανθοῦς **FAΦΓ**^{a}**IP**^{a} || 5 τε] τι **KΛYST** | γιγνώσκειν **FΦPST** | τὰ om. **H**^{γρ}**ΦO** || 7 θαυμαστὰ **χ** | τε om. **V**(b)**ΦΓI**^{a}**P**^{a} (sed fort. non **V**^{a}) || 9 τὰς] τοὺς **χO** || 11 ἐμπαρέχειν **Å**^{γρ} **B**^{γρ}**O**^{γρ}**T**^{γρ} (**S**^{a} non liquet) || 12 λοιμὸν . . . τοῦ ὅρους Kay. λοιμοὺς . . . τοῦ ὅρους Reiske || 13 δοκῶ **F** || 14 αὐτοῦ **T**^{pc} αὐτοῦ **P**^{b}**ÅBE**^{pc}**OS**(b)**T**^{ac} | συστρατιωτῶν **AP**^{b}**εOS**(b)**T**: στρατιωτῶν **FV**χ**ΦΓIP**^{a} || 15 ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτὸς **Fα**: αὐτὸς ἀπέκτεινε **υσ** | ἐν Τροίᾳ om. **F** ἐκεῖ **VP**^{bγρ} || 17 πορευόμενοι] ἐπειγόμενοι **VP**^{bγρ} || 18 ἐργασαμένους **AHΛVYÅB** (sed εἰργασ- **H**^{γρ}) || 22 ὁπότε **ÅB** || 23 post ὁρῶνται add. δή **χI**^{b} | ἔφην **υP**^{b}**σ**: ἔφη **FΦΓIP**^{a} ὦ Φοῖνιξ Kay. | ὁρῶνται^{2} om. **F** || 24 ὅτε om. **EO** || 25 ἐπισημαίνει **H**^{m} **K**^{γρ} ἐπισημαί **O**

hold in a cleverly devised and secret shrine, and his son Amphilokhos.[55] But you might do injustice to Marôn, the son of 2
Euanthês, who haunts the vines at Ismaros and, by planting and pruning them, makes them produce sweet wine, especially when farmers see Marôn handsome and splendid, exhaling a breath sweet and smelling of wine. You should also know something 3
about the Thracian Rhêsos. Rhêsos, whom Diomedes killed at Troy,[56] is said to inhabit Rhodopê, where they celebrate many of his wonders in song. They say that he breeds horses, serves as a soldier, and hunts wild beasts. A sign that the hero is hunting 4
is that the wild boars, deer, and all the wild beasts on the mountain come to the altar of Rhêsos by twos or threes to be sacrificed unbound and to offer themselves to the sacrificial knife.[57] This 5
same hero is also said to keep the mountains free of pestilence. Rhodopê is extremely populous, and many villages surround the sanctuary. For this reason I think even Diomedes will cry out 6
in defense of his fellow soldiers. If we believe this Thracian still exists (whom Diomedes killed as one who had done nothing famous at Troy nor displayed there anything worthy of mention other than his white horses[58]) and we make sacrifices to him while traveling through Rhodopê and Thrace, then we would dishonor those who have performed divine and brilliant works, believing the fame surrounding them fabulous tales and idle boasting.

Recent Appearances of Heroes at Troy (18.1–23.1)

PH. Finally I am on your side, vinedresser, and no one **18**
hereafter will disbelieve such stories. What about those heroes on the plain at Ilion whom you said marched in warlike fashion? When have they been seen?

V. They appear, I said. They still appear great and di- 2
vine to herdsmen and shepherds on the plain, and they are seen whenever there is evil upon the land. If they appear covered with

[55] A famous oracular shrine of Amphiaraos was located at Mallos in Cilicia (Pausanias *Description of Greece* 1.34.2).

[56] Homer *Il.* 10.469–502.

[57] The willingness of the victims to be sacrificed was considered a necessary sign for a successful sacrifice, and their spontaneous procession to the altar was a common legendary motif. See Burkert, *Greek Religion*, 56; and Walter Burkert, "Greek Tragedy and Sacrificial Ritual," *GRBS* 7 (1966): 107.

[58] Homer *Il.* 10.435–41.

ἱδρῶτος πλέοι, κατακλυσμούς τε καὶ ὄμβρους, εἰ δὲ αἷμα περὶ αὐτοῖς ἢ τοῖς ὅπλοις φαίνοιτο, νόσους τῷ Ἰλίῳ ἀναπέμπουσιν. εἰ δὲ μηδὲν τούτων περὶ τοῖς εἰδώλοις ὁρῷτο, ἀγαθὰς ἤδη ἄγουσι τὰς ὥρας καὶ σφάττουσιν αὐτοῖς τότε οἱ νομεῖς, ὁ μὲν ἄρνα, ὁ δὲ ταῦρον, ὁ δὲ πῶλον, ὁ δ' ἄλλο τι
3 ὧν νέμει. φθορὰς δέ, ὁπόσαι περὶ τὰς ἀγέλας γίνονται, πάσας ἐξ Αἴαντος ἥκειν φασίν, οἶμαι διὰ τὸν ἐν τῇ μανίᾳ λόγον, ὅτε δὴ ὁ Αἴας λέγεται ταῖς ἀγέλαις ἐμπεσὼν διαφορῆσαί σφας οἷον κτείνων τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ κρίσει· καὶ οὐδὲ νέμει περὶ τὸ σῆμα οὐδεὶς φόβῳ τῆς πόας· νοσώδης
4 γὰρ δὴ ἀναφύεται καὶ πονηρὰ βόσκειν. ἔστι δέ τις λόγος ὡς Τρῶές ποτε ποιμένες ἐς τὸν Αἴαντα ὕβριζον νενοσηκότων αὐτοῖς τῶν προβάτων, καὶ περιστάντες τὸ σῆμα πολέμιον μὲν Ἕκτορος τὸν ἥρωα ἐκάλουν, πολέμιον δὲ Τροίας τε καὶ ποιμνίων· καὶ ὁ μὲν μανῆναι αὐτόν, ὁ δὲ μαίνεσθαι, ὁ δ' ἀσελγέστατος τῶν ποιμένων

Αἴας δ' οὐκέτ' ἔμιμνε,

μέχρι τούτου τὸ ἔπος αὐτῷ ἐπερραψῴδει ὡς δειλῷ· ὁ δὲ «ἀλλὰ ἔμιμνον» εἶπε βοήσας ἐκ τοῦ τάφου φρικῶδές τι καὶ ὄρθιον· λέγεται δὲ καὶ
5 δουπῆσαι τοῖς ὅπλοις, οἷον ἐν ταῖς μάχαις εἰώθει. τὸ μὲν δὴ τῶν κακοδαιμόνων ἐκείνων πάθος οὐ χρὴ θαυμάζειν, εἰ Τρῶές τε καὶ νομεῖς ὄντες ἐξεπλάγησαν ὁρμὴν Αἴαντος, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἔπεσον αὐτῶν, οἱ δ' ἔτρεσαν, οἱ δ' ᾤχοντο φεύγοντες οὗ ἐποίμαινον· τὸν δὲ Αἴαντα θαυμάσαι ἄξιον·
[151] ἀπέκτεινε γὰρ οὐδένα αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ τὴν παροινίαν, ᾗ ἐχρῶντο, ἐκαρτέ-
6 ρησε μόνον ἐνδειξάμενος αὐτοῖς τὸ ἀκούειν. ὁ δὲ Ἕκτωρ οὐκ ἐγίνωσκεν, οἶμαι ξένε, τὴν ἀρετὴν ταύτην· ὑβρίσαντος γὰρ ἐς αὐτὸν πέρυσι μειρακίου τινός (ἦν δ' ὡς φασί κομιδῇ νέον καὶ ἀπαίδευτον), ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὸ μειράκιον καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτὸ ἐν ὁδῷ, ποταμῷ τὸ ἔργον προσθείς.

19 Φ. Ἀγνοοῦντι λέγεις, ἀμπελουργέ, καὶ σφόδρα ἐκπληττομένῳ τὸν λόγον· ᾤμην γὰρ μηδαμοῦ φαίνεσθαι τὸν ἥρω τοῦτον, καὶ ὁπότε μοι τὰ

1 αὐτοὺς **H^{i}ΛVY** || 5 περὶ] κατὰ **εP^{Σ}ζ^{Σ}** (sed περὶ **ε^{Σ}**) | γίγνονται **ΛαS**(b)**T** γίγνῳνται **F** || 6 λόγον] φόνον Reiske (sed ἡ μανία est quasi titulus fabulae illius de Aiacis morte; cf. 25.3 ἐν Ἡραίστῳ, 51.7 ἐν δευτέρᾳ ψυχοστασίᾳ) || 7 ἀγέλαις] ἀμπέλοις **[Φ^{a}]Γ[I^{a}][P^{a}]** || 9 ἀναδίδοται **F** || 11 σῆμα] μνῆμα **V** || 12 τε om. **AV** | καὶ^{2} om. **EO** || 14 post ἔμιμνε add. βιάζετο γὰρ βελέεσσι(ν) **H^{m}KΛΣ** || 15 αὐτῷ om. **F** || 15-16 ἔμιμνεν **ΦΓI^{a}P^{a}** || 16 τι om. **FΛ^{ac}** τε **S**(b) || 18 ἐκείνων om. **F** | εἰ] οἱ **KΛ** οἱ **HO** || 20 ante οὗ, τὸν τόπον aut simile quid excidisse coni. Kay. (at οὗ = ἐκεῖσε οὗ: cf. 11.7 (?edd.)) || 23 εἰς **AVεST^{pc}** || 24 ὥρμησεν **FAχI^{b}**: ὥρμησε μὲν **VΦΓ[I^{a}]Pσ** || 25 μειράκιον αὐτὸς **χI^{b}** || 26 ἐκπληττομένῳ **FAα**: ἐκπεπληγμένῳ **HKVYε ST** ἐκπεπληγμένον **H^{γρ}K^{γρ}ΛO**

dust, they portend drought for the land, but if they appear full of sweat, they portend floods and heavy rains. If blood appears on them or their weapons, they send forth diseases upon Ilion. If none of these signs is perceived about their images, they immediately bring prosperous times, and then the herdsmen sacrifice to them a lamb, a bull, a colt, or whatever each one tends. They 3
say that all deaths among the herds come from Ajax. I believe they say this because of the story of his madness, when Ajax is said to have fallen upon the herds and cut them to pieces as if slaying the Achaeans because of their decision.[59] No one grazes a herd near his grave for fear of the grass, since what grows there is diseased and harmful to eat. There is a story that Trojan shep- 4
herds once insulted Ajax because their sheep became sick. As they stood around the tomb, they called the hero an enemy of Hektor, of Troy, and of the flocks. One said that Ajax had been driven mad, another that he was in a warlike rage, but the most outrageous of the shepherds said, "Ajax stood firm no longer"[60]; up until this point he used to recite the verse against him as a coward. But shouting from his grave in a spine-tingling and shrill voice, Ajax said, "But I did stand firm."[61] Then it is said that he even
clashed his weapons together, as is usual in battle. There is no 5
need to marvel at the suffering of those poor devils, if, since they were Trojans and shepherds, they were panic-stricken at Ajax's attack, and some fell, others ran, and still others fled from their pastures. But it is worthwhile to admire Ajax, since he killed none of them. Rather, he endured the drunkenness which possessed them, only showing that he was listening to them. I suppose, my 6
guest, that Hektor is not acquainted with this virtue. For last year, when some youth (they say he was quite young and uneducated) offended Hektor, he rushed headlong at him and killed him on the road, blaming the deed on a river.

PH. Vinedresser, you speak to someone who is ignorant and **19**
greatly astounded by this report, for I thought that this hero had not appeared anywhere. When you told me things having to do

[59] Namely, the awarding of Achilles' armor to Odysseus rather than to Ajax; this story is found in the *Little Iliad* and is the subject of Sophocles' *Ajax*.

[60] Quotation of Homer *Il.* 15.727, according to which Ajax had to give way to the onslaught of the Trojans.

[61] See the similar exchange in *Anthologia Palatina* 9.177.

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τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπήγγελλες, ὑπερήλγουν τοῦ Ἕκτορος, εἰ μήτε ἀρότης 1
τι ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λέγει μήτε αἰπόλος, ἀλλ᾽ ἀφανής ἐστι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ
2 ἀτεχνῶς κεῖται. περὶ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ Πάριδος οὐδ᾽ ἀκούειν ἀξιῶ οὐδέν, δι᾽
ὃν τοιοίδε καὶ τοσοίδε ἔπεσον· περὶ δὲ τοῦ Ἕκτορος, ὃς ἔρεισμα μὲν τῆς
Τροίας καὶ τοῦ ξυμμαχικοῦ παντὸς ἦν, ἵππους δὲ ξυνεῖχε τέτταρας, ὃ 5
μηδεὶς τῶν ἡρώων ἕτερος, τὰς δὲ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν κατεπίμπρη ναῦς, ἐμάχετο
δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁμοῦ πάντας ἐφορμῶντάς τε καὶ ξυνταττομένους ἐπ᾽
αὐτόν, οὐκ ἂν ἐροίμην γέ τι, οὐδ᾽ ἂν ἀκούσαιμι χαίρων, εἰ μὴ διαπηδῴης
αὐτὰ μηδ᾽ ἀμελῶς λέγοις;

3 Ἀ. Ἄκουε διὰ πλειόνων, ἐπειδὴ τοῦτο ἡγῇ τὸ μὴ ἀμελῶς φράζειν· 10
τὸ ἐν Ἰλίῳ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Ἕκτορος ἡμιθέῳ ἀνθρώπῳ ἔοικε καὶ πολλὰ ἤθη
ἐπιφαίνει τῷ θεωροῦντι αὐτὸ ξὺν ὀρθῷ λόγῳ· καὶ γὰρ φρονηματῶδες
δοκεῖ καὶ γοργὸν καὶ φαιδρὸν καὶ ξὺν ἁβρότητι σφριγῶν καὶ ἡ ὥρα μετ᾽
οὐδεμιᾶς κόμης. ἔστι δ᾽ οὕτω τι ἔμπνουν, ὡς τὸν θεατὴν ἐπισπάσασθαι
4 θιγεῖν. τοῦτο ἵδρυται μὲν ἐν περιβλέπτῳ τοῦ Ἰλίου, πολλὰ δὲ ἐργάζεται 15
[152] χρηστὰ κοινῇ τε καὶ ἐς ἕνα, ὅθεν εὔχονται αὐτῷ καὶ ἀγῶνα θύουσιν· ὅτε
δὴ θερμὸν οὕτω καὶ ἐναγώνιον γίνεται, ὡς καὶ ἱδρῶτα ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ λείβε-
5 σθαι. μειράκιον οὖν Ἀσσύριον ἦκον ἐς τὸ Ἴλιον ἐλοιδορεῖτο τῷ Ἕκτορι,
προφέρον αὐτῷ τάς τε ἕλξεις, αἳ ἐξ Ἀχιλλέως ποτὲ ἐς αὐτὸν ἐγένοντο,
καὶ τὸν τοῦ Αἴαντος λίθον, ᾧ βληθεὶς ἀπέθανε πρὸς βραχύ, καὶ ὡς Πά- 20
τροκλον τὰ πρῶτα ἔφυγε, καὶ ὡς οὐδὲ ἀπέκτεινεν ἀλλὰ ἕτεροι. μετεποίει
δὲ τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Ἕκτορος· Ἀχιλλέως γὰρ ἔφασκεν εἶναι αὐτὸ μετὰ τὴν

1 ἀπήγγειλες **FHΦI^{a}P** (-λλ- **H**) || 2 λέγοι **AH^{i}K^{s}VY** | τοῖς ἐκεῖ ἀνθρ. **Aχ I^{b}** || 3 οὐδ᾽] οὐκ ε || 5 τέσσαρας **Fκ** || 6 δὲ] τε **H^{γρ}KΛεOS**(b)**T** | κατεπίμπρη **FAH^{s}V**(b)**P^{b}εOT**: -πίμπρα **H^{i}KΛYΦΓIP^{a}S**(b) | νῆας **F** || 7 ἐφορμῶντας **υI^{b}P^{b}σ**: ἐφορμοῦντας **FΦΓ⟦I^{a}⟧⟦P^{a}⟧** || 8 οὐκ ἂν ἐροίμην γέ τι, οὐδ᾽ ἂν . . . **FV^{a}YΦΓI**: οὐκ ἂν ἐρ. γε; τί δ᾽ οὐκ ἂν . . . **Aκ** κἂν ἐρ. γέ τι, κἂν . . . **P^{blit}ε OS**(b)**T** ἐρ. γέ τι καὶ . . . **V^{b}** (γέ τι] ἔτι **Γ** γ᾽ ἔτι dubitanter Eitrem) | ⟨πλὴν⟩ εἰ μὴ . . . vel εἰ μὴ ⟨μήτε⟩ . . . μήτε . . . Richards, orationis sensum interrogativum non intellegens || 14 τι om. **χ** τοι **P** | ἐπισπᾶσθαι **Γ** ἐπίστασθαι **κ** || 16 εἰς **AH^{ac}KΛαÅBOT** | θύουσιν] θήσειν **H^{γρ}K^{γρ}O** || 17 γίγνεται **FAIPEOS**(b)**T** || 17-18 λείβεσθαι] ῥεῖν **H^{γρ}K^{γρ}** || 18 μειράκιον οὖν **κΓ^{pc}σ**: μειράκιον **FAV YΦΓ^{ac}IP** | ἦκον ἐς τὸ Ἴλιον post Ἕκτορι transp. **F^{i}** || 19 προφέρων **H^{s}Λ ΓIBEO** || 21 ⟨αὐτὸς⟩ ἀπέκτεινεν Reiske || 22 δὲ **FΦΓIP^{a}O^{ac}**: δὲ καὶ **υP^{b}ε O^{pc}ST**

with the Hellenes, I grieved exceedingly for Hektor, because neither plowman nor goatherd says anything on his behalf, but he is invisible to human beings and simply lies buried. I do not think 2
it worthy to hear anything about Paris, because of whom so very many great men fell. About Hektor, however, who was the bulwark of Troy and of all their allies, who kept four horses under control[62] (which no other hero could do), who attempted to burn the ships of the Achaeans to ashes, who fought them all at once while they were advancing and arrayed against him—would I not ask something about such a hero? Would I not listen gladly, so long as you do not pass over these things lightly, nor speak carelessly?

V. Keep listening, since you do not consider this careless 3
talk. The statue of Hektor in Ilion resembles a semidivine human being and reveals many delineations of his character to one inspecting it with the right perspective.[63] In fact, he appears high-spirited, fierce, radiant, and with the splendor of full health and strength, and he is beautiful despite his short hair. The statue is something so alive that the viewer is drawn to touch it.
The statue was dedicated in admiration of Ilion and accomplishes 4
many useful things both for the general public and for individuals. Therefore they pray to Hektor and hold games in his honor.
The statue becomes so heated and involved during the contest
that sweat flows from it. Now an Assyrian youth came to Ilion 5
and kept insulting Hektor, throwing in his face the draggings that Achilles once afflicted upon him, Ajax's rock[64] with which he was struck and died soon after, how he had initially fled from Patroklos, and that not he, but others killed Patroklos.[65] He disputed the identity of Hektor's statue and claimed that it was Achilles on the

[62] That is, he could drive a four-horse chariot. Homer *Il.* 8.184–85.

[63] On the existence of a statue of Hektor in Ilion, see Julian *Letters* 19; Synesius *In Praise of Baldness* 82c; a discussion of the numismatic, archaeological, and literary evidence can be found in "Hektor," *RE* 7 (1912): col. 2815; and Rossi, *Filostrato: Eroico*, 211.

[64] The *Iliad* narrates two times when Ajax struck Hektor with a rock; neither, however, is fatal; after the first (*Il.* 7.268–72) Apollo immediately restores Hektor to the battle; after the second (*Il.* 14.409–32) Hektor is pulled unconscious from battle but later revived by Apollo. The second is probably intended here, since Hektor is killed by Achilles a short time later.

[65] According to Homer (*Il.* 16.788–822), Apollo and Euphorbus wounded Patroklos first; Hektor gave the final blow. In his dying words Patroklos

κόμην, ἣν ἐκείρατο ἐπὶ τῷ Πατρόκλῳ. τούτων ἐμφορηθὲν ἐξήλασεν ἐκ τοῦ Ἰλίου, καὶ πρὶν ἢ δέκα πορευθῆναι σταδίους, ποταμὸς οὕτω βραχύς, ὡς μηδὲ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐν Τροίᾳ εἶναι, μέγας ἐκ μικροῦ αἴρεται, καὶ ὡς ἀπήγγελλον οἱ διαφυγόντες τῶν ὀπαδῶν, ὁπλίτης ἡγεῖτο τοῦ ποταμοῦ μέγας, παρακελευόμενος αὐτῷ βαρβάρῳ τῇ φωνῇ καὶ σφοδρᾷ ἐπιστρέφειν τὸ ὕδωρ εἰς τὴν ὁδόν, δι' ἧς τὸ μειράκιον ἤλαυνεν ἐπὶ τεττάρων ἵππων οὐ μεγάλων· οὓς ὑπολαβὼν ὁ ποταμὸς ὁμοῦ τῷ μειρακίῳ βοῶντί τε καὶ ξυνιέντι λοιπὸν τοῦ Ἕκτορος, ἀπήγαγεν ἐς τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἤθη καὶ οὕτως ἀπώλεσεν ὡς μηδὲ ἀνελέσθαι ξυγχωρῆσαι τὸ σῶμα· ᾤχετο γὰρ οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπῃ ἀφανισθέν.

Φ. Οὔτε τὸν Αἴαντα χρὴ θαυμάζειν, ἀμπελουργέ, καρτερήσαντα τὰ ἐκ τῶν ποιμένων, οὔτε τὸν Ἕκτορα ἡγεῖσθαι βάρβαρον μὴ ἀνασχόμενον τὰ ἐκ τοῦ μειρακίου· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ καὶ ξυγγνώμη ἴσως, οἳ Τρῶες ὄντες, ἔτι καὶ πονήρως ἐχόντων σφίσι τῶν προβάτων ἐπεπήδων τῷ τάφῳ· μειρακίῳ δὲ Ἀσσυρίῳ πομπεύοντι ἐς τὸν τοῦ Ἰλίου ἥρω τίς συγγνώμη; οὐ γὰρ δὴ Ἀσσυρίοις ποτὲ καὶ Τρωσὶ πόλεμος ἐγένετο, οὐδὲ τὰς ἀγέλας σφῶν ὁ Ἕκτωρ ἐπόρθησεν, ὥσπερ τὰς τῶν Τρώων ὁ Αἴας.

153] **20** Ἀ. Πεπονθέναι τι πρὸς τὸν Ἕκτορα, ὦ ξένε, δοκεῖς, καὶ οὐκ ἀξιῶ διαφέρεσθαι. ἀλλ' ἐπανίωμεν ἐπὶ τὰ τοῦ Αἴαντος· ἐκεῖθεν γὰρ οἶμαι τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ λόγου πεποιῆσθαι.

Φ. Ἐκεῖθεν, ἀμπελουργέ, καὶ ὡς δοκεῖ, ἐπανίωμεν.

Ἀ. Πρόσεχε οὖν, ξένε· νηός ποτε καθορμισαμένης ἐς τὸ Αἰάντειον δύο τῶν ξένων πρὸ τοῦ σήματος ἤλυόν τε καὶ πεττοῖς ἔπαιζον, ἐπιστὰς δὲ ὁ Αἴας «πρὸς θεῶν» ἔφη, «μετάθεσθε τὴν παιδιὰν ταύτην· ἀναμιμνήσκει

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2 ποταμός ποτε μὲν **ΦΙ^{a}**⟦**P**⟧ ποταμὸς μὲν **Γ** || 3 αὐτοῦ om. **ΦΓΙ^{a}P^{a}** αὐτῷ **H^{s}K** || 4 ἀπήγγειλον **ΦΙP^{a}** || 6 τεσσάρων **F** || 7 οὐ μεγάλων del. Reiske | τε om. **KεOS**(b)**T** || 9 τὸ om. **Φ^{a}Ι^{a}P^{a}** || 10 ὅπη **FΦ^{a}Γ^{pc}Ι^{pc} Pε^{γρ}T^{γρ}**: ὅποι **AV**(b)**χΦ^{b}Γ^{ac}Ι^{ac}εOT** ὅπως **S**(b) || 15 τίς ἂν **χ** | συγγνώμη — 26.4 οἱ μὲν perierunt in **F** || 16 οὐ γὰρ δὴ] οὐδὲ γὰρ **E** | ποτὲ] τε **χ** | πόλεμός ποτε **χ** πόλεμός τε **A** || 17 ὥσπερ] ὡς **ϰ** || 18 δοκεῖς ὦ ξένε **χ** || 22 πρόσεχε] πρόσχες **ϰ** (sed πρόσεχε **H^{γρ}K^{γρ}**) | ὦ ξένε **HKΓÅB** | εἰς **H^{γρ}αS** | τὸν Αἴαντα **HΛY** (sed τὸ Αἰάντειον **H^{γρ}**)

basis of the hair, which Achilles had shorn for Patroklos.[66] After 6
he had made these insults, he drove his chariot from Ilion, and before he had gone ten stades,[67] a stream, so insignificant that it did not even have a name in Troy, rose up to a great size. As his attendants who escaped reported, an immense, heavily armed soldier directed the river, commanding it vehemently in a foreign language to flow into the road on which the youth was driving four small horses. The river overtook them along with the youth just 7
as he was crying aloud, finally aware of Hektor. The river carried him back to its usual course and destroyed him so that it did not yield his corpse for burial. It disappeared and I do not know where it went.

PH. Vinedresser, it is not necessary to admire Ajax en- 8
during the outrages of the shepherds or to consider Hektor a barbarian because he was not patient with those of the youth. While it is perhaps forgivable that the shepherds, who were Tro- 9
jans, assaulted the tomb after their sheep had fared badly, what forgiveness is there for the Assyrian youth who mocked the hero of Ilion? After all, there was never any war between the Assyrians and the Trojans, nor did Hektor ravage the Assyrians' herds as Ajax did those of the Trojans.

V. My guest, you seem to have a passion for Hektor, and I **20**
do not regard it worth disputing, but let us rather return to the affairs of Ajax, for there I think our digression occurred.

PH. Yes, let us resume from that point, vinedresser, as seems best.

V. Now pay attention, my guest. Once when a ship put into 2
harbor near the sanctuary of Ajax, two of the strangers wandered in front of the tomb and began to play with gaming stones.[68] Ajax appeared and said, "By the gods, get rid of this game, for it

attributes his demise primarily to Apollo and Euphorbus; he degradingly calls Hektor his "third slayer" (*Il.* 16.844–50).

[66] As part of the ritual of lamenting Patroklos' death (Homer *Il.* 23.45–53).

[67] One stade equals approximately 200 yards.

[68] These are πεσσοί, oval-shaped stones used in a game roughly similar to checkers or draughts, played on board with thirty-six squares. Palamedes is said to have invented the game (see Gorgias *Palamedes*). In Euripides (*Iphigeneia in Aulis* 195–99) Protesilaos and Palamedes play the game together.

γάρ με τῶν Παλαμήδους ἔργων σοφοῦ τε καὶ μαλ᾽ ἐπιτηδείου μοι ἀνδρός. 1
ἀπολώλεκε δὲ κἀμὲ κἀκεῖνον ἐχθρὸς εἷς ἄδικον εὑρὼν ἐφ᾽ ἡμῖν κρίσιν.»

3 *Φ. Δεδάκρυκα, νὴ τὸν Ἥλιον, ἀμπελουργέ· τὰ γὰρ ἀμφοῖν πάθη*
παραπλήσιά τε καὶ ἐοικότα εἰς εὔνοιαν. ἀγαθῶν μὲν γὰρ κοινωνία τίκτει
ποτὲ καὶ φθόνον, ὅσοι δ᾽ ἂν κοινωνήσωσι συμφορῶν, ἀγαπῶσιν ἀλλήλους 5
4 *τὸν ἔλεον τοῦ ἐλέου ἀντιδιδόντες. Παλαμήδους δὲ εἴδωλον ἔχοις ἄν τινα*
εἰπεῖν ἑωρακότα ἐν Τροίᾳ;

21 *Ἀ. Τὰ μὲν ὁρώμενα εἴδωλα οὔπω δῆλα ὅτου ἕκαστον· πολλὰ γὰρ*
καὶ ἄλλοτε ἄλλα, διαλλάττει δὲ ἀλλήλων καὶ ἰδέᾳ καὶ ἡλικίᾳ καὶ ὅπλοις.
2 *ἀκούω δὲ ὅμως καὶ περὶ τοῦ Παλαμήδους τοιαῦτα· ἦν γεωργὸς ἐν Ἰλίῳ* 10
ταὐτόν ποτ᾽ ἐμοὶ πράττων· οὗτος ἐπεπόνθει τι πρὸς τὸ τοῦ Παλαμή-
δους πάθος καὶ ἐθρήνει αὐτὸν ἥκων ἐπὶ τὴν ἠιόνα πρὸς ἣ λέγεται ὑπὸ
τῶν Ἀχαιῶν βεβλῆσθαι, καὶ ὁπόσα νομίζουσιν ἐπὶ σημάτων ἄνθρωποι,
ἐπέφερε τῇ κόνει, τάς τε ἡδίους τῶν ἀμπέλων ἐξαιρῶν αὐτῷ κρατῆ-
[154] *ρα ἐτρύγα, καὶ ξυμπίνειν τῷ Παλαμήδει ἔφασκεν ὅτε ἀναπαύοιτο τῶν* 15
3 *ἔργων. ἦν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ κύων τέχνῃ αἰκάλλων καὶ ὑποκαθήμενος τοὺς ἀν-*
θρώπους· τοῦτον Ὀδυσσέα ἐκάλει καὶ ἐπαίετο ὑπὲρ τοῦ Παλαμήδους ὁ
4 *Ὀδυσσεὺς οὗτος προσακούων κακὰ μυρία. δοκεῖ δὴ τῷ Παλαμήδει ἐπι-*
5 *φοιτῆσαί ποτε τῷ ἐραστῇ τούτῳ καὶ ἀγαθόν τι αὐτῷ δοῦναι. καὶ δῆτα ὁ*
μὲν πρὸς ἀμπέλῳ τινὶ ἦν γόνυ αὐτῆς ἰώμενος, ὁ δὲ ἐπιστὰς αὐτῷ «σὺ γι- 20
νώσκεις με» ἔφη «γεωργέ;»—«καὶ πῶς» εἶπεν, «ὃν οὔπω εἶδον;»—«τί
6 *οὖν» ἔφη, «ἀγαπᾷς ὃν μὴ γινώσκεις;» ξυνῆκεν ὁ γεωργός ὅτι Παλα-*
μήδης εἴη· καὶ τὸ εἶδος ἐς ἥρω ἔφερε μέγαν τε καὶ καλὸν καὶ ἀνδρεῖον,
οὔπω τριάκοντα ἔτη γεγονότα· καὶ περιβαλὼν αὐτὸν μειδιῶν «φιλῶ σε,
ὦ Παλάμηδες» εἶπεν, «ὅτι μοι δοκεῖς φρονιμώτατος ἀνθρώπων γεγονέ- 25
ναι καὶ δικαιότατος ἀθλητὴς τῶν κατὰ σοφίαν πραγμάτων, πεπονθέναι
τε ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐλεεινὰ διὰ τὰς Ὀδυσσέως ἐπὶ σοὶ τέχνας, οὗ τάφος
εἴ τις ἦν ἐνταῦθα, ἐξωρώρυκτ᾽ ἂν ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ πάλαι· μιαρὸς γὰρ καὶ κακίων

2 ἡμῖν **AH^{i}ΛVYα**: ἡμᾶς **H^{s}K**[**Ȧ**]**BE**ζ (cf. Schmid, Attic. IV 453, δ) || 6 τοῦ ἐλέου] ἀλλήλοις **V** | δὲ καὶ **ϰ** | ἄν] δ᾽ ἄν **B^{γρ}E^{γρ}O^{γρ}T^{Σ}** (**S^{a}** non liquet) || 9 ἄλλοτε ἄλλα] ἄλλο ἄλλου **A** || 11 ποτέ μοι **VχΦIPS** (* **Γ^{a}**) μοι ποτὲ **A** || 13 αὐτὸν βεβλῆσθαι **VP^{b}** || 14 κόνει] εἰκόνι **χ** (sed κόνει **H^{m}K^{γρ}**) | ἐξαιρῶν Kay.: ἐξαίρων codd. (om. **K**) || 17 ὑπὲρ] ὑπὸ **χO** || 18 οὗτος om. **ΦΓ^{a}I^{a}P^{a}** | δὴ] δὲ **ϰO** δήποτε **Γ** || 21 ἐμὲ **V** || 22 μὴ] οὐ **HB** οὐ μὴ **Γ** || 22-23 ὁ Παλαμήδης **ΛI^{b}** || 23 ἀνέφερε **AV** (ἔφερε intransit. esse vid., ut Ap. 337.25) | μέγα **AY** | ἀνδρεῖον καὶ καλόν **ε** || 25 εἶπεν] ἔφη **VΓ** || 27 σοὶ] σὲ **εS^{γρ} T^{γρ}** || 28 ἐξωρώρυκτ᾽ **VYI^{b}σ**: ἐξορώρυκτ᾽ **AϰP^{b}** ἐξώρυκτ᾽ **ΦΓ⟦I^{a}⟧P^{a}**

reminds me of the deeds of Palamedes, my close and clever companion. A single enemy destroyed both him and me by bringing on us an unjust judgment."

PH. By Helios, I have shed tears over this, vinedresser! 3
Both of their experiences were comparable and properly evoke goodwill. Sharing good things sometimes brings forth envy, but those who share misfortunes are fond of each other and return compassion for compassion. Could you say whether anyone has 4
seen Palamedes' phantom in Troy?

V. When the phantoms appear, the identity of each is not **21**
immediately clear. Many appear sometimes one way, sometimes another, interchanging outward appearance, age, and armor. I hear, nevertheless, stories about Palamedes. There was a farmer 2
in Ilion, who did then what I do now. He had deep sympathy for Palamedes' suffering, and he used to sing a dirge for him when he visited the shore where it is said Palamedes was stoned by the Achaeans. And on the dust of Palamedes' grave he would place whatever people customarily bring to tombs.[69] After selecting sweet grapes for him, he gathered them in a *krater* and said
that he drank with Palamedes when he rested from his labors. He 3
also had a dog that fawned slyly, while lying in wait for people. This dog he called "Odysseus" and, in the name of Palamedes, this Odysseus was beaten, hearing in addition a thousand bad
names. So it seemed good then to Palamedes to visit this admirer 4
periodically and to give him something good. The farmer was, of 5
course, at a certain grapevine, mending its joint, and Palamedes, standing by him, said, "Do you recognize me, farmer?" He answered, "How would I recognize you whom I have never seen?" "Then do you love him whom you do not recognize?" said the other. The farmer realized that it was Palamedes, and he reported 6
that the hero's image was tall, beautiful, and brave, although he was not yet thirty years old. The farmer embraced him and said with a smile, "I love you, Palamedes, because you seem to me to be the most sensible of all and the most fair champion in deeds of skill. You have endured most pitiful ordeals at the Achaeans' hands because of Odysseus's crafty designs against you. If Odysseus's tomb had been here, I would have dug it out long ago. He

[69] For a description of Palamedes' tomb, see Philostratus *Life of Apollonius* 4.13.

τοῦ κυνός, ὃν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ τρέφω.»—«φειδώμεθα λοιπὸν τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως» ὁ ἥρως ἔφη, «τούτων γὰρ ἐπραξάμην αὐτὸν ἐγὼ δίκας ἐν Ἅιδου· σὺ δέ, ἐπειδὴ φιλεῖς που τὰς ἀμπέλους, εἰπέ μοι τί μάλιστα περὶ αὐταῖς δέδοικας.»—«τί δ᾽ ἄλλο γε» εἶπεν «ἢ τὰς χαλάζας ὑφ᾽ ὧν ἐκτυφλοῦνταί τε καὶ ῥήγνυνται;»—«ἱμάντα τοίνυν» εἶπεν ὁ Παλαμήδης «περιάπτωμεν μιᾷ τῶν ἀμπέλων καὶ οὐ βεβλήσονται αἱ λοιπαί.»

Φ. Σοφός γε ὁ ἥρως, ἀμπελουργέ, καὶ ἀεί τι εὑρίσκων ἀγαθὸν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. Ἀχιλλέως δὲ πέρι τί ἂν εἴποις; τοῦτον γὰρ θειότατον τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ παντὸς ἡγούμεθα.

155] **22** Ἀ. Τὰ μὲν ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ, ξένε, εἰ μήπω ἐς αὐτὸν πέπλευκας, καὶ ὅσα ἐν τῇ ἐκεῖ νήσῳ λέγεται πράττειν, ἐγώ σοι ἀπαγγελῶ ὕστερον ἐν τῷ περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγῳ μακροτέρῳ ὄντι, τὰ δὲ ἐν Ἰλίῳ παραπλήσια τοῖς ἄλλοις ἥρωσι· καὶ γὰρ προσδιαλέγεταί τισι καὶ ἐπιφοιτᾷ καὶ θηρία
2 διώκει. ξυμβάλλονται δὲ αὐτὸν Ἀχιλλέα εἶναι τῇ τε ὥρᾳ τοῦ εἴδους καὶ τῷ μεγέθει καὶ τῇ ἀστραπῇ τῶν ὅπλων· κατόπιν δὲ αὐτοῦ ζάλη
3 ἀνέμων εἵλεῖται πομπὸς τοῦ εἰδώλου. ἐπιλείψει με ἡ φωνή, ξένε, τῶν τοιούτων μνημονεύοντα· καὶ γάρ τι καὶ περὶ Ἀντιλόχου ᾄδουσιν, ὡς κόρη Ἰλιὰς φοιτῶσα ἐπὶ τὸν Σκάμανδρον εἰδώλῳ τοῦ Ἀντιλόχου ἐνέτυχε καὶ προσέκειτο τῷ σήματι ἐρῶσα τοῦ εἰδώλου, καὶ ὡς βουκόλοι μειράκια περὶ τὸν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως βωμὸν ἀστραγαλίζοντες ἀπέκτεινεν ἂν ὁ ἕτερος τῇ καλαύροπι τὸν ἕτερον πλήξας, εἰ μὴ ὁ Πάτροκλος αὐτοὺς διεπτόησεν,
4 «ἀρκεῖ μοι» εἰπών «ὑπὲρ ἀστραγάλων αἷμα ἕν». γινώσκειν δὲ ὑπάρχει ταῦτα καὶ παρὰ τῶν βουκόλων καὶ πάντων τῶν οἰκούντων τὸ Ἴλιον· ἐπιμίγνυμεν γὰρ ἅτε τὰς ὄχθας οἰκοῦντες τῶν τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου ἐκβολῶν καὶ ποταμόν, ὡς ὁρᾷς, πεποιημένοι τὴν θάλατταν.

1 λοιπὸν] οὖν **V** || 2 αὐτὸν ἐγὼ δίκας] αὐτὸν δίκας ἐγὼ **HKVY** δίκας αὐτὸν ἐγὼ **Λ** | δίκας ἐν Ἅιδου] ἐν Ἄδου δίκας **A** || 3 ἐπεὶ **ȦB** | αὐταῖς **A VΓIσ**: αὐτὰς **χΦP** || 10 μήπου **σ** || 11 λέγεται νήσω **V** || 15 καὶ ζάλη **α** || 16 ἀνέμων $\mathbf{H^{s}K\Lambda VP^{b}\sigma}$: ἀνέμου $\mathbf{AH^{i}\Phi\Gamma IP^{a}}$ ἀνέμῳ **Y** || 17-18 ᾄδουσιν — Ἀντιλόχου om. $\mathbf{\Phi^{ac}\Gamma^{a}}$ || 19 σήματι $\mathbf{V^{s}\Gamma IP^{blit}}$: σχήματι $\mathbf{H^{i}K\Lambda Y}$ σώματι $\mathbf{AH^{s}}$ $\mathbf{K^{\gamma\rho}V^{i}\Phi\sigma}$ (cf. 51.6) || 22 ἀστραγάλων **Aχα**: ἀστραγάλου **Vσ** | αἷμα] αἴνιγμα $\mathbf{H^{ec}K\Lambda Y\Phi^{b}I^{blit}}$ | γιγνώσκειν **AΦPST** || 23 πάντων] παρὰ $\mathbf{A\varkappa Y^{m}}$ περὶ **Y**

is blood-stained and more evil than the dog that I keep in his honor." "Let us spare Odysseus from now on," the hero said, 7
"because for these deeds I have exacted penalties from him in Hades. But you, since you love the grapevines, I suppose, tell 8
me what you are especially afraid could happen to them." "What else," said the farmer, "than that the hailstones will blind and break them?" "So then," said Palamedes, "let us fasten a leather strap to one of them, and the rest will not be hit."[70]

PH. The hero is ingenious, vinedresser, and always invents 9
something good for people. What could you say about Achilles, since we consider him the most godlike of the whole Hellenic army?

V. The events in the Pontus, my guest, if you have not yet **22**
sailed to it, and all those things that he is said to do on the island there I shall tell you later in a longer story about Achilles, but his deeds in Ilion are nearly equal to those of other heroes. And he converses with some people, visits regularly, and hunts wild beasts. They conclude that it is Achilles from the beauty of his 2
physique as well as from the size and flash of his weapons. Behind him a windstorm whirls around, an attendant to his phantom. My guest, I shall lose my voice recounting such tales! For truly, 3
they sing something even about Antilokhos, how a girl from Ilion, wandering along the Scamander, came upon the phantom of Antilokhos: falling in love with the phantom, she clung to his tomb. They also sing of how, while young herdsmen were playing dice around the altar of Achilles, one would have struck the other dead with a shepherd's crook, had not Patroklos scared them away, saying, "One shedding of blood on account of dice is enough for me."[71] But it is possible to find out about these things from the 4
cowherds or anyone living in Ilion. Since we inhabit the banks of the Hellespont's outlets, we are in close contact with each other, and, as you see, we have turned the sea into a river. But let us re- **23**

[70] Palamedes' invention seems to entail a kind of apotropaic magic. Leather straps (or thongs) were wound about the hands and forearms of boxers for protection (Philostratus *On Gymnastics* 10). Here the leather strap enables the grapevine to defend itself when struck by hailstones. Palamedes was also renowned as a boxer. The vines are "blinded" perhaps because when the grapes are knocked off, the vines look as though they have empty eye sockets.

[71] As a boy Patroklos accidentally killed another over a game of dice (Homer *Il.* 23.85–88).

23 *Ἄγε δή, ξένε, τὴν ἀσπίδα ἤδη ἀναλάβωμεν, ἣν ὁ Πρωτεσίλεως* 1
Ὁμήρῳ τε ἠγνοῆσθαί φησι καὶ ποιηταῖς πᾶσι.

2 *Φ. Ποθοῦντι ἀποδίδως, ἀμπελουργέ, τὸν περὶ αὐτῆς λόγον· σπάνιον δὲ οἶμαι ἀκούσεσθαι.*

Ἀ. Σπανιώτατον· προσέχων δὲ ἀκροῶ. 5

Φ. Προσέχων λέγεις; οὐδὲ τὰ θηρία ἐς τὸν Ὀρφέα οὕτως ἐκεχήνει ᾄδοντα, ὡς ἐγώ σου ἀκούων τά τε ὦτα ἵστημι καὶ τὸν νοῦν ἐγρήγορα
[156] *καὶ ξυλλέγομαι ἐς τὴν μνήμην πάντα. ἡγοῦμαι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Τροίαν ἐστρατευκότων εἷς εἶναι· τοσοῦτον κατέσχημαι τοῖς ἡμιθέοις ὑπὲρ ὧν διαλεγόμεθα.* 10

3 *Ἀ. Οὐκοῦν, ἐπειδὴ φρονεῖς οὕτω, αἴρωμεν ἐξ Αὐλίδος, ὦ ξένε. τὸ γὰρ ἐκεῖ ξυνειλέχθαι σφας ἀληθές. τὰ δ' ἐμβατήρια τοῦ λόγου τῷ Πρω-*
4 *τεσίλεῳ εὔχθω. ὡς μὲν δὴ τὴν Μυσίαν οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ πρὸ Τροίας ἐπόρθησαν ἐπὶ Τηλέφῳ τότε οὖσαν, καὶ ὡς ὁ Τήλεφος ὑπὲρ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ μαχόμενος ἐτρώθη ὑπὸ Ἀχιλλέως, ἔστι σοι καὶ ποιητῶν ἀκούειν· οὐ γὰρ ἐκλέλει-* 15
5 *πται αὐτοῖς ταῦτα. τὸ δὲ πιστεύειν ὡς ἀγνοήσαντες οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ τὴν χώραν τὰ τοῦ Πριάμου ἄγειν τε καὶ φέρειν ᾤοντο, διαβάλλει τὸν Ὁμήρου λόγον ὃν περὶ Κάλχαντος ᾄδει τοῦ μάντεως· εἰ γὰρ ἐπὶ μαντικῇ ἔπλεον καὶ τὴν τέχνην ἡγεμόνα ἐποιοῦντο, πῶς ἂν ἄκοντες ἐκεῖ καθωρμίσθησαν;*
6 *πῶς δ' ἂν καθορμισθέντες ἠγνόησαν ὅτι μὴ ἐς Τροίαν ἥκουσι, καὶ ταῦτα* 20
πολλοῖς μὲν βουκόλοις ἐντετυχηκότες, πολλοῖς δὲ ποιμέσι; νέμεταί τε γὰρ ἡ χώρα μέχρι θαλάττης καὶ τοὔνομα ἐρωτᾶν τῆς ξένης ξύνηθες,
7 *οἶμαι, τοῖς καταπλέουσιν. εἰ δὲ καὶ μηδενὶ τούτων ἐνέτυχον, μηδὲ ἤροντο τῶν τοιούτων οὐδέν, ἀλλ' Ὀδυσσεύς γε καὶ Μενέλεως ἐς Τροίαν ἤδη*

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1 ὦ ξένε **α** | ἤδη] ᾔν **Φ^{a}[[I^{a}]]P^{a}** * **Γ^{a}**? || 4 δὲ] γὰρ **χ** (sed δὲ **H^{γρ}**) | διακούσεσθαι **χ** (sed ἀκ. **H^{γρ}**) || 5 δὲ] δὴ **ÅB** || 8 Τροίᾳ **VY** || 11 οὕτως **AHKYI^{blit}P** (sed -ω **H^{γρ}K^{γρ}**) || 13 εὔχθω **AHKVY**: εὔχθω· * **IP** εὔχομαι * **Φ** εὔχεο **Λ**, om. **Γσ** | πρὸ Τρ. οἱ Ἀχ. **χ** (οἱ om. **KΛ**) || 15 τοῦ Ἀχ. **AχI^{b}P^{b} σ** || 15-16 ἐλλέλειπται **K^{γρ}** ἐλέλειπται **H^{s}O** || 17 φέρειν τε καὶ ἄγειν **χ** | τὸν] τὸν τοῦ **A** || 20 πῶς δ' ἂν καθορμισθέντες om. **HY** (sed add. **H^{m}**) | καὶ ἠγνόησαν **Y** ἢ ἠγνόησαν **ΦΓ^{ac}[[I]][[P]]** || 21 δὲ αὖ **H^{ec}VY** δ' αὖ **KΛ** | τε om. **κ** || 22 τοῖς ξένοις **H^{i}ΛΦ^{b}S^{s}** * **A** || 24 οὐδέν **κVα**: μηδέν **Yσ** μὴ * **A** | γε **AH^{i}ΛYOT**: τε **H^{s}KVΦPε**, om. **ΓIS**

turn, my guest, to the story of the shield, which Protesilaos says was unknown to Homer and all poets.

The Battle at Mysia and the Contest of the Shield (23.2–30)

PH. Vinedresser, you tell the story to one who yearns for it. 2
I believe I will seldom hear it.

V. Very seldom. Listen and pay attention.

PH. Pay attention, you say? Not even the wild beasts listened as intently to Orpheus when he sang as I, listening to you, prick up my ears, rouse my mind, and gather every detail into my memory. I even consider myself to be one of those encamped at Troy, so much have I been possessed[72] by the demigods[73] about whom I speak.

V. Therefore, since you are so minded, my guest, let us set 3
out from Aulis since it is true that they assembled there. As we
embark on our story, let us make offerings to Protesilaos. How the 4
Achaeans before they came to Troy plundered Mysia, which was
then ruled by Têlephos, and how Têlephos, fighting for his own
people, was wounded by Achilles, you can also hear from poets
since they have not neglected these stories.[74] But the belief that 5
the Achaeans in ignorance carried off the spoils of Priam slanders
Homer's account, which he sings about Kalkhas the prophet. If
they sailed under prophetic skill and made his skill their guide,
how could they have anchored there unintentionally? And how, 6
once they had anchored, could they have been ignorant that they
had not come to Troy, although they met many cowherds there
and many shepherds? For this region extends to the sea, and it is
customary, I think, for those who put into port to ask the name of
a foreign country.

Even if they had not met any herdsmen or asked any such 7
questions, Odysseus and Menelaos had already been to Troy,

[72] The verb used here, κατέχω, conveys the double sense of "to be detained, held back"—that is, the Phoenician is prevented from continuing his journey—and "to be possessed" (by a god or supernatural force); see LSJ, 926, s.v. κατέχω.

[73] In Hesiod (*Works and Days* 155–73), the "demigods" (ἡμίθεοι) are the heroes who inhabit the earth in the fourth of the five generations of humankind.

[74] The sacking of Mysia was narrated in the lost *Cypria*, which claims that the Achaean forces mistook it for Ilion.

ἀφιγμένω τε καὶ πεπρεσβευκότε καὶ τὰ κρήδεμνα τοῦ Ἰλίου εἰδότε, 1
οὐκ ἄν μοι δοκοῦσι περιιδεῖν ταῦτα, οὐδ' ἂν ξυγχωρῆσαι τῷ στρατῷ
8 διαμαρτάνοντι τῆς πολεμίας. ἑκόντες μὲν δὴ οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ τοὺς Μυσοὺς
ἐλπίζοντο, λόγου ἐς αὐτοὺς ἥκοντος, ὡς ἄριστα ἠπειρωτῶν πράττοιεν,
καί πῃ καὶ δεδιότες μὴ πρόσοικοι τῷ Ἰλίῳ ὄντες ἐς κοινωνίαν τῶν κιν- 5
9 δύνων μετακληθῶσι. Τηλέφῳ δὲ Ἡρακλείδῃ τε ὄντι καὶ ἄλλως γενναίῳ
καὶ ὡπλισμένης γῆς ἄρχοντι, οὐκ ἀνεκτὰ ταῦτα ἐφαίνετο, ὅθεν πολλὴν
[157] 10 μὲν ἀσπίδα παρέταττε, πολλὴν δὲ ἵππον. ἦγε δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῆς ὑπ' αὐτῷ
Μυσίας (ἦρχε δέ, οἶμαι πάσης, ὁπόση ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ), οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἄνω
Μυσῶν ξυνεμάχουν, οὓς Ἀβίους τε οἱ ποιηταὶ καλοῦσι καὶ ἵππων ποιμέ- 10
11 νας καὶ τὸ γάλα αὐτῶν πίνοντας· τῆς τε γὰρ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν διανοίας καθ' ἣν
ἐποιοῦντο τοὺς περίπλους οὐκ οὔσης ἀδήλου, Τληπολέμου τε πέμψαντος
ἐπὶ Ῥοδίας ὁλκάδος ἄγγελον ὡς ἀδελφὸν καὶ κελεύσαντος ἀπὸ γλώττης
αὐτῷ σημαίνειν ὁπόσα τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐν Αὐλίδι διῄσθετο (γράμματα γὰρ
οὔπω εὕρητο), πᾶσα ἡ μεσόγεια ἐς ξυμμαχίαν καταβεβήκει καὶ τῷ πεδίῳ 15
12 ἐπεκύμαινε τὰ Μύσιά τε καὶ Σκυθικὰ ἔθνη. λέγει δὲ ὁ Πρωτεσίλεως ὅτι
καὶ μέγιστος αὐτοῖς ἀγώνων γένοιτο τῶν τε ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Τροίᾳ καὶ ὁπόσοι
13 πρὸς βαρβάρους ὕστερον διεπολεμήθησαν Ἕλλησι. καὶ γὰρ κατὰ πλῆθος
εὐδόκιμοι καὶ κατ' ἄνδρα ἦσαν ἡ ξυμμαχία τοῦ Τηλέφου, καὶ ὥσπερ ὑπὸ
τῶν Ἀχαιῶν Αἰακίδαι τε ἤδοντο καὶ Διομήδεις καὶ Πάτροκλοι, οὕτω 20
Τηλέφου τε ὄνομα ἦν καὶ Αἵμου τοῦ Ἄρεος· ὀνομαστότατοι δὲ ἦσαν
Ἕλωρός τε καὶ Ἀκταῖος ποταμοῦ παῖδες τοῦ κατὰ Σκυθίαν Ἴστρου.
14 τὴν μὲν δὴ ἀπόβασιν οὐ ξυνεχώρουν οἱ Μυσοὶ ποιεῖσθαι τοξεύοντες ἀπὸ
τῆς γῆς καὶ ἀκοντίζοντες, οἱ δὲ Ἀχαιοὶ καὶ μὴ ξυγχωρούντων ἐβιά-
ζοντο, καί τινας καὶ ὤκελλον τῶν νεῶν οἱ Ἀρκάδες ἅτε πρῶτον πλέον- 25
15 τες καὶ θαλάσσης οὔπω γεγυμνασμένοι. φησὶ γάρ, ὥς που γινώσκεις,

1 τε om. **VÅB** | καὶ τὰ — εἰδότε om. **P^{a}** || 2 ξυγχωρήσαιεν **ΦΓΙ[P^{a}]** || 3 διαμαρτόντι **V** | πολεμίας μάχεσθαι **V** || 5 πῃ] ποι **VΦΓ[I^{a}]P** || 8 αὐτὸν **H^{i}KΛVYP^{b}E^{s}T^{s}** (sed -ῷ **K^{γρ}**; **S^{a}** non liquet) || 9 θάλατταν **H^{s}K^{γρ}P^{b}**ε **OS**(b)**T** (-σσ- **ϰΓ^{1}**) | ἄνωθεν **A** || 12 τε] δὲ **ϰ** || 13 ὡς ἀδελφὸν **H^{s}KΛ^{γρ}Γ P^{b}σ**: ὡς ἀδλ^{ε}**I^{b}** ὡς ἀδελφῷ **AH^{i}ΛVY** * **ΦI^{a}P^{a}** εἰς (ἀδελφὸν) **P^{Σ}σ^{Σ}** ὡς τὸν ἀδελφὸν Hertlein || 14 ᾔσθετο **VχI^{pc}** (= **I^{b}**?) || 15 εὕρηται **A** εὕροντο **ϰ** (sed εὕρητο **H^{γρ}K^{γρ}**) εὕρηντο **Y** εὑρη$^{το}_{α}$ **V** | μεσόγεια **AYαÅB**: μεσύγεια **HK** μεσόγαια **H^{γρac} VEST** μισόγαια **O** μυσ(σ)όγαια **H^{γρpc}K^{γρ}Λ** | εἰς **VYΓIPO** || 17 τῇ om. **χ ΦΓIP^{a}** || 18 καὶ γὰρ καὶ **A** || 20 Διομήδης **YÅB** | Πάτροκλος **ÅB** || 21 Αἵμου **H^{pc}VYαB** | δὲ] τε **χ** || 22 Ἕλωρος **HVY** | παῖδε **Φ** || 25 ^{β}καί ^{δ}τινας καὶ ^{γ}ὤκ^{ε}ελλον τῶν νε^{ε}ῶν οἱ Ἀρκάδες **ST** οἱ Ἀρκάδες καὶ ὤκελλον καί τινας τῶν νεῶν **H^{γρ}O** | καὶ^{2} om. **Vχ** || 26 γεγυμνασμένοι] πεπειραμένοι **VP^{blit}S**(b) **σ^{Σ}**

served as ambassadors, and knew the battlements of Ilion.[75] It seems unlikely to me, therefore, that they would have overlooked these matters and permitted the army to go quite so astray from the enemy's country. Indeed, the Achaeans plundered the My- 8
sians deliberately, because a report had come to them that the Mysians fared best of those on the mainland. Moreover, they feared lest those who were dwelling in the vicinity of Ilion might somehow be called over as allies in the battles. To Herakles' son 9
Têlephos, an especially noble man and a leader of armed men, these matters seemed intolerable. Hence, he drew many infantry and cavalry into battle formation. He led troops from the part of 10
Mysia that he controlled (he ruled, I believe, all of coastal Mysia), and fighting alongside him were those from upper Mysia, whom the poets call "Abians" and "horse shepherds" and "drinkers of milk."[76] The intention of the Achaeans became clear, as they 11
made encircling maneuvers, and Tlêpolemos sent a messenger to his kinsman[77] aboard a Rhodian merchant vessel. When he ordered him to report by word of mouth (for the alphabet had not yet been invented) how many Achaean ships he had seen at Aulis, the whole interior of the country formed an alliance, and the Mysian and Scythian peoples came in waves over the plain. Protesilaos says that this was the greatest contest for them, greater 12
than both those at Troy itself and any subsequent battles between Hellenes and barbarians. The alliance of Têlephos was highly 13
esteemed by both the multitude and the warriors. Just as the Achaeans celebrated in song the Aiakidai and heroes as renowned as Diomedes and Patroklos, so the Mysians sang the names of Têlephos and Haimos, son of Ares. But the most renowned names were Heloros and Aktaios, sons of the river god Istros in Scythia.

The Mysians prevented the Achaeans from landing by 14
shooting arrows and hurling javelins from the shore, and the Achaeans, though unyielding, were hard pressed. The Arcadians even ran some ships aground since they were sailing for the first time and were not prepared for the sea. As you perhaps know, 15

[75] Homer *Il.* 3.205–24; 11.139–41.

[76] Homer (*Il.* 13.6) refers to the Mysians as "mare-milkers" and "drinkers of milk"; see also Hesiod frg. 150.15 and 151 (in R. Merkelbach and M. L. West, *Fragmenta Hesiodea* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1967]); Strabo *Geography* 7.3.7, 9.

[77] That is, to Têlephos, who also was the offspring of Herakles.

Ὅμηρος ὅτι μήτε ναυτικοὶ ἦσαν πρὸ Ἰλίου Ἀρκάδες μήτε ἔργων θαλατ- 1
τίων ἥπτοντο, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ νεῶν ἑξήκοντα ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων ἐσηγάγετο αὐτοὺς
ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, αὐτὸς ἐπιδοὺς ναῦς οὔπω πεπλευκόσιν. ὅθεν ἐπιστή-
[158] *μην μὲν ὁπόση πολεμικὴ καὶ ῥώμην ἐς τὰ πεζὰ παρείχοντο, πλέοντες*
16 *δὲ οὔτε ὁπλῖται ἀγαθοὶ ἦσαν οὔτε ἐρέται. τὰς μὲν δὴ ναῦς ἀπειρίᾳ τε* 5
καὶ τόλμῃ ὤκελλον καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐτρώθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπὶ τῇ
ῥαχίᾳ τεταγμένων, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἀπέθανον· Ἀχιλλεὺς δὲ καὶ Πρωτεσίλεως
δείσαντες ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἀρκάδων ὥσπερ ἀπὸ συνθήματος ἅμφω ἅμα ἐς
τὴν γῆν ἐπεπήδησαν καὶ ἀπεώσαντο τοὺς Μυσοὺς εὐοπλοτάτω ὀφθέν-
τε καὶ καλλίστω τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ, τοῖς δ᾽ ἄγαν βαρβάροις καὶ δαίμονες 10
17 *ἐδοξάτην. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Τήλεφος ἐπανήγαγε τὴν στρατιὰν ἐς τὸ πεδίον καὶ*
προσέπλευσαν οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ καθ᾽ ἡσυχίαν, ἐξεπήδων αὐτίκα τῶν νεῶν πλὴν
κυβερνήτου καὶ περίνεω πάντες οὓς ἡ ναῦς ἦγεν, ἐτάττοντο δὲ ὡς ἐς μά-
18 *χην κόσμον καὶ σιωπὴν ἐν θυμῷ ἔχοντες. ὀρθῶς γὰρ τοῦτο τὸν Ὅμηρον*
περὶ αὐτῶν εἰρηκέναι φησὶν ἐπαινοῦντα τὸ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς μάχης ἦθος, 15
19 *ἧς ξύμβουλον γενέσθαι Αἴαντα τὸν Τελαμῶνος λέγει. Μενεσθέως γὰρ*
τοῦ Ἀθηναίου τακτικωτάτου τῶν βασιλέων ἐς Τροίαν ἐλθόντος καὶ δι-
δάσκοντος ἐν Αὐλίδι τὴν στρατιὰν πᾶσαν ὡς χρὴ συνηρμόσθαι, κραυγῇ
τε χρωμένοις μὴ ἐπιπλήττοντος, οὐ ξυνεχώρει ὁ Αἴας ἀλλ᾽ ἐπετίμα,
γυναικεῖόν τε ἀποφαίνων καὶ ἄτακτον. ἔλεγε γὰρ ὅτι καὶ τὸν θυμὸν ἡ 20
20 *κραυγὴ κακῶς ἑρμηνεύει. ταχθῆναι δὲ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς Μυσοὺς ἑαυτόν τε*
καὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα φησὶν ὁμοῦ τῷ Πατρόκλῳ, πρὸς δὲ τὸν τοῦ Ἄρεος
Αἷμον Διομήδην τε καὶ Παλαμήδην καὶ Σθένελον· πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ
τοῦ Ἴστρου ἥκοντας οἱ Ἀτρεῖδαί τε καὶ ὁ Λοκρὸς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἐτάχ-
21 *θησαν. Αἴας δὲ ὁ μέγας τοὺς μὲν τὰ πλήθη ἀποκτείνοντας θεριστὰς* 25
ἡγεῖτο μέγα οὐδὲν ἀμῶντας, τοὺς δὲ τῶν ἀρίστων κρατοῦντας δρυτό-
[159] 22 *μους ἐκάλει καὶ ταύτης αὐτὸν τῆς μάχης ἠξίου μᾶλλον. ταῦτά τοι καὶ*
ἐπὶ τοὺς τοῦ ποταμοῦ παῖδας ᾔξεν οὔτε τοῦ μέρους ἑαυτοῦ ὄντας καὶ
τὸν τοῦ Ἕκτορος τρόπον ἀπὸ τεττάρων μαχομένους ἵππων, βαίνων τε

2 ἐπηγάγετο **χ** || 3 ναῦς om. **ÅB** || 4 πεζὰ **AV**(b)**χΓIεOS**(b)**T**: πε-ζικὰ **H**^{γρ}**K**^{γρ}**ΦPS**(b)^{γρ} || 6 τόλμῃ] ῥώμῃ **HKY** (sed τόλμῃ **H**^{γρ}**K**^{γρ}) || 8 ἅμα om. **ΦΓI**^{a}**P**^{a} || 9 ἐπεπήδησαν **VΦΓP**^{a}**O**^{γρ}**S**^{γρ}?**T**^{γρ}: ἐπήδησαν **χI**^{blit} ἀπεπήδησαν **Aε**^{γρ} ἐξεπήδησαν **P**^{b}**εOS**(b)**T** || 13 ἤγαγεν **χ** (sed ἦγεν **H**^{γρ}**K**^{γρ}) | εἰς **α σ** || 17 τὴν Τροίαν **VP**^{b} | ἐλθόντων {καὶ} Reiske || 19 τε] δὲ Eitrem | χρωμένην **ΦΙ**^{s}**[[I**^{a}**]][[P**^{a}**]]** || 20 γὰρ **VαS**^{s}: δὲ **AχεOS**^{i}**T** || 21 ἑρμηνεύοι dubitanter Westerm. (sed cf. 15.8 et Jaekel 87) || 23 Αἷμον **ΚΛσ**: Αἷμον **H** Αἷμον/**P** (Αἵ- vel Αἴ- **P**^{ac}) Αἵμονα **AV** Αἵμονα **ΥΦΓI** (cf. 23.13, 23.23) | Διομήδη **ϰ** -μῆ$^{δ'}$ **Y** | Παλαμήδη **ϰ** -μῆ$^{δ'}$ **Y** || 24 τοῦ om. **ΛÅB** || 25 ὁ Αἴας **B**^{Σ}**E**^{Σ}**O T**^{Σ} | ἀποκτένοντας **AVI** ἀποκτείναντας **BE** || 27 αὐτὸν **VΓ**^{ac}**P**^{ac}**εT**: ἑαυτὸν **χ** αὐτὸν **AΦIΓ**^{pc}**P**^{pc}**OS** | τοι] οἱ **AΦ**^{a}**Γ[[I**^{a}**]]P**^{a} || 28 ἤιξεν **H**^{γρ}**K**^{γρ}**σ** ἦιξεν **P** (ι fort. add. **P**^{b}) | τοῦ μέρους] μέρους **ΥΦΓIP**^{a} μέρος **A** πολὺ χείρους **V**(b)

Homer says that the Arcadians were neither sailors before coming to Ilion, nor were they skilled in navigation, but Agamemnon brought them to the sea in sixty ships and himself gave vessels to those who had never sailed.[78] Hence, they provided military expertise and strength for land forces, but when sailing they were good neither as men at arms nor as rowers. On the contrary, they 16
ran the ships aground because of inexperience and daring, many of them were wounded by those stationed on the rocky shore, and a few died. But Achilles and Protesilaos, fearful for the Arcadians, leapt to the shore simultaneously, as if by mutual agreement, and drove back the Mysians because these two heroes appeared to be the most heavily armed and the noblest of the Hellenic force; they even seemed quite supernatural to their most barbarian opponents. But when Têlephos led his army into the plain and the 17
Achaeans sailed to the shore undisturbed, all on board except for the pilot and petty officer immediately jumped out of the ships and assembled for battle while keeping their feelings and thoughts under control. Protesilaos says that Homer reported this about 18
them correctly, since he praised the manner of Hellenic warfare,[79] of which he says Ajax, son of Telamôn, was the advisor. For 19
when Menestheus the Athenian, the most learned tactician among the lords, came to Troy and taught the whole army at Aulis the need for cooperation, he did not rebuke those who used the battle cry, but Ajax dissented and criticized it as effeminate and undisciplined, for he said that the battle cry expresses courage poorly. Protesilaos said that he and Achilles together with Patroklos were 20
arrayed against the Mysians, while Diomedes, Palamedes, and Sthenelos faced Haimos, son of Ares; the Atreidai, the Locrian,[80] and the remaining forces were drawn up against those coming from the Istros. The greater Ajax considered those killing the 21
crowds "harvesters" since they were mowing down nothing remarkable, but those who prevailed over the bravest he called "wood-cutters" and considered himself more worthy of this sort of battle. Accordingly, he moved quickly against the sons of the 22
river,[81] since they did not share his heritage and were fighting

[78] Homer *Il.* 2.603–14. Arcadia was almost entirely land-locked, hence its inhabitants had little nautical experience.

[79] Homer *Il.* 3.8–9.

[80] That is, the lesser Ajax, son of Locris.

[81] Heloros and Aktaios, the sons of the river Istros.

σοβαρὸν μετὰ τῆς αἰχμῆς πρὸς τὴν ἀσπίδα ἐδούπησε ταραχῆς ἕνεκα τῶν ἵππων· οἱ δὲ ἵπποι ἔκφρονές τε αὐτίκα ἐγένοντο καὶ ὀρθοὶ ἀνεσκίρτησαν, ὅθεν ἀπιστήσαντες οἱ Σκύθαι τῷ ἅρματι ἀπεπήδησάν τε αὐτοῦ ἀτακτοῦντος καὶ ξυνέπεσον τῷ Αἴαντι, λόγου τε ἀξίως μαχόμενοι ἄμ-
23 φω ἀπέθανον. μνημονεύει ὁ Πρωτεσίλεως καὶ τῶν τοῦ Παλαμήδους ἔργων ὡς μεγάλων, οἷς αὐτός τε καὶ Διομήδης καὶ Σθένελος τὸν Αἶμον καὶ τοὺς ἀμφ᾽ αὐτὸν ἀποκτείναντες, οὐδὲ ἀριστείων ὁ Παλαμήδης ἠξίου τυγχάνειν ἀλλ᾽ ἐκεῖνα μὲν τῷ Διομήδει ξυνεχώρει ἔχειν, ἐπειδὴ πάνθ᾽ ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν πολεμικῶν τιμῆς τε καὶ δόξης ἐγίνωσκεν αὐτὸν πράττοντα· σοφίας δὲ εἴ τινα στέφανον προθείη τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, οὐκ ἂν ἑκστῆναι
24 τούτου ἑτέρῳ, σοφίας τε ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς ἐρῶν καὶ μελετῶν τοῦτο. Τηλέφῳ δὲ ὁ Πρωτεσίλεως αὐτὸς μὲν συμπλακῆναί φησι καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα ζῶντος περισπάσαι, τὸν δὲ Ἀχιλλέα γυμνῷ προσπεσόντα τρῶσαι αὐτὸν εὐθὺ τοῦ μηροῦ καὶ ἰατρὸν μὲν ὕστερον ἐν Τροίᾳ γενέσθαι τοῦ τραύματος, τότε δὲ λειποθυμῆσαί τε ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ ὁ Τήλεφος καὶ ἀποθανεῖν ἄν, εἰ μὴ οἱ Μυσοὶ ξυνδραμόντες ἀνείλοντο αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς μάχης· ὅτε δὴ λέγονται πολλοὶ τῶν Μυσῶν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ πεσεῖν, ὑφ᾽ ὧν ᾑματωμένον ῥυῆναι τὸν
25 Κάικον. λέγει δὲ ὡς καὶ δικάσαιτο μὲν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς περὶ τῆς ἀσπίδος, ἐπειδὴ ἐτετρώκει τὸν Τήλεφον, οἱ δὲ Ἀχαιοὶ ψηφίσαιντο αὐτῷ
[160] μᾶλλον προσήκειν τὴν ἀσπίδα, ὡς οὐκ ἂν τοῦ Τηλέφου τρωθέντος, εἰ
26 μὴ ἐκείνης ἐγυμνώθη. φησὶ δὲ ὅτι καὶ Μυσαὶ γυναῖκες ἀφ᾽ ἵππων ξυνεμάχοντο τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ὥσπερ Ἀμαζόνες, καὶ ἦρχε τῆς ἵππου ταύτης
27 Ἱέρα γυνὴ Τηλέφου. ταύτην μὲν δὴ λέγεται Νιρεὺς ἀποκτεῖναι (τὸ γὰρ μειρακιῶδες τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ οὔπω εὐδόκιμον πρὸς αὐτὰς ἔταξαν), πεσούσης δὲ ἀνέκραγον αἱ Μυσαὶ καὶ ξυνταράξασαι τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἵππον ἐς
28 τὰ τοῦ Καΐκου ἕλη ἀπηνέχθησαν. τὴν δὲ Ἱέραν ταύτην ὁ Πρωτεσίλεως μεγίστην τε ὧν εἶδε γυναικῶν γενέσθαι λέγει, καλλίστην τε ἁπασῶν ὁπόσαι ὄνομα ἐπὶ κάλλει ἤραντο. Ἑλένην μὲν γὰρ τὴν Μενέλεω γυναῖκα ἰδεῖν οὔ φησιν ἐν Τροίᾳ, νυνὶ δὲ ὁρᾶν μὲν αὐτὴν τὴν Ἑλένην καὶ οὐ μέμ-

1 τῶν om. **ΦΓΙP^{a}S^{b}** || 2 ἵπποι om. **Y** [[ἱππ̣οι̣]] **I** | ἐγένοντο αὐτίκα **BE** || 4 συνέπεσον **Aασ** || 6 οἷς] καὶ ὡς Reiske | Αἶμον **ΑΚΛVσ**: Αἷμον **H^{γρ}α** Αἵμονα **HY** || 9 πολεμικῶν] Ἑλληνικῶν **H^{γρ}K^{γρ}O** || 13 γυμνῷ μὲν **ÅB** || 15 λιποθυμῆσαι Kay. | τὸν Τήλεφον **V** || 17 ἐπ᾽] ὑπ᾽ **υΦΙP^{a}** (sed ἐπ᾽ **H^{γρ} K^{γρ}**) || 18 καὶ om. **VY** | ὁ Ἀχ. πρὸς αὐτὸν **σ** || 19 ἐψηφίσαντο **V** (ἐψηφί- scr. **V**(b)) || 21-22 συνεμάχοντο **α** || 23 Ἱέρα **H^{γρ}Kσ**: Ἱερὰ **ΑΗΛVYα** | μὲν δὴ] δὲ **ϰ** | Νηρεὺς **ΑΗK^{i}Φ^{a}I^{ac}**?**P** || 24 αὐτὴν **B^{bec}** || 25 συνταράξασαι **Vα** || 26 (itemque 23.28, 23.29) Ἱέραν **Kσ**: Ἱερὰν **ΑΗΛVYα** || 27 τε^{1} om. **α** | λέγει γενέσθαι **σ** || 29 μὲν om. **ϰ** μὲν αὐτὴν om. **Y**

from a four-horse chariot, as Hektor also fought. Walking haughtily amid the confusion of battle, Ajax clanged his shield loudly in order to spook the horses, and the horses immediately panicked and rose up on their hind legs, at which point the Scythians, distrusting their chariot, leapt from it, since it was now in disarray, and fell upon Ajax; although both Heloros and Aktaios fought in a manner worthy of fame, they died.

23 Protesilaos also remembers how great the deeds of Palamedes were when he, Diomedes, and Sthenelos killed Haimos and his companions. Palamedes did not consider himself worthy of any rewards of valor; rather he yielded them to Diomedes, since he recognized that Diomedes had done everything for the honor and glory of battle. If the Hellenes, however, had proposed a crown for intellectual skill, Palamedes would not have lost it to any other man, since from the beginning he desired wisdom and trained himself in it.

24 Protesilaos says that he himself fought Têlephos and stripped him of his shield while still alive, but that Achilles fell upon the unprotected man, wounding him at once in the thigh. And although later in Troy he healed the wound,[82] at that time Têlephos lost heart because of it and would have died if the Mysians had not together run to Têlephos and snatched him out of the battle. So many Mysians are said then to have fallen for him that the Kaikos river ran red with their blood. 25 Protesilaos says that Achilles contended with him for the shield since Achilles was the one who wounded Têlephos. The Achaeans voted rather that the shield belonged to Protesilaos because Têlephos would not have been wounded had he not been stripped of the shield.

26 He says that even the Mysian women fought from horses alongside the men, just as the Amazons do, and the leader of the cavalry was Hiera, wife of Têlephos. 27 Nireus is said to have killed her (for the young men of the army, who had not yet won honor, drew up for battle against the women). When she fell, the Mysian women cried out, scaring their horses, and were driven into the marshes of the Kaikos. 28 This Hiera, Protesilaos says, was the tallest woman he had ever seen and the most beautiful of all who won a name for beauty. He does not claim that he saw Menelaos's wife Helen in Troy, but that he now sees Helen herself and does

[82] Apollodorus *Epitome* 3.19–20.

φεσθαι τὸ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἀποθανεῖν· εἰ δὲ ἐνθυμηθείη τὴν Ἰέραν, τοσοῦτον 1
29 αὐτήν φησι πλεονεκτεῖν τῆς Ἑλένης, ὅσον κἀκείνη τῶν Τρωάδων. καὶ
οὐδὲ αὕτη, ξένε, Ὁμήρου ἐπαινέτου ἔτυχεν, ἀλλὰ Ἑλένῃ χαριζόμενος
οὐκ ἐσηγάγετο ἐς τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ποιήματα θείαν γυναῖκα, ἐφ' ᾗ καὶ παθεῖν
τι Ἀχαιοὶ καὶ πεσούσῃ λέγονται, καὶ παρακελεύσασθαι πρεσβύτεροι 5
30 νέοις μὴ σκυλεύειν Ἰέραν μηδὲ προσάπτεσθαι κειμένης. ἐν ταύτῃ, ξένε,
τῇ μάχῃ πολλοὶ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐτρώθησαν, καὶ λουτρὰ τοῖς τετρωμένοις
μαντευτὰ ἐγένετο, πηγαὶ θερμαὶ ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ, ἃς ἔτι καὶ νῦν Ἀγαμεμνο-
νείους καλοῦσιν οἱ Σμύρναν οἰκοῦντες. ἀπέχουσι δέ, οἶμαι, τετταράκοντα
στάδια τοῦ ἄστεος καὶ ἀνῆπτό ποτε αὐτοῖς αἰχμάλωτα κράνη Μύσια. 10

24 Φ. Τί οὖν, ἀμπελουργέ, φῶμεν ἑκόντα τὸν Ὅμηρον ἢ ἄκοντα
παραλιπεῖν ταῦτα οὕτως ἡδέα καὶ ποιητικὰ ὄντα;

2 Ἀ. Ἑκόντα ἴσως, ξένε· βουληθεὶς γὰρ τὴν Ἑλένην ὡς ἀρίστην
[161] γυναικῶν ὑμνῆσαι ἐπὶ τῷ κάλλει καὶ τὰς Τρωικὰς μάχας ὡς μεγίστας
τῶν ἀλλαχοῦ διαπολεμηθεισῶν ἐπαινέσαι, Παλαμήδην τε τὸν θεῖον ἐξ- 15
αιρῶν ἅπαντος λόγου δι' Ὀδυσσέα, Ἀχιλλεῖ τε μόνῳ τὰ μαχιμώτατα
τῶν ἔργων οὕτως ἀνατιθεὶς ὡς ἐκλανθάνεσθαι τῶν ἄλλων Ἀχαιῶν ὅτε
Ἀχιλλεὺς μάχοιτο, οὔτε Μύσια ἐποίησεν ἔπη, οὔτε ἐς μνήμην κατέστη
τοῦ ἔργου τούτου ἐν ᾧ καὶ γυνὴ καλλίων Ἑλένης εὑρητο ἂν καὶ ἄνδρες
οὐ παρὰ πολὺ Ἀχιλλέως τὴν ἀνδρείαν καὶ ἀγὼν εὐδοκιμώτατος· Παλα- 20
μήδους δὲ μνημονεύσας οὐκ ἂν εὗρεν ὅτῳ ποτὲ κρύψει τὸ τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως
ὄνειδος ἐπ' αὐτῷ.

25 Φ. Πῶς οὖν ὁ Πρωτεσίλεως περὶ τοῦ Ὁμήρου φρονεῖ; βασανίζειν
γάρ που αὐτὸν ἔφασκες τὰ τούτου ποιήματα.

2 Τρῳάδων **HKΓÅBS** || 3 ἀλλὰ καὶ $\mathbf{V^{ac}Y}$ || 4 εἰσηγάγετο **VχO** || 5 οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ **χ** Ἀχαιοὺς $\mathbf{V^{pc}}$ | λέγεται **ΚΛVΓ^{i}** | πρεσβυτέρους **H** -οις **K Λ** (sed -οι $\mathbf{H^{γρ}K^{γρ}}$) om. **V** || 6 τοῖς νέοις **V** | τὴν Ἰ. **Aε** || 8 ἐγένοντο **χ** $\mathbf{Γ^{i}ÅBOS^{a}}$? | Ἰωνίᾳ **AκΓ$\mathbf{P^{b}}$εOS**(b)**T**: γωνίᾳ **YΦI$\mathbf{P^{a}}$** ἀγωνία **V** || 9-10 τετ. οἶμαι **VYεOS**(b)**T** οἶμαι τετ. οἶμαι **A** || 10 αὐταῖς **Vχ$\mathbf{I^{pc}}$** (= $\mathbf{I^{b}}$?) || 14 γυναῖκα **V** | ὑμνῆσαι **υαS**(b): τιμῆσαι **$\mathbf{K^{γρ}}$εOT** || 15 -μήδη **AHK** -μη^{δ}' **Λ Y** || 15-16 ἐξαιρῶν **$\mathbf{H^{γρ}Γ^{i}}$εOT**: ἐξαίρων **υΦIPS**(b) ἐξαίρειν **$\mathbf{Γ^{s}}$** (cf. 25.12) || 16 τῷ μαχιμωτάτῳ **ΦΓ[[$\mathbf{I^{a}}$]][[$\mathbf{P^{a}}$]]** || 17 ἄλλων om. **εOT** (**$\mathbf{S^{a}}$** non liquet) || 18 ἔπη ἐποίησεν **Aχ** || 19 εὕρητο **αBES**(b)**T**: εὕροιτ(ο) **υÅO** || 20 ἀνδρίαν **Λ I** || 21 κρύψει **AKΛVεOS**(b)$\mathbf{^{ac}T}$: κρύψοι **$\mathbf{H^{ec}}$YαS**(b)$\mathbf{^{pc}}$ (sed -οι τὸ] -οι- το **Y**) κρύψῃ Eitrem || 22 ὅν. ἐπ' αὐτῷ **Vα**: ἐπ' αὐτῷ ὅν. **Aχσ** || 24 ἔφασκε **$\mathbf{Φ^{a}}$I $\mathbf{P^{a}}$** ἔλεγες **κ**

not blame her for his death.[83] When he considers Hiera, however, he says that she surpasses Helen as much as Helen surpasses the Trojan women. Not even Hiera, my guest, won the praise of Ho- 29
mer, who did not introduce this divine woman into his own works because he favored Helen. Even the Achaeans are said to have been afflicted with passion for Hiera when she fell in battle, and the elders commanded the young soldiers neither to despoil Hiera nor to touch her as she lay dead. In this battle, my guest, many 30
Achaeans were wounded, and an oracle prescribed baths for them, namely, the hot springs in Ionia, which even today Smyrna's inhabitants call the "Baths of Agamemnon."[84] They are, I believe, forty stades from the city, and the captured Mysian helmets were once hung up there.

III. PROTESILAOS'S OPINION OF HOMER (24.1–25.17)

PH. What then, vinedresser? Shall we say that Homer **24**
deliberately or accidentally omitted these events, which are so pleasing and worthy to be celebrated by poets?

V. Most likely deliberately, my guest. He wanted to sing 2
of Helen as the best of women with respect to her beauty, and to praise the Trojan battles as the greatest of those fought anywhere. But he deprived the divine Palamedes of any story because of Odysseus and attributed the most warlike deeds to Achilles alone so that he left out the other Achaeans whenever Achilles fought. He did not compose a Mysian epic nor did he make a record of this battle, in which may be found a woman more beautiful than Helen, men no less courageous than Achilles, and a most illustrious contest. Had he remembered Palamedes, he would not have found a place where he could have hidden Odysseus's disgraceful deed against Palamedes.

PH. How then is Protesilaos disposed toward Homer, since **25**
you claim that he examines his poems closely?

[83] In Lucian's *Dialogues of the Dead* 27, Protesilaos blames Helen for his death first, then Menelaos, then Paris, then Eros, then himself, before finally placing full blame on Fate.

[84] These baths, located outside Smyrna, are mentioned by Pausanias (*Description of Greece* 7.5.11) and in an epigram of Agathias (*Anthologia Palatina* 9.631).

2 Ἀ. Τὸν Ὅμηρόν φησι, ξένε, καθάπερ ἐν ἁρμονίᾳ μουσικῇ πάντας 1
ψῆλαι τοὺς ποιητικοὺς τῶν τρόπων, καὶ τοὺς ποιητάς ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἐγένετο
ὑπερβεβλῆσθαι πάντας ἐν ὅτῳ ἕκαστος ἦν αὐτῶν κράτιστος· μεγαλορ-
ρημοσύνην τε γὰρ ὑπὲρ τὸν Ὀρφέα ἀσκῆσαι ἡδονῇ τε ὑπερβαλέσθαι τὸν
3 Ἡσίοδον καὶ ἄλλῳ ἄλλον· καὶ λόγον μὲν ὑποθέσθαι Τρωικόν, ἐς ὃν ἡ 5
τύχη τὰς πάντων Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ βαρβάρων ἀρετὰς ξυνήνεγκεν, ἐσαγα-
γέσθαι δὲ ἐς αὐτὸν πολέμους τοὺς μὲν πρὸς ἄνδρας, τοὺς δὲ πρὸς ἵππους
καὶ τείχη, τοὺς δὲ πρὸς ποταμούς, τοὺς δὲ πρὸς θεοὺς καὶ θεάς, καὶ
ὁπόσα κατ᾽ εἰρήνην εἰσὶ καὶ χοροὺς καὶ ᾠδὰς καὶ ἔρωτας καὶ δαῖτας,
ἔργα τε ὧν γεωργία ἅπτεται, καὶ ὥρας, αἳ σημαίνουσιν ὁπόσα χρὴ ἐς 10
τὴν γῆν πράττειν, καὶ ναυτιλίας καὶ ὁπλοποιίαν τὴν ἐν Ἡφαίστῳ, εἴδη
4 τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἤθη ποικίλα. πάντα ταῦτα τὸν Ὅμηρον δαιμονίως ἐξειρ-
[162] 5 γάσθαι φησὶ καὶ τοὺς μὴ ἐρῶντας αὐτοῦ μαίνεσθαι. καλεῖ δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ
οἰκιστὴν Τροίας, ἐπειδὴ εὐδοκίμησεν ἐκ τῶν Ὁμήρου ἐπ᾽ αὐτῇ θρήνων.
6 θαυμάζει δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅσα ἐπιτιμᾷ τοῖς ὁμοτέχνοις, ὅτι μὴ τραχέως 15
7 διορθοῦταί σφας ἀλλ᾽ οἷον λανθάνων· Ἡσίοδον μὲν ἐν ἄλλοις τε καὶ οὐκ
ὀλίγοις καὶ νὴ Δί᾽ ἐν τοῖς ἐκτυπώμασι τῶν ἀσπίδων· ἑρμηνεύων γὰρ
οὗτός ποτε τὴν τοῦ Κύκνου ἀσπίδα, τὸ τῆς Γοργοῦς εἶδος ὑπτίως τε καὶ
οὐ ποιητικῶς ἦσεν, ὅθεν ἐπιστρέφων αὐτὸν ὁ Ὅμηρος

τῇ δ᾽ ἐπὶ μὲν Γοργὼ βλοσυρῶπις ἐστεφάνωτο 20
δεινὸν δερκομένη, περὶ δὲ Δεῖμός τε Φόβος τε,

8 οὕτωσὶ τὴν Γοργὼ ᾄδει. Ὀρφέα δὲ ἐν πολλοῖς τῶν κατὰ θεολογίαν ὑπερ-

2 ἐφ᾽] ἐν **ΦΓΙP**^{a} | ἐγένοντο **ΦΓΙP**^{a} || 3 αὐτῶν ἦν **α** || 6 τὰς πάντων τῶν **HKVYI**^{b} πάντας τῶν **Λ** || 8 τοὺς δὲ πρὸς ποταμούς om. **P**^{a} || 8-9 θεάς, καὶ ὁπόσα] θεὰς θαλίας τε ὁπόσαι **V** θεάς τε ὁπόσαι **A** θεὰς θαλείας τε ὁπόσα **H** (sed θεὰς καὶ ὁπόσα **H**^{γρ}) θαλίας τε ὁπόσαι **Y** θαλειὰς ὁπόσα **Λ** || 9 δαῖτα **ε** || 10-11 χρὴ ἐς τὴν γῆν **VχI**^{b}: δεῖ ἐς τ. γ. **Γσ** ἐς τ. γ. **AΦ**[[**I**^{a}]]**P**^{a} ἐς τ. γ. χρὴ **P**^{b} (cf. 8.10, 23.19, 27.3, 33.7, 33.21) || 11 ὁπλοποιίας **Γ**^{i} | τὴν^{2}] τὰς **Γ** | ἐν Ἡφαίστου Radermacher (sed Ἥφαιστος = Iliados liber Σ; cf. quae ad 18.3 adnotavimus) || 15 ταχέως **H**^{γρ}**K**^{γρ}**ΓIOS**(b) || 16 τε] τε καὶ **ΦΓ**[[**I**^{a}]]**P** || 18 τοῦ om. **KȦB** || 19 ὁ Ὅμηρος **AχΦPO**: Ὅμηρος **VΓIεS**(b)**T** || 20 ἐστεφάνωτο **AOS**(b)**T**: -ώσατο **ε** -ωται **Vχα** || 21 δεινὸν δὲ **Γ**[[**I**]] || 22 τῶν] τοῖς **ΦΓ**[[**I**^{a}]]**P** | τὴν θεολ. **ϰ**

V. My guest, he says that just as Homer, in terms of mu- 2
sical harmonics, sang every poetic pitch,[85] he also surpassed all the poets whom he encountered, each in the area of his expertise. For example, he fashioned verses more solemnly than Orpheus, excelled Hesiod in providing pleasure, and outdid other poets in other ways. He took the story of the Trojan War as his subject, in 3
which fate[86] brought together the excellent deeds both of all the Hellenes and of the barbarians. Homer introduced into the story battles involving men, horses and walls, rivers, as well as gods and goddesses. Protesilaos says that Homer also included all matters pertaining to peace: choral dances, songs, erotic encounters, and feasts; he touched on agricultural tasks and the appropriate seasons for performing them. He also described sea voyages, the making of arms in the "Hephaistos,"[87] and especially men's ap-
pearances and their various characteristics. Protesilaos says that 4
Homer accomplished all these things with divine power and that those who do not love him are mad. He also calls Homer Troy's 5
founder because the city gained distinction from his laments over it. Protesilaos marvels that even when Homer found fault with 6
those practicing the same art he did not correct them harshly, but unobtrusively. Homer corrected Hesiod both on other points 7
which were not minor and, by Zeus, about the relief figures on the shields. Once when Hesiod was describing the shield of Kyknos, he sang about the Gorgon's form carelessly and not poetically; hence, correcting him, Homer sang about the Gorgon in this way:

> And upon it, the grim-looking Gorgon was set as a crown
> Glaring terribly, and about her were Fear and Terror.[88]

In many details concerning divine stories, Homer outdid 8

[85] Ancient writers on harmonics list thirteen, or alternatively fifteen, different poetic pitches, the most common of which were Dorian, Ionian, Phrygian, Aeolian, and Lydian.

[86] τύχη designates fate, fortune, or providence as an agent beyond human control.

[87] The "Hephaistos" designates Book 18 of the *Iliad*, which recounts how Hephaistos made new armor for Achilles and describes the shield of Achilles.

[88] Homer *Il.* 11.36–37, describing Agamemnon's shield. This description of the shield of Kyknos is probably to be identified with the shield of Herakles; see Hesiod *Shield of Herakles* 138–318, including the description of the Gorgon pursuing Perseus, in lines 223–37.

ἦρε, Μουσαῖον δὲ ἐν ᾠδαῖς χρησμῶν, καὶ μὴν καὶ Παμφὼ σοφῶς μὲν ἐνθυμηθέντος ὅτι Ζεὺς εἴη τὸ ζῳογονοῦν καὶ δι᾽ οὗ ἀνίσταται τὰ ἐκ τῆς γῆς πάντα, εὐηθέστερον δὲ χρησαμένου τῷ λόγῳ καὶ καταβεβλημένα ἔπη ἐς τὸν Δία ᾄσαντος (ἔστι γὰρ τὰ τοῦ Παμφὼ ἔπη·

Ζεῦ κύδιστε, μέγιστε θεῶν, εἰλυμένε κόπρῳ
μηλείῃ τε καὶ ἱππείῃ καὶ ἡμιονείῃ),

τὸν Ὅμηρον ὁ Πρωτεσίλεώς φησιν ἐπάξιον τοῦ Διὸς ᾄσαι ὕμνον·

Ζεῦ κύδιστε, μέγιστε, κελαινεφές, αἰθέρι ναίων,

ὡς οἰκοῦντος μὲν αὐτοῦ τὸ καθαρώτατον, ἐργαζομένου δὲ ἔμβια τὰ ὑπὸ
9 τῷ αἰθέρι. καὶ τὰς μάχας δέ, ὁπόσαι Ποσειδῶνι μὲν πρὸς Ἀπόλλω, Λητοῖ δὲ πρὸς Ἑρμῆν ἐγένοντο, καὶ ὡς ἐμάχοντο ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ τῷ Ἄρει καὶ ὁ Ἥφαιστος τῷ ὕδατι, ταῦτα τὸν Ὀρφέως τρόπον πεφιλοσοφῆσθαι τῷ Ὁμήρῳ φησὶ καὶ οὐ μεμπτὰ εἶναι πρὸς ἔκπληξιν καὶ θεῖα, ὥσπερ τὸ

ἀμφὶ δὲ σάλπιγξε μέγας οὐρανός,

[163] καὶ ⟨ὡς⟩ ἀνεπήδησεν Ἀιδωνεὺς τοῦ θρόνου τινασσομένης τῆς γῆς ἐκ
10 Ποσειδῶνος. μέμφεται δὲ τοῦ Ὁμήρου ἐκεῖνα· πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι θεοὺς ἐγκαταμίξας ἀνθρώποις περὶ μὲν τῶν ἀνθρώπων μεγάλα εἴρηκε, περὶ δὲ τῶν θεῶν μικρὰ καὶ φαῦλα· εἶτα ὅτι σαφῶς γινώσκων ὡς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἡ Ἑλένη ἐγένετο ἀπενεχθεῖσα ὑπὸ ἀνέμων ὁμοῦ τῷ Πάριδι, ὁ δὲ ἄγει αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἰλίου τεῖχος ὀψομένην τὰ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ κακά, ἦν εἰκός, εἰ καὶ δι᾽ ἑτέραν γυναῖκα ταῦτα ἐγίνετο, ξυγκαλύπτεσθαί τε
11 καὶ μὴ ὁρᾶν αὐτὰ διαβεβλημένου τοῦ γένους. ἐπαινουμένου δὲ οὐδὲ ἐν

1 Μοῦσαι **ΦΙ^{a}P^{a}** | δὲ] τε ε | Παμφὼ **AVΦ**: Παμφῶ **YI** Πανεφὼ **Γ** Σαπφὼ **ΗΛ** Παπφὼ **H^{γρ}ΚΛ^{γρ}P^{blit}**[**Å**]**B^{ec}EOS**(b)**T** || 2 καὶ om. **H^{γρ}ΚΛεO** (**S^{a}** non liquet) ⟦καὶ⟧ **P** | οὗ] ὃν **ΚΥΙ^{bm}** || 3-4 καὶ — ᾄσαντος om. **V** || 4 Παμφὼ **AVΦ**: Παμφῶ **YI** Πανεφὼ **Γ** Σαπφὼ **H^{i}Λ^{i}** Παπφὼ **H^{s}ΚΛ^{s}P^{blit}σ** || 11 ἐγένετο **ÅB** | ἐμάχετο **ΚÅB** || 13 ὥσπερ om. **ÅB** || 15 δὲ σάλ- **AαE**: δ᾽ ἐσάλ- **VχÅBOS**(b)**T** | -πιξε **P^{b}Å^{ac}** -πιζε **ΦΙP^{a}** -πιγξεν Homeri codd. plerique || 16 add. Kay. || 17 ἐκεῖνα om. **E** | πρῶτα **αS^{b}** || 20 τῶν ἀνέμων **A** || 21 τοῦ om. **ϰ** || 22 ἦν] καὶ ἦν **H^{γρ}K^{γρ}ΛO** | ἐγίνετο **VYP^{ac}**: ἐγίγνετο **AΦΓ IP^{pc}εOS**(b)**T** ἐγένετο **ϰ** || 23 οὐδὲ **P^{blit}εOS**(b)**T**: οὔτε **υΦΓΙ**

Orpheus, and in oracular odes he surpassed Mousaios. Moreover, when Pamphôs insightfully regarded Zeus as the producer of all living things and the one through whom everything from the earth arises, he used this insight rather foolishly and sang despicable verses about Zeus (for these are the words of Pamphôs:

> Zeus, most glorious, greatest of gods, enfolded in dung
> Of sheep, horse, and mule).

Protesilaos says that Homer, however, sang a hymn worthy of Zeus:

> Zeus, most glorious, greatest, enveloped by clouds, dwelling
> in the sky.[89]

While Zeus fashions the living things under the sky, he also inhabits the most pure realm. He says that, like Orpheus, Ho- 9
mer represented truly the battles between Poseidon and Apollo and between Hermes and Leto, as well as how Athena fought with Ares and Hephaistos with the river.[90] And these battles are divine and not contemptible for their terror, even as the verse goes,

> Great heaven trumpeted on all sides,[91]

just as when Aidôneus leapt up from his throne, when the earth was shaken by Poseidon.[92]

He finds fault with the following verses of Homer.[93] First, 10
because, after intermingling gods and mortals, Homer spoke highly about mortals, but contemptibly and basely about the gods. Next, clearly knowing that Helen was in Egypt, since she along with Paris had been carried away by the winds, Homer kept her on the wall of Ilion so that she would see the sorry events on the plain. It is likely that, if these events had taken place because of any other woman, she would have covered her face and not looked while her people were attacked.[94] Because Paris was not 11

[89] Homer *Il.* 2.412. αἰθηρ ("sky") can also be the "ether" or the "heaven" above the sky. In *Life of Apollonius* 3.34, Philostratus uses the word to refer to the divine element in the human soul (LSJ, 37, s.v. αἰθηρ).

[90] Homer *Il.* 20.67–74; see also 5.825–63; 21.328–82.

[91] Homer *Il.* 21.388.

[92] Homer *Il.* 20.57–67.

[93] Compare the complaints against the poets in Xenophanes frgs. 11–12; and Plato *Republic* 377d–394e.

[94] Homer *Il.* 3.121–242.

αὐτῇ τῇ Τροίᾳ Πάριδος ἐπὶ τῇ ἁρπαγῇ τῆς Ἑλένης, οὔτ' ἂν Ἕκτορα τὸν σωφρονέστατον καρτερῆσαί φησι τὸ μὴ οὐκ ἀποδοῦναι αὐτὴν τῷ Μενέλεῳ ἐν Ἰλίῳ οὖσαν, οὔτ' ἂν Πρίαμον ξυγχωρῆσαι τῷ Πάριδι τρυφᾶν, πολλῶν ἤδη ἀπολωλότων αὐτῷ παίδων, οὔτ' ἂν τὴν Ἑλένην διαφυγεῖν τὸ μὴ οὐκ ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν Τρωάδων ὁπόσων ἤδη ἄνδρες ἀπωλώλεισαν καὶ ἀδελφοὶ καὶ παῖδες· ἴσως δ' ἂν καὶ ἀποδρᾶναι αὐτὴν παρὰ τὸν
12 Μενέλεων διὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ Τροίᾳ μῖσος. ἐξηρήσθω δὴ ὁ ἀγών ὃν φησιν Ὅμηρος ἀγωνίσασθαι τῷ Μενέλεῳ τὸν Πάριν ἐπὶ σπονδαῖς τοῦ πολέμου· κατ' Αἴγυπτόν τε γὰρ τὴν Ἑλένην εἶναι καὶ τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς πάλαι τοῦτο γινώσκοντας, ἐκείνῃ μὲν ἐρρῶσθαι φράζειν, μάχεσθαι δὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐν
13 Τροίᾳ πλούτου. οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνα ὁ Πρωτεσίλεως ἐπαινεῖ τοῦ Ὁμήρου, ὅτι λόγον ὑποθέμενος Τρωικόν, ἀποπηδᾷ τοῦ λόγου μετὰ τὸν Ἕκτορα, καθάπερ σπεύδων ἐπὶ τὸν ἕτερον τῶν λόγων, ᾧ τὸν Ὀδυσσέα ἐπιγράφει, καὶ ᾄδει μὲν ἐν ᾠδαῖς Δημοδόκου τε καὶ Φημίου τήν τε τοῦ Ἰλίου πόρ-
[164] θησιν καὶ τὸν Ἐπειοῦ καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἵππον, δίεισι δὲ αὐτὰ ἀποτεμὼν τοῦ λόγου καὶ ἀνατιθεὶς Ὀδυσσεῖ μᾶλλον, δι' ὃν Κυκλώπων τε αὐτῷ ἐπενοήθη γένος οὐδαμοῦ τῆς γῆς φύντες, Λαιστρυγόνες τε ἀνετυπώθησαν, οὓς οὐδεὶς οἶδεν ὅπου γενόμενοι, Κίρκη τε δαίμων ἐξεποιήθη ⟨ἡ⟩ σοφὴ ἐπὶ φαρμάκοις καὶ θεαὶ ἕτεραι ἐρᾶν αὐτοῦ καίτοι προήκοντος ἤδη ἐς ὠμὸν γῆρας, ὅτε καὶ τὰς ὑακινθίνας κόμας, αἳ ἐπὶ τὴν Ναυσικάαν αὐτῷ ἤνθη-
14 σαν, φαίνεται ἔχων. ὅθεν ὁ Πρωτεσίλεως παίγνιον τὸν Ὀδυσσέα καλεῖ τοῦ Ὁμήρου· οὐδὲ γὰρ τῆς λεγομένης αὐτοῦ σοφίας ἦρα ἡ κόρη· τί γὰρ

2 οὐκ om. **V** || 2-3 Μενέλεῳ **Aχ**: -λάῳ **VΦΓIσ** Μενε῾ **P** || 3 τρυφᾶν τῷ Π. **Aχ** || 5 οὐκ om. **ΦΓI^{a}P^{a}O^{ac}** | Τρῳάδων **ΚΓÅBST** | ἄνδρες ἤδη **HKY** || 5-6 ἀπωλώλεισαν **ΦΓ^{s}IP^{a}**: ἀπολώλεισαν **Γ^{i}P^{b}** ἀπωλώλεσαν **VOS**(b) **T** ἀπολώλεσαν **χÅE** ἀπολώλασι **AB** (cf. 35.8 ἐγενόνεισαν) || 7 Μενέλαον **V** | τῇ om. **χ** | δὴ **H^{pc}KVY**: δὲ **Λα** καὶ ⟦δ.⟧ **A** δὲ καὶ Ald., om. **H^{ac}σ** || 8 ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλένης ἀγωνίσασθαι **Vχ$^{I^{b}}$** | τὸν Μενέλεων πρὸς τὸν Π. **V** (τῷ Μενέλεῳ) πρὸς (τὸν Π.) **Φ^{b}** τὸν Μενέλεων καὶ τὸν Π. **χI^{blit}** (sed τῷ Μενέλεῳ τὸν Π. **H^{γρ}**) || 9 τοῦτο πάλαι **ÅB** || 10 ἐκείνην **κΓ** (sed -η **H^{γρ}**) || 11 τῇ Τροίᾳ **Aε** | οὐδὲ **υ**: οὐδ' **αεST** ὁ δ' **O** || 12 τὸν Ἕκτορα] * **Φ^{a}I^{a}P^{a}** τὴν Ἰλιάδα **Φ^{b}** || 14 τοῦ om. **χ** || 17 τε] δὲ **ΦΓI^{a}P^{a}** || 18 γενόμενοι] γεγόνασιν Cobet (sed cf. Schmid, Attic. IV 108 et 157 s. v. εἰμί) | {ἐξ}ἐποιήθη Kay. | add. Kay. (cf., praeterquam quod articulo recepto oratio dilucidior et levior est, locos Im. 307.5, 363.7, 387.29; Im. min. 395.17) || 19 προήκοντος αὐτοῦ **χ** || 20 τὴν om. **V**

even renowned in Troy itself for the seizure of Helen, Protesilaos says that neither would the most prudent Hektor have put up with Paris's not giving her back to Menelaos,[95] had she been in Ilion, nor would Priam have allowed Paris to live in luxury when many of his other children had already perished.[96] Nor would Helen have escaped death at the hands of the Trojan women whose husbands, brothers, and sons had already fallen. She probably would have run off to Menelaos because she was hated in Troy.
Of course, then, the contest that Homer says Paris fought with 12
Menelaos when there was a solemn truce in the war must be excised.[97] Protesilaos says that Helen was in Egypt and that the Achaeans, although knowing this for a long time, said that they were eager to fight for her, but in reality they fought for the sake of Troy's wealth.[98]

For the following reasons also Protesilaos does not com- 13
mend Homer, because though he chose the story of Troy as his subject, he then digresses from it after Hektor's death,[99] as if hastening on to another set of stories, in which he gives credit to Odysseus. While he celebrates in Dêmodokos's and Phêmios's songs the destruction of Ilion and the horse of Epeios and Athena, he discusses these apart from the story of Troy and dedicates them rather to Odysseus. For Odysseus's sake Homer invented the race of the Cyclopes, although they live nowhere on the earth, and also imagined the Laestrygonians—no one knows where they came from. Circe, a daimon who was clever with magic spells, and other goddesses were made to fall in love with Odysseus, even though he had already advanced to untimely old age, when he appeared even to have hyacinth-like curls,[100] which blossomed on him in Nausikaa's presence! Hence, Protesilaos calls Odysseus 14
Homer's plaything. The young woman was not even in love with his reputed wisdom, for what clever thing did he either say or do

[95] Homer *Il.* 22.90–130.

[96] Homer *Il.* 6.312–24.

[97] Homer *Il.* 3.243–383.

[98] Herodotus cites similar arguments for his belief that Homer knew Helen never went to Troy (*Hist.* 2.116–20).

[99] Homer *Iliad* 22.

[100] Homer *Od.* 6.231.

σοφὸν ἢ εἶπε πρὸς τὴν Ναυσικάαν ἢ ἔπραξε; καλεῖ δὲ αὐτὸν Ὁμήρου παίγνιον καὶ ἐν τῇ ἄλῃ· καθεύδων τε γὰρ πολλαχοῦ ἀπόλλυται καὶ ἐκφέρεται τῆς νεὼς τῶν Φαιάκων ὥσπερ ἀποθανὼν ἐν τῇ εὐπλοίᾳ. τὴν δὲ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος μῆνιν, δι' ἣν οὔτε ναῦς ὑπελείφθη τῷ Ὀδυσσεῖ οὐδεμία καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες οἱ πληροῦντες αὐτὰς ἀπώλοντο, οὐχ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Πολυφήμου γενέσθαι φησίν· οὔτε γὰρ ἀφικέσθαι τὸν Ὀδυσσέα ἐς ἤθη τοιαῦτα, οὔτ' ἄν, εἰ Ποσειδῶνι Κύκλωψ παῖς ἐγένετο, μηνῖσαι τὸν Ποσειδῶ ποτε ὑπὲρ τοῦ τοιούτου παιδός, ὃς λέοντος ὠμοῦ δίκην τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἤσθιεν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ Παλαμήδους υἱωνοῦ ὄντος ἅπλουν μὲν τὴν θάλασσαν τῷ Ὀδυσσεῖ ἐποίει, διαφυγόντα δὲ αὐτὸν τὰ ἐκεῖ πάθη ἀπώλεσεν ⟨ἐν⟩ αὐτῇ Ἰθάκῃ, ὕστερον θαλαττίαν, οἶμαι, αἰχμὴν ἐπ' αὐτὸν δούς. λέγει δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἀχιλλέως μῆνιν οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ Χρύσου θυγατρὸς ἐμπεσεῖν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ἀλλὰ κἀκεῖνον ὑπὲρ Παλαμήδους μηνῖσαι. καὶ ἀποκείσθω μοι ὁ λόγος οὗτος ἐς τὰ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως ἔργα· δίειμι γὰρ καὶ κατὰ ἕνα τοὺς ἥρως, ἀπαγγέλλων ὅσα τοῦ Πρωτεσίλεω περὶ αὐτῶν ἤκουσα.

Φ. Ἥκεις ἐπὶ τὸν ἥδιστον ἐμοὶ τῶν λόγων· ἵππων γὰρ ἤδη δή με καὶ ἀνδρῶν

[165] ἀμφὶ κτύπος οὔατα βάλλει

καὶ μαντεύομαί τι ἀγαθὸν ἀκούσεσθαι μέγα.

Ἀ. Ἄκουε, ξένε· παρέλθοι δέ με, ὦ Πρωτεσίλεω, μηδέν, μηδὲ ἐκλαθοίμην τινὸς ὧν ἤκουσα.

1 ἢ^{I} om. **A** || 2 καὶ^{I} om. **χΦΙP^{a}** (sed non **H^{γρ}**) | τε om. **VY** || 4 ἀπελείφθη **ÅB** || 5 οὐχ] οὐδ' **ϰ** (sed οὐχ **H^{γρ}**) || 8 τοῦ om. **HK** ⟦τοῦ⟧ **P** || 9 τοῦ Παλ. **A** | θάλατταν **σ** || 10 ἐποίει τῷ Ὀδ. **V** | ἀπώλεσεν post Ἰθάκῃ transp. **V** | add. Reiske: ⟨ἐν⟩ αὐτῇ ⟨τῇ⟩ Ἰθ. Preller ἐν τῇ Ἰθ. dubitanter Kay. (1844) (cf. praef. p. XXIII) || 12 Χρύσου] Βρισέως **Γ** (coniecerat Normannus) || 13 τοῖς om. **V** || 14 καὶ om. **V**, litura **P** || 16 γὰρ om. **ΚΛO** | με] μοι **PS**(b)^{i} || 20 ὦ Πρωτεσίλεω **AH^{i}Λ^{i}VYΦΓIP^{ac}** (= **P^{a}**?) (-λαε **V** -λεε **Y** -λεως **H^{i}Λ^{i}**): ὁ Πρωτεσίλεως **H^{s}KΛ^{s}P^{pc}** (= **P^{b}**?) **εOT** (-λεω **P**) ὦ -λεω⟦ς⟧ **S**(b) || 21 ὧν ἤκ. τινος **αS**(b)

towards Nausicaa? He calls him Homer's plaything in his wandering as well, since he often comes to ruin because he is asleep,[101] and he is carried off the ship of Phaeacians as though he died during a fair voyage.[102] Moreover, Protesilaos says that Poseidon's 15
wrath, because of which Odysseus was left without a single ship (and his men who filled the ships perished), did not come about because of Polyphemos. He says that neither did Odysseus come into such haunts, nor, if the Cyclops had been Poseidon's child, would Poseidon have ever been enraged for such a child, who used to eat human beings like a savage lion. Rather, it was because of Palamedes, who was his grandson, that Poseidon made the sea impossible for Odysseus to navigate, and, since Odysseus escaped the sufferings there, Poseidon later destroyed him in Ithaca itself, by thrusting, I think, a spear from the sea against him.[103] He also 16
says that the wrath of Achilles did not fall upon the Hellenes because of the daughter of Khrysês, but that Achilles, too, was angry over Palamedes.[104] But let my account of Achilles' deeds be laid 17
aside, for I shall indeed proceed through the heroes one by one, reporting what I have heard about them from Protesilaos.

IV. THE CATALOGUE OF THE HEROES (25.18–42.4)

Nestor and Antilokhos (25.18–26.20)

PH. You have come to my favorite kind of story. Already 18
my "ears ring with the battle-crash"[105] of horses and men, and I predict that I shall hear something very good.

V. Listen, my guest. May nothing elude me, Protesilaos, nor may I forget anything that I have heard.[106]

[101] For example, Homer *Od.* 10.31.

[102] Upon Odysseus's return to Ithaca (Homer *Od.* 13.117–19).

[103] In contrast to Homer's prediction of Odysseus's calm old age and a peaceful death (*Od.* 11.134–36), others tell of Têlegonos, son of Odysseus and Circe, who mistakenly killed his father with his stingray-pointed spear (Apollodorus *Epitome* 7.36–37; cf. the lost epic the *Telegonia*).

[104] Protesilaos here offers a different explanation of Achilles' wrath and withdrawal from the war from that which is found in Homer. The death of Palamedes and Achilles' withdrawal from battle are also linked in the *Cypria*.

[105] Homer *Il.* 10.535.

[106] The vinedresser invokes Protesilaos's inspiration, just as Homer invoked the Muses before embarking on his catalogue of the ships (*Il.* 2.484–93).

26 *Πρεσβύτατον μὲν τοίνυν τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ φησιν ἐλθεῖν ἐς Τροίαν* 1
τὸν Νηλέως Νέστορα, πολέμων τε πολλῶν γεγυμνασμένον, οἳ ἐφ᾽ ἡλι-
κίας αὐτῷ ἐπολεμήθησαν, ἀγώνων τε γυμνικῶν, ἐν οἷς πυγμῆς καὶ πάλης
ἆθλα ἐτίθετο, τακτικήν τε ὁπόση ὁπλιτῶν τε καὶ ἵππων ἄριστα δὴ ἀν-
θρώπων γινώσκοντα, δημαγωγίᾳ τε ἐκ μειρακίου ξυμβεβηκότα, μὰ Δί᾽ 5
οὐ τῇ κολακευούσῃ τοὺς δήμους ἀλλὰ τῇ σωφρονιζούσῃ· πράττειν δὲ
αὐτὸ ξὺν ὥρᾳ τε καὶ ἡδονῇ τῶν λόγων, ὅθεν καὶ τὰς ἐπιπλήξεις, ἃς
2 *ἐποιεῖτο, μὴ ἀγροίκους μηδὲ ἀηδεῖς φαίνεσθαι. καὶ ὁπόσα Ὁμήρῳ περὶ*
3 *αὐτοῦ εἴρηται, ξὺν ἀληθείᾳ φησὶν εἰρῆσθαι. καὶ μὴν καὶ ὁπόσα ἕτεροι*
περὶ τῶν τοῦ Γηρυόνου βοῶν εἶπον, ὡς ἀφείλοντο αὐτὰς τὸν Ἡρακλέα 10
Νηλεύς τε καὶ οἱ Νηλεῖδαι πλὴν Νέστορος, ἐπαινεῖ ὁ Πρωτεσίλεως ὡς
ἀληθῆ καὶ μὴ παρευρημένα· τὸν γάρ τοι Ἡρακλέα δικαιοσύνης μισθὸν
τῷ Νέστορι δοῦναι τὴν Μεσήνην, ἐπεὶ μηδὲν ὧν οἱ ἀδελφοὶ περὶ τὰς
4 *βοῦς ἥμαρτε. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἁλῶναι αὐτοῦ ὁ Ἡρακλῆς σωφρονεστά-*
του τε ὄντος καὶ καλλίστου, ἀγαπῆσαί τε αὐτὸν μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν Ὕλλαν 15
τε καὶ τὸν Ἄβδηρον· οἱ μὲν γὰρ παιδάρια ἦσαν καὶ κομιδῇ νέοι, Νέ-
στορι δὲ ἐφήβῳ ἤδη ἐντυχεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ ἀρετὴν ἀσκοῦντι ὁπόση ψυχῆς
5 *τε καὶ σώματος, ὅθεν ἀγαπῆσαί τε καὶ ἀγαπηθῆναι. τό τοι διομνύναι*
[166] *τὸν Ἡρακλέα οὔπω ξύνηθες τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὂν, πρῶτόν γε νομίσαι φη-*
6 *σὶ τὸν Νέστορα καὶ παραδοῦναι τοῖς ἐν Τροίᾳ. γενέσθαι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ* 20

1 tit. Νέστωρ habent **A^{m}H^{m}KVYΦ^{m}IP^{b}εOO^{m}S**(b) Νέστωρα **Λ** | τοίνυν om. **V** | ἐλθεῖν] ἥκειν **A** || 5 ξυμβεβιωκότα Cobet (sed cf. Schmid, Attic. IV 413 et 441) || 6 δὲ] τε ε || 9 καὶ^{2} om. **ΓB** || 13 Μεσήνην **υαÅBE^{ac}**: Μεσσήνην **E^{pc}**ζ | ἐπειδὴ **ΦΓ^{ac}⟦I⟧B** || 15 ὄντος καὶ καλλ.] καὶ καλλ. ὄντος **χ** | Ὕλλαν **A^{ac}** (cf. 45.6) || 16 Αὔδηρον **VχI^{blit}** | a voce γὰρ rursus incipit **F** | νέοι] νήπιοι **χ** || 18 {δι}ὀμνύναι Cobet || 19-20 φησὶ om. **εOS^{a}?T** (sed add. ζ^{Σ}) || 20 tit. Ἀντίλοχος habent **FHKΛ^{ac}V^{m}YΦIP^{b}εOO^{m}S**(b)**S**(b)^{m} **T** Ἀντίλοχον **Λ^{pc}**

So then, Protesilaos says that Nestor, son of Neleus, was **26** the oldest among the Hellenes when he came to Troy, trained in many wars waged in his youth, as well as by athletic contests in which he won prizes for boxing and wrestling. Of all mortals he knew infantry and cavalry tactics best, and from his youth he rose to leadership not by flattering the rank and file, by Zeus, but by chastening them. He did this at the right time and with pleasant words, so that his criticisms seemed neither coarse nor disagreeable.[107] And whatever has been said about him by Homer, 2
Protesilaos says has been spoken truthfully. Moreover, Protesi- 3
laos confirms as true and not fabricated what others have said about Geryon's cattle: that Neleus and his sons except for Nestor stole the cattle from Herakles. In truth, Herakles gave Messene to Nestor as a reward for his righteousness, since in the case of the cattle he did none of the wrongs that his brothers did.[108] Herakles 4
is also said to have been captivated by Nestor, since he was exceedingly prudent and handsome, and to have cherished him more than Hyllas and Abdêros. For these two were just little boys and quite young, but Nestor was already an ephebe[109] and practiced in every excellence of soul and body when Herakles met him, and they therefore cherished each other.[110] In truth, swearing by Her- 5
akles was not yet a custom among mortals; Protesilaos says that Nestor first instituted the custom and passed it on to those at Troy.[111]

[107] For example, see Homer *Il.* 1.255–84; 7.124–60; 11.656–803.

[108] According to Hesiod (as preserved in a fragment from Stephanus of Byzantium, s.v. Gerenia = Hesiod *Catalogue of Women* 11; cf. Apollodorus *Library* 1.9.9), the reason for Herakles' wrath was that Neleus and his sons, with the exception of Nestor, refused to purify him from murder; luckily for Nestor, he was away with the Gerenians.

[109] In fourth-century B.C.E. Athens, the term ephebe designated boys sixteen to twenty years old, who spent two years in military training, followed by two years as frontier guards (Aristotle *Athenian Constitution* 42; O. W. Reinmuth, *The Ephebic Inscriptions of the Fourth Century B.C.* [Leiden: Brill, 1971]). In the centuries that followed, the ephebes' military training devolved to military exercises, while intellectual and cultural training dominated.

[110] In other versions Nestor is the sworn enemy of Herakles (Ovid *Metamorphoses* 12.536–76).

[111] Divine beings were invoked as witnesses to ancient oaths. Herakles was one among a number of such witnesses to the Athenian ephebic oath. See P. Siewert, "The Ephebic Oath in Fifth-Century Athens," *Journal of Hellenic*

7 παῖδα Ἀντίλοχον, ὃν μεσοῦντος ἤδη τοῦ πολέμου ἐλθεῖν. νέον μὲν γὰρ 1
εἶναι τὸν Ἀντίλοχον καὶ οὐκ ἐν ὥρᾳ τῶν πολεμικῶν ὁπότε ξυνελέγοντο
ἐς Αὐλίδα, βουλομένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ στρατεύειν οὐ ξυγχωρῆσαι τὸν πατέρα,
τὸν δ', ἐπειδὴ πέμπτον ἔτος ἤδη προβεβήκει τῷ πολέμῳ, νεώς τε ἐπι-
βάντα ἀφικέσθαι καὶ παρελθόντα ἐς τὴν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως σκηνήν, ἐπειδὴ 5
τοῦτον ἐπιτηδειότατον εἶναι τῷ πατρὶ ἥκουεν, ἱκετεῦσαι τὸν Ἀχιλλέα
8 παραιτήσασθαι αὐτὸν τοῦ πατρός, εἴ πως ἀπειθήσαντι μὴ ἄχθοιτο. ὁ
δὲ ἡσθεὶς τῇ τοῦ Ἀντιλόχου ὥρᾳ καὶ τῆς προθυμίας ἀγασθεὶς αὐτόν,
«οὔπω τὸν πατέρα» εἶπεν, «ὦ μειράκιον, τὸν σεαυτοῦ γινώσκεις, εἰ μὴ
ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπαινεθήσεσθαι μᾶλλον οἴει ἔργον φιλότιμόν τε καὶ νεανικὸν 10
9 εἰργασμένος.» καὶ ὀρθῶς εἶπεν ὁ Ἀχιλλεύς ταῦτα· ὑπερησθεὶς γὰρ τῷ
παιδὶ ὁ Νέστωρ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ φρονήσας ἄγει αὐτὸν παρὰ τὸν Ἀγαμέ-
μνονα, ὁ δὲ αὐτίκα ξυγκαλεῖ τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ λέγεται ἄριστα ἑαυτοῦ
10 διαλεχθῆναι τότε ὁ Νέστωρ. ξυνελθεῖν μὲν γὰρ αὐτοὺς χαίροντας ἐπὶ
τῷ παῖδα ὄψεσθαι Νέστορος (οὐδὲ γὰρ εἶναι αὐτῷ ἐν Τροίᾳ υἱόν, οὔτε 15
Θρασυμήδην τινὰ οὔτε ἕτερον), ἑστάναι δὲ τὸν Ἀντίλοχον ἐρυθριῶντά
τε καὶ ἐς τὴν γῆν βλέποντα καὶ θαυμαστὰς κτήσασθαι τοῦ κάλλους οὐκ
11 ἐλάττους ἢ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐκέκτητο. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐκείνου εἶδος ἐκπληκτικόν
τε φαίνεσθαι καὶ θεῖον, τὸ δὲ τοῦ Ἀντιλόχου τερπνόν τε καὶ ἥμερον
12 δοκεῖν πᾶσι. καὶ τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ὁ Πρωτεσίλεως οὐδὲ ἄλλως ἐκλελησμέ- 20
νους τότε δὴ μάλιστα εἰς ἔννοιαν ἑαυτοῦ ἀφικέσθαι λέγει, ξυμβαίνοντος
[167] ἑαυτῷ τοῦ Ἀντιλόχου τὴν ἡλικίαν τε καὶ τὸ μέγεθος· πολλοῖς δὲ αὐ-
τῶν καὶ δάκρυα ἐπελθεῖν φησιν οἴκτῳ τῆς ἀμφοῖν ἡλικίας, εὐφημίαις
τε χρήσασθαι τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἐς τὸν Νέστορα ἐφ' οἷς εἶπε· διέκειντο γὰρ
13 ὡς παῖδες πρὸς πατέρα. ἔστι σοι καὶ ἄγαλμα παραγαγεῖν τοῦ Νέστορος. 25
ὁ γὰρ Πρωτεσίλεως αὐτὸν ὧδε ἑρμηνεύει, ὡς φαιδρὸς μὲν ἀεὶ φαίνοι-
το καὶ ἐν ὁρμῇ μειδιάματος, γενειῶν δὲ σεμνῶς τε καὶ ξυμμέτρως, τὰ
δὲ ἀμφὶ παλαίστραν αὐτῷ πεπονημένα τὰ ὦτα κατηγοροίη καὶ ὁ αὐ-
χὴν ὑπονεάζων ἔτι· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὀρθὸν εἶναι τὸν Νέστορα καὶ μὴ

1 γὰρ om. **ΦΙ^{a}P^{a}** || 4 τοῦ πολέμου **ΚΛεOS^{a}?T** || 5 ἐφικέσθαι **HKO** || 7 εἴ πως . . . μὴ ἄχθοιτο] μή πως . . . ἄχθοιτο **Vχ** (. . . μὲν ἄχθοιτο **Λ**) (**H^{γρ}K^{γρ}** non item) || 10 τε om. **ΦΓΙ^{a}P** || 11 ἐργασάμενος **ΓΙ** || 12 μέγα φρονήσας **V** μεγαλοφρονήσας **χΙ^{b}Σ** | παρὰ] πρὸς **χ** (sed παρὰ **κ^{γρ}**) || 13 -καλεῖται **H^{γρ} K^{γρ}P^{bγρ}σ^{γρ}** || 15 post οὔτε add. ὥς φασί τινες ψευδῶς **H^{γρ}KP^{Σ}ε^{Σ}ζ** || 16 -μήδη **AV** -μῆ′ **FY** | Ἀντίλοχον ὑπὸ τῷ πατρὶ **VχΙ^{b}** || 18 ἐλάσσους **F** ἔλαττον **I^{a}** ἔ[[χ]]λαττον **Γ** || 19 τε^{2} om. **OT** (**S^{a}** non liquet) || 21 μάλιστα om. **F** | αὐτοῦ **F** || 22 αὐτῷ **F** || 22-23 αὐτῶν om. **κ** || 25 ἐπαγαγεῖν **κ** ἀπαγαγεῖν **Y** (sed παρ- **K^{γρ}**) || 26 φαιδρὸς **FAH^{i}KΛVYαS**(b): σεμνὸς **H^{s}K^{γρ} P^{bγρ}εOT** || 27 σεμνῶς] φαιδρῶς **A** | συμμέτρως **HΛα** || 29 δὴ om. **FH^{ac}**

He also had a child named Antilokhos, who arrived in the 6
middle of the war. Because Antilokhos was still young and not 7
mature enough for war when they assembled at Aulis, his father did not agree to his wish to serve as a soldier. After the fifth year of the war, however, Antilokhos set forth on a ship; upon arrival he went to Achilles' tent, since he had heard that Achilles was very friendly with his father. He pleaded with him to intercede on his behalf with his father, lest Nestor be annoyed by his disobedi-
ence. Achilles, pleased at Antilokhos's maturity and admiring his 8
eagerness, said, "You don't yet know your own father at all, my boy, if you think that you won't be praised by him for having done an ambitious and high-spirited deed." Achilles spoke accurately. 9
With pride and joy in his child, Nestor presented him to Agamemnon, who immediately called together the Achaeans. Nestor is said then to have made his best speech ever. They assembled, 10
pleased to see Nestor's child (for he had had no son at Troy, neither Thrasymedes nor any other), and Antilokhos stood blushing and staring at the ground while he received no less admiration for his beauty than Achilles had. For Achilles' physique appeared 11
startling and divine, but that of Antilokhos seemed to all to be pleasant and gentle. Protesilaos says that, although it had not oth- 12
erwise utterly escaped the Achaeans' notice, what came most of all to his own mind was Antilokhos's resemblance to his own age and height. He says that tears came to the eyes of many out of pity for their tender age and that the Achaeans spoke auspicious words to Nestor, to which he responded, "They are disposed like children to a father."

It is also possible to portray the statue of Nestor for you. 13
Protesilaos describes him as always appearing cheerful, beginning to smile, and with a beard that is majestic and well-proportioned; his ears display what he went through at wrestling school, and his neck is restored to its strength. In truth, Nestor stands upright, not defeated by old age, with black eyes and without an aquiline nose. And this, in old age, only those whom strength has not for-

Studies 97 (1977): 102–116; Marcus Niebuhr Tod, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions* (2 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1933–1948), 2:204. Herakles' name was invoked more colloquially as an exclamation; see Aristophanes *The Acharnaians* 284; *The Clouds* 184. On oaths more generally, see Rudolf Hirzel, *Der Eid: ein Beitrag zu einer Geschichte* (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1902).

ἡττώμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ γήρως, εἶναι δὲ καὶ μελανόφθαλμον καὶ μὴ ἀπο- 1
κρεμώμενον τὴν ῥῖνα. ταυτὶ δὲ ἐν γήρᾳ μόνοι ἴσχουσιν οὓς μὴ ἐπιλίποι
14 τὸ ἐρρῶσθαι. τὸν δὲ Ἀντίλοχον τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὅμοιόν φησι γενέσθαι τῷ
Νέστορι, δρομικώτερον δὲ καὶ περιεπτισμένον τὸ εἶδος καὶ μὴ φρονοῦν-
15 τα ἐπὶ τῇ κόμῃ. κἀκεῖνά μοι τοῦ Ἀντιλόχου ἑρμηνεύει· φιλιππότατόν 5
τε γενέσθαι αὐτὸν καὶ κυνηγετικώτατον καὶ ταῖς τῶν πολέμων ἀνοχαῖς
ἐπὶ τὰ θηρία χρώμενον· ἀναφοιτᾶν γοῦν ἐς τὴν Ἴδην τὸν Ἀντίλοχον ξὺν
Ἀχιλλεῖ καὶ Μυρμιδόσι, καὶ ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ μετὰ Πυλίων τε καὶ Ἀρκάδων,
οἳ θηρίων ἀγορὰν παρεῖχον τῷ στρατῷ διὰ πλῆθος τῶν ἁλισκομένων·
τὰ δὲ πολέμια γενναῖόν τε εἶναι καὶ πτηνὸν τὼ πόδε καὶ ταχὺν τὴν ἐν 10
τοῖς ὅπλοις κίνησιν, εὐξύνετόν τε τοῖς παραγγελλομένοις χρήσασθαι καὶ
16 τὸ ἐπίχαρι μηδὲ ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἀπολείποντα. ἀποθανεῖν δὲ οὐχ, ὡς οἱ
πολλοὶ ᾄδουσιν, ὑπὸ Μέμνονος ἐξ Αἰθιοπίας ἥκοντος· Αἰθίοπα μὲν γὰρ
γενέσθαι Μέμνονα, δυναστεύσαντα ἐπὶ τῶν Τρωικῶν ἐν Αἰθιοπίᾳ, ἐφ' οὗ
καὶ τὸ ψάμμινον ὄρος ἀναχωσθῆναι λέγεται ὑπὸ τοῦ Νείλου, καὶ θύου- 15
[168] σιν αὐτῷ κατὰ Μερόην καὶ Μέμφιν Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ Αἰθίοπες, ἐπειδὰν
ἀκτῖνα πρώτην ὁ ἥλιος ἐκβάλῃ, παρ' ἧς τὸ ἄγαλμα φωνὴν ἐκρήγνυσιν ᾗ
17 τοὺς θεραπεύοντας ἀσπάζεται· Τρῶα δὲ ἕτερον γενέσθαι Μέμνονα, νεώ-
τατον τοῦ Τρωικοῦ, ὃν ζῶντος μὲν Ἕκτορος οὐδὲν βελτίω δόξαι τῶν
ἀμφὶ Δηίφοβόν τε καὶ Εὔφορβον, ἀποθανόντος δὲ προθυμότατόν τε καὶ 20
ἀνδρειότατον νομισθῆναι, καὶ τὴν Τροίαν ἐς αὐτὸν βλέψαι κακῶς ἤδη
18 πράττουσαν. οὗτος, ξένε, τὸν καλόν τε καὶ χρηστὸν Ἀντίλοχον ἀποκτεῖ-
ναι λέγεται προασπίζοντα τοῦ πατρὸς Νέστορος, ὅτε δὴ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα
πυράν τε νῆσαι τῷ Ἀντιλόχῳ καὶ πολλὰ ἐς αὐτὴν σφάξαι, τά τε ὅπλα
19 καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ Μέμνονος ἐπικαῦσαι αὐτῷ· τὸ γὰρ τοῦ ἀγῶνος, ὃν 25

1 ὑπὸ om. **AY** | καὶ[1] om. **ΦΓΙ[a]P[a]** | καὶ[2] om. **F** || 1-2 ἀποκρεμώμενον **AK[γρ]Λ[s]ΦΓΙ[a]Pσ**: ἀποκρεμάμενον **FHKΛ[i]VYI[b]** (-κρεμμ- **FHY**) (cf. 56.5) || 2 ἰσχύουσιν **κ** | οὓς] οἷς **AVΦΓΙ[a]P[a]** (cf. 22.3) | ἐπιλίποι **F A**: ἐπιλείποι **αS**(b) ἐπιλείπει **VYεOT** ἐπιλείπῃ **κ** || 4 δρομικώτατον **ÅB** || 5 δέ μοι **σ** || 6 τε om. **κO** | καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ **H[pc]Λζ** || 8 τε om. **Eζ** || 10 πολεμικὰ **κ** (sed -μια **H[γρ]**) | ταχὺν μὲν **κ** || 12 ταῖς μάχαις] τοῖς πολέμοις **F** (sed ταῖς μ. **F[γρ]**) || 15 ψάμμιον ε ψάμμι[ν]ον **P** || 16 αὐτὸ **Φ[a]Ι[a]P[a]** || 17 πρῶτον **ΦΓΙ[a][P[a]]** | ὁ om. **KΛY** | ἐκβάλλῃ **AΛ** ἐκβάλλει **V**(b) | ἧς] ᾗ **ΓΙ[a]** || 18 ἕτερόν φησι **κζ[Σ]** || 20 Διή- **κOS[a]** Διί- **A** | τε[2] om. **χ** || 21 τὴν om. **κ** | εἰς **Yα** || 22 ὦ ξένε **ÅB** || 23 Νέστορος suspectum habet Kay. | δὴ καὶ **χ** || 24 τῷ Ἀντ. νῆσαι **Aχ** | αὐτὸν **εO**

saken maintain. Protesilaos says that in other respects Antilokhos 14
resembled Nestor, but that he was swifter, trim in physique, and
paid no attention to his hair. He gave me the following details 15
about Antilokhos: He was most fond of horses and hunting with
dogs, even using times of truce in the fighting for hunting. At
any rate, Antilokhos frequented Mount Ida with Achilles and the
Myrmidons, and when he was on his own, he would hunt with
the Pylians and Arcadians, who provided a market-place for the
army because of the great number of animals caught. He was
noble in battle, swift-footed, quickly moving when armed, eas-
ily understood orders, and did not lose his pleasant manner even
in battle. He did not die at the hands of the Memnôn who had 16
come from Ethiopia, as the multitude of poets sing.[112] Mem-
nôn was an Ethiopian, to be sure, and ruled there during the
Trojan War; it is said that a sandy burial mound was raised up
for him by the Nile, and Egyptians and Ethiopians also sacrifice
to him at Meroê and Memphis; whenever the sun sends out its
first ray the statue breaks out with a voice by which it greets the
cult attendants. Protesilaos says, however, that there was another 17
Memnôn, a Trojan, the youngest of the Trojan army, who while
Hektor was still alive seemed no better than the men around Dei-
phobos and Euphorbus, but after Hektor died this Memnôn was
deemed both extremely ready for action and very brave, and Troy
looked to him since it was already faring badly. This man, my 18
guest, is said to have killed the handsome and valiant Antilokhos
when he was covering his father Nestor with a shield.[113] Indeed,
Protesilaos says that when Achilles piled up a funeral pyre for An-
tilokhos and sacrificed much upon it, he burned both the armor
and the head of Memnôn on it. Protesilaos says that the custom 19

[112] Homer *Od.* 4.186–88; the *Aithiopis*; Pindar *Pythian* 6.28–43.
[113] In Homer (*Il.* 8.94–117) Diomedes defends and rescues Nestor.

ἐπὶ Πατρόκλῳ {τε καὶ ᾽Αντιλόχῳ} ὁ ᾽Αχιλλεὺς ἔθηκεν, ἐπὶ πλέον καὶ
τοῖς ἀρίστοις νενομίσθαι φησίν· ὅθεν τεθῆναι μὲν ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτῷ ἐνταῦθα,
τεθῆναι δὲ ἐπ᾽ ᾽Αχιλλεῖ τε καὶ ἐπὶ Πατρόκλῳ καὶ ᾽Αντιλόχῳ ἐν ᾽Ιλίῳ.
λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἕκτορι τεθῆναι ἀγῶνα δρόμου καὶ τόξου καὶ
αἰχμῆς, πάλην δὲ καὶ πυγμὴν μηδένα ἀποδύσασθαι Τρώων· τὸ μὲν γὰρ
οὔπω ἐγίνωσκον, τὸ δὲ οἶμαι, ἐφοβοῦντο.

27 *Διομήδης καὶ Σθένελος ἡλικίας μὲν ταὐτὸν εἶχον, ἦστην δὲ ὁ μὲν*
Καπανέως, ὁ δὲ Τυδέως, οἳ λέγονται τειχομαχοῦντες ἀποθανεῖν ὁ μὲν
2 *ὑπὸ Θηβαίων, ὁ δ᾽ οἶμαι κεραυνωθείς. κειμένων δὲ ἀτάφων τῶν νεκρῶν,*
τὸν μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν σωμάτων ἀγῶνα ᾽Αθηναῖοι ἤραντο καὶ ἔθαψαν αὐτοὺς
νικῶντες· τὸν δὲ περὶ τῶν ψυχῶν οἱ παῖδες ὑπὲρ τῶν πατέρων ἐνίκησαν
ὅτε ἤβησαν, καὶ τὸ κράτος τῆς μάχης εἰς Διομήδην τε καὶ Σθένελον ἦλθεν
[169] 3 *ὡς ἀρίστω τε καὶ ὁμοίω ἄνδρε. Ὅμηρος δὲ οὐκ ἀξιοῖ σφας τῶν ἴσων· τὸν*
μὲν γὰρ λέοντί τε εἰκάζει καὶ ποταμῷ γεφύρας ἀπάγοντι καὶ ἀνθρώπων
ἔργα (καὶ γὰρ οὕτως ἐμάχετο), ὁ δ᾽ οἷον θεατὴς τοῦ Διομήδους ἕστηκε,
4 *φυγῆς τε ξύμβουλος αὐτῷ γινόμενος καὶ ἀρχῶν φόβου. καίτοι φησὶν ὁ*
Πρωτεσίλεως μὴ ἐλάττω τοῦ Διομήδους ἔργα τὸν Σθένελον μηδὲ ἐκεῖ
δρᾶσαι· φιλίαν μὲν γάρ σφισιν εἶναι οὐ μείω ἢ ᾽Αχιλλεῖ τε καὶ Πατρόκλῳ
ἐγένετο, φιλοτιμεῖσθαι δὲ οὕτω πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὡς ξὺν ἀθυμίᾳ ἐπανήκειν
5 *ἐκ τῆς μάχης τὸν ἀπολειφθέντα τοῦ ἑτέρου. καὶ τὸ ἔργον δὲ τὸ ἐς Αἰνείαν*
τε καὶ Πάνδαρον πεπρᾶχθαι αὐτοῖς φησιν ὁμοῦ· τὸν μὲν γὰρ τῷ Αἰνείᾳ
προσπεσεῖν μεγίστῳ τοῦ Τρωικοῦ ὄντι, τὸν Σθένελον δὲ τῷ Πανδάρῳ
6 *προσαγωνίσασθαι καὶ κρατῆσαι αὐτοῦ. ἀλλὰ τὸν Ὅμηρον Διομήδει μόνῳ*

1-2 Πατρόκλῳ {τε καὶ ᾽Αντιλόχῳ} . . . τοῖς ἀρίστοις . . . Lan. (ab illo ἀγῶνος exemplo omnibus noto ex Iliados libro Ψ explanatio proficisci vid.): Π. τε καὶ ᾽Αντ. . . . τοῖς ἀρ. . . . **FAVΦI** (τε om. **ΦI**) Π. . . . καὶ ᾽Αντ. καὶ τοῖς ἀρ. . . . **KYP^{blit}σ** (καὶ^{2} om. **Y**) Π. καὶ ᾽Αντιλόχῳ . . . καὶ ᾽Αντιλόχῳ τοῖς ἀρ. . . . **ΗΛ** verbis αὐτῷ — ἐπὶ πλέον omissis, ᾽Αντ. καὶ τοῖς ἀρ. . . . habet **Γ** Π. τε καὶ ᾽Αντ. . . . καὶ τοῖς ἀρ. . . . Kay. || 1 ὁ ᾽Αχιλλεὺς **FAΗΛVYΦI**: αὐτὸς **KP^{blit}σ** om. **Γ** | ἐπέθηκεν **ΗΛ** | ἐπὶ πλέον **P^{blit}εS**(b)**T**: ἐπὶ τῷ πλεῖν **AVYΦI** ἐπὶ τὸ πλέον dubitanter Morel ἐπιπλεῖν **ΗΛ** ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον **F** (τὸ] τῶ **F^{ac}**) ἐπὶ πλέω **KO**, om. **Γ** || 3 καὶ ἐπὶ Πατρόκλῳ om. **Y** | ἐπὶ om. **ABO** || 5 πυγμεῖον **Φ^{a}**⟦**I^{a}**⟧⟦**P^{a}**⟧ || 6 ἐγίγνωσκον **ΑΦΓΡ** || 7 tit. Διομήδης καὶ Σθένελος habent **F^{m}AHKΛ^{ac} VYΦ^{m}IP^{b}σ** (καὶ om. **H**) Διομή$^{\delta'}$ **O^{m}** Διομήδην καὶ Σθένελον **Λ^{pc}** || 8 λέγεται **Φ^{a}**?**IP^{a}** || 11 τὸν] τὸ **Φ^{a}IP^{a}** | περὶ^{1}] ὑπὲρ **χO** || 12 -μήδη **FAκT** | τε om. **κÅB** || 15 ἕστηκε **ΗΛY**: εἱστήκει rell. || 16 γιγνόμενος **FAε** γενόμενος **ΗΚΛ^{γρ}** || 18 μεῖον **ΑΛY** μείων **ΗKO** $^{\Gamma'}$μ **F** || 20 ἑταίρου **κ** (sed -έ- **K^{γρ}**) || 21 γὰρ om. **ΓI^{a}**

of funeral games, which Achilles established for Patroklos {and Antilokhos[114]}, were observed above all for the best men. Therefore Protesilaos says that games were appointed here for himself, but in Ilion for Achilles, as well as for Patroklos and Antilokhos. It is said for Hektor there was established a contest of running, 20
shooting arrows, and throwing spears, but that none of the Trojans stripped for wrestling and boxing. The former sport they did not know yet, and the latter, I think, they feared.

Diomedes and Sthenelos (27.1–13)

Diomedes and Sthenelos were the same age; the latter was the **27**
son of Kapaneus, the former of Tydeus. Their fathers are said to have died while laying siege to the Theban walls. Tydeus died at the hands of the Thebans; Kapaneus, I think, was struck by a thunderbolt. While their corpses were still lying unburied, the 2
Athenians won a contest for the bodies and buried them when they were victorious. Their children, however, when they had reached their prime, won a life or death battle on behalf of their fathers, and the strength of battle entered Diomedes and Sthenelos as men both excellent and well-matched.[115] But Homer does 3
not value them equally, for he likens the former to a lion[116] and to a river sweeping away its dikes and other human constructions[117] (and so he fought), but the latter stood by like a spectator of Diomedes, advising flight and inciting fear.[118] Yet Protesil- 4
aos says that even there Sthenelos performed deeds that were not inferior to Diomedes'. For their bond of friendship was not less than that between Achilles and Patroklos, and their rivalry with each other was such that they returned from the battle despondent, each one thinking himself inferior to the other. And 5
Protesilaos says that together they executed the attack against Aeneas and Pandaros: Diomedes fell upon Aeneas, the greatest of the Trojans, and Sthenelos fought with Pandaros and prevailed over him. But Homer assigned these deeds to Diomedes alone[119] as 6

[114] The games in *Iliad* 23 were celebrated for Patroklos alone.

[115] On the story of the Epigonoi (the sons of the seven princes who attacked Thebes) and their taking of Thebes, see Apollodorus *Library* 3.7.2–4.

[116] Homer *Il.* 5.161–64.

[117] Homer *Il.* 5.84–94.

[118] Homer *Il.* 5.239–50.

[119] Homer *Il.* 5.286–310.

ἐξῃρηκέναι ταῦτα ὥσπερ ἐκλαθόμενον ὧν πρὸς τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα ὑπὲρ 1
τοῦ Σθενέλου εἶπε· τὸ γὰρ

ἡμεῖς τοι πατέρων μέγ' ἀμείνονες εὐχόμεθ' εἶναι,
ἡμεῖς καὶ Θήβης ἕδος εἵλομεν,

7 *ἀνδρός πού ἐστι παραπλήσια τούτοις καὶ ἐν Ἰλίῳ πράττοντος. ἔστω σοι* 5
κἀκεῖνα περὶ Σθενέλου εἰδέναι, ὡς τεῖχος μὲν οὐδὲν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἐξε-
ποιήθη ἐν Τροίᾳ, οὐδὲ ἔστιν ᾧ ἐφράξαντο ἢ τὰς ναῦς ἢ τὴν λείαν, ἀλλὰ
τειχομαχίας ᾠδαὶ ταῦτα Ὁμήρῳ ἐπενοήθησαν, δι' ἃς καὶ τὸ τεῖχος αὐτῷ
8 *ξυνετέθη. ὁρμὴ μέντοι τειχοποιίας ὁμολογεῖται τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα εἰσελ-*
θεῖν μηνίοντος Ἀχιλλέως, ᾗ πρῶτον ἀντειρηκέναι τὸν Σθένελον εἰπόντα 10
«ἐγὼ μέντοι ἐπιτηδειότερος τείχη καθαιρεῖν ἢ ἐγείρειν»· ἀντειρηκέναι
δὲ καὶ τὸν Διομήδην τῷ τείχει φήσαντα μεγάλων ἀξιοῦσθαι τὸν Ἀχιλ-
λέα «εἰ ξυγκλείσαιμεν ἑαυτοὺς λοιπὸν ἐπειδὴ ἐκεῖνος μηνίει». Αἴας δὲ
[170] *λέγεται ταυρηδὸν ὑποβλέψας τὸν βασιλέα «δείλαιε» εἰπεῖν, «τί οὖν αἱ*
9 *ἀσπίδες;» καὶ τὸν ἵππον δὲ τὸν κοῖλον παρῃτεῖτο Σθένελος, οὐ τειχο-* 15
10 *μαχίαν τοῦτο φάσκων εἶναι ἀλλὰ κλοπὴν τῆς μάχης. τὰ μὲν δὴ μάχιμα*
ὁμοίω ἤστην καὶ ἴσου τοῖς Τρωσὶ φόβου ἄξιοι, ἐλείπετο δὲ τοῦ Διομή-
δους ὁ Σθένελος ξύνεσίν τε καὶ λόγου ἰσχὺν καὶ καρτερήσεις, ὁπόσαι
ψυχῆς τέ εἰσι καὶ σώματος· ὀργῆς τε γὰρ ἥττων ἦν καὶ ὑπέρφρων τοῦ
ὁμίλου καὶ τραχὺς ἐπιπλήττεσθαι καὶ τὰ ἐς τὴν δίαιταν ἁβρότερον ἢ ἐπὶ 20
11 *στρατοπέδου ἐχρῆν κατεσκεύαστο. Διομήδει δὲ τἀναντία τούτων ἐπράτ-*
τετο· μετρίως τε γὰρ πρὸς τὰς ἐπιπλήξεις εἶχε καὶ ἐκόλαζε τὸ ἐξοιδοῦν
τῆς ὀργῆς, ὑβρίζειν τε οὐ ξυνεχώρει τοῖς πλήθεσιν οὐδὲ ἀθυμεῖν, αὐτός
τε αὐχμῶν φαίνεσθαι στρατιωτικὸν ἡγεῖτο καὶ τὸ ὡς ἔτυχε καθεύδειν
ἐπῄνει, σιτία τε ἦν αὐτῷ τὰ ἐπιτυχόντα, καὶ οὐδὲ οἴνῳ ἔχαιρεν εἰ μὴ 25
12 *καθίκοιντο αὐτοῦ οἱ πόνοι. τὸν δὲ Ἀχιλλέα ἐπῄνει μέν, οὐ μὴν ἐξε-*
πέπληκτό γε οὐδὲ ἐθεράπευεν, ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοί· καὶ ἀνέκραγέ ποτε ὁ
Πρωτεσίλεως ἐπ' ἐκείνοις τοῖς ἔπεσιν, οἷς ὁ Διομήδης πεποίηται λέγων·

1 ἐπιλαθόμενον **F** || 5 ἔστι **ΦΓI^{a}P^{a}** | τούτοις τοῖς ἐν ταῖς Θήβαις ἔργοις **KP$^{\Sigma}$σ** || 5-6 κἀκεῖνά σοι **AHY** ([[σοι]] ante κἀκ. **Y** | κἀκεῖνο **A**) || 6 οὐδὲν post Ἀχαιοῖς transp. **σ**, post ἐποιήθη **Λ** || 6-7 ἐποιήθη **κ** || 9 ξυνετάθη **ΦΓ[[I^{a}]]** || 12 Διομήδη **FAκΓI^{pc}PS**(b): -μῆ$^{\delta'}$ **Y** -μήδην **VΦI^{ac}εOT** || 14 εἶπε **F** εἶπεν **S**(b) || 15 παρηγεῖτο **κ** (sed -ητεῖτο **K^{γρ}**) | ὁ Σθέν. **υI^{b}P^{b}εOS**(b)**T** || 16 εἶναι φάσκων **χ** φάσκων **F** || 17 ἴσοι **Y^{s}I^{b}T^{ac}** ἶσοι **Φ** ἴσον **ΓI^{a}ÅBT^{pc}**? (**S^{a}** non liquet) | φόβοι **Y^{ac}Φ^{ac}**? φόβον **Γ** || 19 τε^{2} om. **ε** || 20 τὴν om. **ΦΓI^{a}P** | ἁβρότερος **ΓIα** || 21 τοὐναντίον **Γ** || 22 τὸ οἰδοῦν **F** || 23 συνεχώρει **Fσ** || 24 τὸ . . . καθεύδειν] τοὺς . . . καθεύδοντας **B** || 26 οἱ om. **H^{γρ}Y** || 26-27 ἐξεπλήττετο **V** || 27 ἀνακέκραγε **α**

if he had quite forgotten what he had said to Agamemnon in the name of Sthenelos, namely,

> We boast that we are better than our fathers,
> We have taken even the foundations of Thebes.[120]

I suppose these deeds of Sthenelos are nearly equal to those which he performed at Ilion as well.

You should also know other matters about Sthenelos: that 7
no wall was erected by the Achaeans at Troy, nor was there any protection for either the ships or the booty, but these were intended by Homer as songs of the siege,[121] because of which the wall was also constructed by him. At any rate, the impetus for 8
building the wall is said to have come to Agamemnon when Achilles was raging. Sthenelos first declared his opposition to this when he said, "I, of course, am more fit for pulling down walls than for erecting them." Diomedes also opposed building the wall and said that Achilles was being deemed worthy of great deeds "if we should then shut ourselves in while he rages!" Ajax is said to have remarked, eyeing the king like a bull, "Coward! What then are shields for?" Sthenelos deprecated the hollow horse as well, alleg- 9
ing that this was not a battle for the city walls but a theft of the battle.

In warlike matters, then, both men were similar and wor- 10
thy of equal fear in the eyes of the Trojans. Sthenelos, however, lacked Diomedes' insight, his power of speech, and his patient endurance which belong to both soul and body. He gave way to anger, was contemptuous of the throng of battle, was savage upon being rebuked, and was prepared for a more delicate lifestyle than was needed for a military camp. Diomedes' conduct was just 11
the opposite. He was modest upon rebuke, checked the eruption of his anger, and refused to insult the troops or to be disheartened. He himself considered it appropriate for an army to appear unwashed, and he commended sleeping in any opportune place; his provisions consisted of what was available, and he did not take pleasure in wine unless troubles came upon him. He praised 12
Achilles, but neither was in awe of him nor did service to him, as many did. Protesilaos once cried out at those verses in which Diomedes is represented as saying,

[120] Homer *Il.* 4.405–6.
[121] Homer *Iliad* 12, which is known as the Teichomachy.

μὴ ὄφελες λίσσεσθαι ἀμύμονα Πηλεΐωνα 1
μυρία δῶρα διδούς· ὁ δ᾽ ἀγήνωρ ἐστὶ καὶ ἄλλως.

ταῦτα γὰρ τὸν Ὅμηρον ὡς συστρατιώτην ἔφη εἰρηκέναι, καὶ οὐχ ὡς ὑποτιθέμενον ἀλλ᾽ αὐτὸν ξυγγεγονότα τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἐν Τροίᾳ· τὸν γὰρ Διομήδη καθάπτεσθαι τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως παρὰ τὴν μῆνιν τρυφῶντος ἐς τοὺς 5
13 *Ἕλληνας. τὰ δὲ εἴδη ἀμφοῖν, τὸν μὲν Σθένελον εὐμήκη ὁ Πρωτεσίλεως οἶδε καὶ ἀνεστηκότα, γλαυκόν τε καὶ γρυπὸν καὶ οἷον κομῶντα, ὑπέρυθρόν τε καὶ ἕτοιμον τὸ αἷμα· τὸν Διομήδη δὲ βεβηκότα τε ἀναγράφει*
[171] *καὶ χαροπὸν καὶ οὔπω μέλανα καὶ ὀρθὸν τὴν ῥῖνα, καὶ οὔλη δὲ ἡ κόμη καὶ σὺν αὐχμῷ.* 10

28 *Φιλοκτήτης δ᾽ ὁ Ποίαντος ἐστράτευσε μὲν ὀψὲ τῶν Τρωικῶν, ἄριστα δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἐτόξευεν, Ἡρακλέους, φασί, τοῦ Ἀλκμήνης μαθὼν αὐτό. καὶ κληρονομῆσαι λέγεται τῶν τόξων ὁπότε Ἡρακλῆς, ἀπιὼν τῆς ἀν-*
2 *θρωπείας φύσεως, αὐτόν τε παρεστήσατο καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ Οἴτῃ πῦρ. τοῦτον ἐν Λήμνῳ καταλειφθῆναί φασιν ἄτιμον τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς, ὕδρου ἐνσκήψαντος* 15
αὐτῷ ἐς τὸν πόδα, ὑφ᾽ οὗ νοσεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ἀκτῆς ὑψηλῆς ἐν πέτρᾳ κείμενον, καὶ μαντευτὸν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἐλθεῖν ὕστερον ἐπὶ τὸν Πάριν, ὃν ἀποκτείνας τὴν μὲν Τροίαν ἑλεῖν τοῖς Ἡρακλέους τόξοις αὖθις, ἰαθῆναι δὲ
3 *ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀσκληπιαδῶν αὐτός. ταῦτά φησιν ὁ Πρωτεσίλεως οὐ παρὰ πο-*
λὺ τῆς ἀληθείας εἰρῆσθαι· τά τε γὰρ {τόξα} τοῦ Ἡρακλέους εἶναι ὁποῖα 20
ὕμνηται, καὶ τὸν Φιλοκτήτην ξυλλαβεῖν αὐτῷ τοῦ ἐν τῇ Οἴτῃ ἄθλου, τὰ τόξα τε ἀπελθεῖν ἔχοντα καὶ μόνον ἀνθρώπων γινώσκειν, ὡς χρὴ ἕλκειν
4 *αὐτά, τυχεῖν τε ἀριστείων λαμπρῶν ἐπὶ τῇ ἁλώσει τοῦ Ἰλίου. τὰ δὲ τῆς*

4 καὶ τοῖς **HΛY** || 5 Διομήδη **AKαET**: -μήδην **HΛVYÀBOS** -μὴδ′ **F** || 8 -μήδην **OS**(b) | τε² om. **AO** || 9 καὶ¹ om. **ΦΓI^{a}P** || 11 tit. Φιλοκτήτης habent **F^{m}AHKY^{m}ΦIP^{bm}** (bis) **ÀBE^{m}ST** Φιλοκτήτην **ΛO** || 12 ἐτόξευεν **K Λ** | Ἡρακλέα **H^{s}K^{γρ}O** | μαθεῖν **H^{s}K^{γρ}** || 13 Ἡρακλῆς **AVΦΓIP^{a}S**(b): ὁ Ἡρακλῆς **FχP^{b}εOT** || 14 τε] ποτε ε || 16 ὑφ᾽] ἀφ᾽ **F** || 18 αὖθις τόξοις **χ** | τόξοις — 28.3 Ἡρακλέους om. **Γ** || 19 αὐτόν **ΦI^{a}P^{a}** || 20 τόξα del. Kay., om. **K**, post εἶναι transp. **A**; post τόξα distinguit Ald. | ὁποῖα] ἃ **K^{γρ}** ὃ **H^{s}O** || 21 ὑμνεῖται **H^{i}KΛY** (sed -ηται **K^{γρ}**) || 22 τε] δὲ **AÀB**

You ought not to have supplicated the blameless son of Peleus, by offering him innumerable gifts. He is haughty even without this.[122]

He said that Homer had spoken these words like a fellow soldier, and not as a composer of fiction,[123] but as though he himself had been present with the Achaeans at Troy: for Diomedes upbraided Achilles, since Achilles was being extravagant before the Hellenes during his wrath. With respect to the appearance of the 13
two men, Protesilaos knows that Sthenelos is of a good size and towering, gray-eyed, with an aquiline nose, fairly long-haired, ruddy, and hot-blooded. He describes Diomedes as steadfast and having eyes that are blue-gray and not black at all and a straight nose; his hair was woolly and dirty.

Philoktêtês (28.1–14)

Although Philoktêtês, the son of Poias, served as a soldier late in **28**
the Trojan war, he shot the arrow best among mortals, since, they say, he learned how from Herakles, the son of Alkmênê. He is said to have inherited Herakles' bow and arrows when Herakles, departing human form, had him stand beside the funeral pyre on Mount Oitê. They say that Philoktêtês was abandoned on Lem- 2
nos, dishonored in the sight of the Achaeans, after a water snake darted at his foot.[124] He became ill from this bite and lay on the rocky ledge of a high peak. It was foretold to the Achaeans by an oracle that he would later come against Paris and, after he had killed him, he would thereafter capture Troy with the bow and arrows of Herakles, and he himself would be healed by the Asclepiades. Protesilaos says that these statements were not far from 3
the truth: the bow and arrows of Herakles are just as they are told in song, Philoktêtês assisted him with the ordeal on Mount Oitê, he went away in possession of the bow and arrows, he alone among mortals knew how to draw the bow, and he obtained splendid rewards for prowess at the conquest of Ilion. But he relates the 4

[122] Homer *Il.* 9.698–99.

[123] ὑποτίθημι: to assume, to suppose, or to compose fiction (LSJ, 1898, s.v. ὑποτίθημι IV.2); for a discussion of the relation between fiction and history in Greek and Roman literature, see Bowersock, *Fiction as History*.

[124] See the *Cypria*.

νόσου καὶ τῶν ἰασαμένων αὐτὸν ἑτέρως λέγει· καταλειφθῆναι μὲν γὰρ 1
ἐν Λήμνῳ τὸν Φιλοκτήτην, οὐ μὴν ἔρημον τῶν θεραπευσόντων οὐδὲ
ἀπερριμμένον τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ· πολλούς τε γὰρ τῶν Μελίβοιαν οἰκούν-
των ξυγκαταμεῖναι (στρατηγὸς δὲ τούτων ἦν), τοῖς τε Ἀχαιοῖς δάκρυα
5 *ἐπελθεῖν ὅτι ἀπέλιπε σφᾶς ἀνὴρ πολεμικὸς καὶ πολλῶν ἀντάξιος· ἰαθῆ-* 5
ναι δὲ αὐτὸν αὐτίκα ὑπὸ τῆς βώλου τῆς Λημνίας, εἰς ἣν λέγεται πεσεῖν
ὁ Ἥφαιστος· ἡ δὲ ἐλαύνει μὲν τὰς μανικὰς νόσους, ἐκραγὲν δὲ αἷμα
6 *ἴσχει, ὕδρου δὲ ἰᾶται μόνου δῆγμα ἑρπετῶν. ὃν δὲ ἐτρίβοντο οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ*
[172] *χρόνον ἐν τῷ Ἰλίῳ, τοῦτον ὁ Φιλοκτήτης Εὐνέῳ τῷ Ἰάσονος συνεξήρει*
τὰς μικρὰς τῶν νήσων, Κᾶρας ἐξελαύνων, ὑφ' ὧν κατείχοντο, καὶ 10
μισθὸς τῆς συμμαχίας αὐτῷ μοῖρα τῆς Λήμνου ἐγένετο, ἣν Ἄκεσαν
7 *ὁ Φιλοκτήτης ἐκάλεσεν ἐπειδὴ ἐν Λήμνῳ ἰάθη. ἐκεῖθεν αὐτὸν Διομή-*
δης καὶ Νεοπτόλεμος ἑκόντα ἐς Τροίαν ἤγαγον, ἱκετεύσαντες ὑπὲρ τοῦ
Ἑλληνικοῦ καὶ ἀναγνόντες αὐτῷ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν τόξων χρησμόν, ἐκ Λέσ-
8 *βου ὥς φασιν ἥκοντα. χρῆσθαι μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοῖς οἴκοι μαντείοις τοὺς* 15
Ἀχαιούς, τῷ τε Δωδωναίῳ καὶ τῷ Πυθικῷ καὶ ὁπόσα μαντεῖα εὐδόκι-
μα Βοιώτιά τε ἦν καὶ Φωκικά· Λέσβου δὲ ὀλίγον ἀπεχούσης τοῦ Ἰλίου,
9 *στέλλειν ἐς τὸ ἐκεῖ μαντεῖον τοὺς Ἕλληνας. ἔχρα δέ, οἶμαι, ἐξ Ὀρφέως·*
ἡ κεφαλὴ γὰρ μετὰ τὸ τῶν γυναικῶν ἔργον ἐς Λέσβον κατασχοῦσα, ῥῆγ-
10 *μα τῆς Λέσβου ᾤκησε καὶ ἐν κοίλῃ τῇ γῇ ἐχρησμῴδει. ὅθεν ἐχρῶντό* 20
τε αὐτῇ τὰ μαντικὰ Λέσβιοί τε καὶ τὸ ἄλλο πᾶν Αἰολικὸν καὶ Ἴωνες
Αἰολεῦσι πρόσοικοι, χρησμοὶ δὲ τοῦ μαντείου τούτου καὶ ἐς Βαβυλῶνα
11 *ἀνεπέμποντο. πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ ἐς τὸν ἄνω βασιλέα ἡ κεφαλὴ ᾔδε, Κύρῳ*
τε τῷ ἀρχαίῳ χρησμὸν ἐντεῦθεν ἐκδοθῆναι λέγεται· «τὰ ἐμά, ὦ Κῦρε,
σά»· καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως ἐγίνωσκεν, ὡς Ὀδρύσας τε καὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην κα- 25
θέξων, ἐπειδὴ Ὀρφεύς ποτε, μετὰ τοῦ σοφοῦ καὶ δυνατὸς γενόμενος, ἀνά

2 αὐτὸν ἐν Λ. τὸν Φ. **F** | θεραπευσάντων [**Φ**^{a}]**ΓΙ**^{ac}**P**^{ac} θεραπευόντων **Y** || 3 Μελίβοιαν] μὲν λίβοιαν **ΦΙ** τὴν Εὔβοιαν **P**^{blit} Εὔβοια **S**(b)^{γρ} || 4 συγκαταμεῖναι **Fκ** || 5 ὅτε **ΗΚΛ**^{γρ}**ΥΙ** (sed ὅτι **Η**^{γρ}**Κ**^{γρ}) || 7 ἡ δὲ βῶλος **Αχ** | μανικὰς] μακρὰς **ΓΙ** || 8 μόνου δῆγμα **FΦ**^{pc}**Ι**^{pc}**P**^{b} : μόνον δῆγμα **Φ**^{ac}**ΓΙ**^{ac}**P**^{a} δῆγμα μόνου **ΑΗ**^{m}**ΚVΥεOS**(b)**T** δῆγμα μόνον **ΗΛ** || 9 Εὐνόω **F** Εὐναίῳ **V**(b) **χ** Εὐνήω **A**^{γρ} Εὐνέτω **A** || 9-10 ξυνεξήρει **FÅEOS**(b) || 11 ξυμμαχίας **υS**(b) | ἐγένετο om. **ÅB** || 13 εἰς **FHYOT** (**S**^{a} non liquet) | ἱκέτευσαν δὲ **κ** (sed -σαντες **Η**^{γρ}**Κ**^{γρ}) || 18 στέλλειν Reiske, Valckenaer, Kay.: ἔστελλον codd. || 19 ἐς om. **ε** || 20 ᾤκισε **ε** || 21 τε^{1}] τι **Λ** τότε **Η**^{γρ}**KO** | ξύμπαν **Αχ**^{blit} || 25 ἐγίγνωσκεν **FAΦPST** || 26 ποτε] τέ ποτε **HKY** (**H**^{m} non item)

matters of the disease and of the people who healed him differently: Philoktêtês was left behind on Lemnos, assuredly not bereft of people to care for him, nor had he been rejected by the Hellenes. Many of the Meliboians stayed behind with him (he was their general), and tears came over the Achaeans because a man left them who was warlike and worth just as much as many men. He was healed immediately by the Lemnian soil, onto which Hep- 5
haistos is said to have fallen. It drives away diseases that cause madness and stanches bleeding, but the only snake bite it heals is that of the water snake. While the Achaeans spent time in 6
Ilion, Philoktêtês helped Euneôs, son of Jason, take the small islands by driving out the Carians by whom they were held, and his recompense for the alliance was a portion of Lemnos, which Philoktêtês called "Akesa" since he had been cured at Lemnos. From there Diomedes and Neoptolemos brought him to Troy 7
willingly, beseeching him on behalf of the Hellenes and reading to him the oracular utterance about the bow and the arrows, the utterance which had come, so Protesilaos says, from Lesbos.[125] The Achaeans customarily consulted their own oracles, both the 8
Dodonian and the Pythian, as well as all the renowned Boeotians and Phocians oracles, but since Lesbos is not far from Ilion, the Hellenes sent to the oracle there. I believe that the oracle gave its 9
answer through Orpheus, for his head, residing in Lesbos after the deed of the women, occupied a chasm on Lesbos and prophesied in the hollow earth.[126] Hence, both the Lesbians and all 10
the rest of Aeolia, as well as their Ionian neighbors, request oracles there, and the pronouncements of this oracle are even sent to Babylon. His head sang many prophecies to the Persian king, 11
and it is said that from there an oracle was given to Cyrus the elder: "What is mine, Cyrus, is yours." Cyrus understood it in this way, namely, that he would occupy both Odrysai and Europe, because Orpheus, once he had become wise and powerful, had ruled

[125] A red-figure kylix depicts the head of Orpheus prophesying, framed by Apollo and a youth with tablet and stylus (Jane Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion* [3d ed.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922; reprinted New York: Meridian 1955], 465–66). The writing down of oracular inquiries and especially responses was not unusual. Needless to say, however, the attribution of this practice to the heroic age is anachronistic.

[126] Philostratus narrates the visit of Apollonius of Tyana to the oracle of Orpheus at Lesbos (*Life of Apollonius* 4.14).

τε Ὀδρύσας ἴσχυσεν ἀνά τε Ἕλληνας ὁπόσοι τελεταῖς ἐθείαζον, ὁ δ' οἶμαι, τὰ ἑαυτοῦ πείσεσθαι ἐδήλου τὸν Κῦρον. ἐλάσας γὰρ Κῦρος ὑπὲρ ποταμὸν Ἴστρον ἐπὶ Μασσαγέτας τε καὶ Ἰσσηδόνας (τὰ δὲ ἔθνη ταῦτα Σκύθαι), ἀπέθανέ τε ὑπὸ γυναικός ἢ τούτων ἦρχε τῶν βαρβάρων, καὶ ἀπέτεμεν ἡ γυνὴ τὴν Κύρου κεφαλήν, καθάπερ αἱ Θρᾷτται τὴν Ὀρφέως. τοσαῦτα, ξένε, περὶ τοῦ μαντείου τούτου Πρωτεσίλεώ τε καὶ Λεσβίων ἤκουσα. ἐλθεῖν δὲ ἐς Τροίαν τὸν Φιλοκτήτην οὔτε νοσοῦντα οὔτε νενοσηκότι ὅμοιον, ἀλλὰ πολιὸν μὲν ὑφ' ἡλικίας (ἑξήκοντα γάρ που ἔτη γεγονέναι), σφριγῶντα δὲ παρὰ πολλοὺς τῶν νέων, βλέπειν δεινότατα ἀνθρώπων καὶ φθέγγεσθαι βραχυλογώτατα καὶ ὀλίγοις τῶν βουλευμάτων ξυντίθεσθαι.

29 Ἀγαμέμνονα δὲ καὶ Μενέλεων οὔτε τὸ εἶδος ὁμοίω γενέσθαι φησὶν οὔτε τὴν ῥώμην. τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἐν αὐτουργίᾳ τῶν πολεμικῶν εἶναι, μαχόμενόν τε οὐδενὸς τῶν ἀρίστων ἧττον καὶ ὁπόσα ἐς βασιλέα ἥκει πράττοντα· γινώσκειν τε αὐτὸν ἃ χρὴ τὸν ἄρχοντα, καὶ ὅ τι ἕτερος γνοίη πείθεσθαι, πρέπειν τε τῇ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀρχῇ καὶ δι' αὐτὸ τὸ εἶδος· σεμνὸν γὰρ καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῆ φαίνεσθαι καὶ οἷον ταῖς Χάρισι θύοντα. τὸν δὲ Μενέλεων μάχεσθαι μὲν μετὰ πολλοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἀποχρῆσθαι δὲ τῷ ἀδελφῷ πάντα, καὶ τυγχάνοντα προθύμου τε καὶ εὔνου τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος ὅμως βασκαίνειν αὐτῷ καὶ ὧν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἔπραττεν, ὑπὸ τοῦ ἄρχειν μὲν αὐτός ἐθέλειν, μὴ ἀξιοῦσθαι δέ. τὸν γοῦν Ὀρέστην, Ἀθήνησι μὲν παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν εὐδοκιμοῦντα, ἐπειδὴ τῷ πατρὶ ἐτιμώρησεν, ἐν δὲ τῷ Ἄργει κινδυνεύοντα, βληθέντα ἂν περιεῖδεν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀργείων, εἰ μὴ Ὀρέστης ἐμπεσὼν τούτοις μετὰ ξυμμάχων Φωκέων, τοὺς μὲν ἐτρέψατο, τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἄκοντος τοῦ Μενέλεω κατεκτήσατο. κομᾶν τὸν Μενέλεων μειρακιωδῶς φησιν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ Σπάρτη ἐκόμα, ξυγγινώσκειν αὐτῷ

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3 ἐπὶ Μασσαγέτας] ἐπιβὰς σαγέτας **H** ἐπιβὰς Μασσαγέτας $\mathbf{H}^{\gamma\rho}\mathbf{K}\Lambda$ Μασσαγέτας ἔπι **ΓIP** εἰς Μασσαγέτας **Φ** | τε καὶ **Aχ** || 6 τούτου om. **KΛ** | τοῦ Πρ. **AKΛ** || 9 βλέπειν τε $\mathbf{H}^{\gamma\rho}\mathbf{K}\Lambda\mathbf{V}$ βλέπειν δὲ $\mathbf{YI}^{b}$ || 10-11 καὶ — ξυντίθεσθαι om. $\mathbf{\Phi I}^{a}\mathbf{P}^{a}$ || 12 tit. Ἀγαμέμνων καὶ Μενέλαος habent $\mathbf{F}^{m}\mathbf{AKV}$ $\varepsilon\mathbf{O}^{m}$ Ἀγαμέμνονα καὶ Μενέλεων **Λ** Ἀγαμέμνων. Μενέλαος **HY** (-λεως **Y**), Ἀγαμέμνων **FΦIP**^{b}**ST** | Μενέλεων $\mathbf{FH}^{i}\mathbf{K}\Lambda\mathbf{Y}$: Μενέλεω $\mathbf{H}^{s}$ Μενέλαον **AV**$\alpha\varepsilon$**OS**(b)**T** || 14 οὐδενὸς] οὐδαμῶς **HΛY** || 15 γιγνώσκειν **FAΦPS**(b)**T** || 17 θύοντα ταῖς X. **HΛY** | δὲ om. **F** || 18 τοὺς πολλοὺς $\aleph$ || 20 ἑαυτοῦ $\mathbf{H}^{\gamma\rho}\mathbf{K}\Lambda^{\gamma\rho}$ | μὲν καὶ $\upsilon\mathbf{I}^{b}$ | αὐτὸν $\mathbf{VY}^{s}$ || 24 τούτοις] τοῖς Ἀργείοις **HΛVY** (sed τούτοις $\mathbf{H}^{\gamma\rho}$) || 25 κομᾶν **FAHVYΦP**^{a}: κομᾶν δὲ $\mathbf{H}^{\gamma\rho}\mathbf{K}\Lambda\mathbf{P}^{b}\sigma$ κομᾶν τε **ΓI** (cf. 33.14 διενεχθῆναι et Schmid, Attic. IV 521s.) || 25-26 Μενέλαον **ΦP** || 26 ἐπεὶ δὲ] ἐπειδὴ $\mathbf{AE}^{i}$ ἐπειδὴ δὲ $\mathbf{ÅBE}^{s}$

over Odrysai and over as many Hellenes as were inspired in his rites of initiation. But I think that he instructed Cyrus to be persuaded by his own fate, for when Cyrus had advanced beyond 12
the river Istros against the Massagetai and the Issêdonians (these tribes are Scythian), he died by the hand of a woman who ruled those barbarians, and this woman cut off the head of Cyrus just as the Thracian women had done with that of Orpheus.[127] This 13
much, my guest, I have heard about this oracle from both Protesilaos and the Lesbians. When Philoktêtês came to Troy, he was 14
neither ill nor like one who had been ill, and although his hair was gray because of age (he was about sixty years old), he was more vigorous than many of the young men, his gaze was most fearsome among mortals, his words most brief, and he attended few of the councils.

Agamemnon, Menelaos, and Idomeneus (29.1–30.3)

Protesilaos says that Agamemnon and Menelaos were alike nei- **29**
ther in appearance nor strength. Agamemnon was experienced 2
in the arts of war, was inferior to none of the best in combat, and fulfilled all the duties of a king: he knew what was necessary for a ruler, was persuaded by whatever insight someone else had, and even by his very appearance was fit to lead the Hellenes. He looked majestic and magnificent and like the sort of person who offered sacrifice to the Graces.

But Menelaos, although he fought along with many of the 3
Hellenes, abused his brother in every respect. And while having the goodwill and favor of Agamemnon, he nevertheless maligned him and what Agamemnon was doing for him by his desire to rule, even though he was not deemed worthy. Orestes, at any 4
rate, was held in honor in Athens and among the Hellenes since he had avenged his father. But when Orestes was in danger in Argos, Menelaos would have allowed his defeat by the Argives, had Orestes not fallen upon them with his Phocian allies and put them to flight. Thus he won for himself the realm of his father and of Menelaos, although Menelaos was unwilling. Protesilaos 5
says that Menelaos wore his hair boyishly long, as was the Spartan custom, and the Achaeans made allowance for him when he

[127] Cyrus's death at the hands of the Massagetai is narrated by Herodotus (*Hist.* 1.201–14).

τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἐπιχωριάζοντι. οὐδὲ γὰρ τοὺς ἀπ᾽ Εὐβοίας ἥκοντας ἐτώ- 1
[174] 6 θαζον, καίτοι γελοίως κομῶντας. διαλεχθῆναι δὲ αὐτὸν ῥᾷστα ἀνθρώπων
φησὶ καὶ βραχυλογώτατα, ξυγκεραννύοντα ἡδονὴν τῷ λόγῳ.

30 Κρῆτα Ἰδομενέα ὁ Πρωτεσίλεως οὐκ εἶδεν ἐν Ἰλίῳ, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν Αὐλίδι
ὄντων πρεσβείαν ἀφικέσθαι παρ᾽ Ἰδομενέως φησίν, ὑπισχνουμένου τὸ 5
2 Κρητῶν συμμαχικόν, εἰ συμμετέχοι τῆς ἀρχῆς τῷ Ἀγαμέμνονι. τὸν μὲν
δὴ Ἀγαμέμνονα σωφρόνως ἀκοῦσαι ταῦτα καὶ παραγαγεῖν τὸν ἥκοντα,
τὸν δὲ λαμπρᾷ τῇ φωνῇ καὶ φρονιμώδει «ὦ Ἀχαιοί» φάναι, «ἀνὴρ τὴν
Μίνω τοῦ Κρητὸς ἀρχὴν ἔχων δίδωσιν ὑμῖν ξυμμάχους ἑκατὸν πόλεις ὡς
καὶ τὴν Τροίαν ἑλεῖν παίζοντας, ἀξιοῖ δὲ συντετάχθαι τῷ Ἀγαμέμνονι 10
3 καὶ ἄρχειν ὑμῶν ὥσπερ οὗτος.» πρὸς ταῦτα εἰπόντος τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνο-
νος· «ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ πάσης τῆς ἀρχῆς παραχωρεῖν ἕτοιμος εἰ βελτίων
ἐμοῦ φαίνοιτο», παρελθεῖν φησι τὸν Τελαμῶνος Αἴαντα καὶ διαλεχθῆναι
ὧδε· «ἡμεῖς, Ἀγάμεμνον, ἐδώκαμέν σοι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ὑπὲρ εὐταξίας
τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ τοῦ μὴ πολλοὺς ἄρχειν, στρατεύομεν δὲ οὐχ ὑπὲρ τοῦ 15
δουλεύειν ἢ σοὶ ἢ ἑτέρῳ, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὲρ τοῦ καταδουλώσασθαι Τροίαν, ἣν
λάβοιμεν, ὦ θεοί, λαμπρὰ καὶ καλὰ ἐργασάμενοι. τοιοῦτοι γάρ ἐσμεν τὰς
ἀρετάς, οἷοι Τροίαν μὲν ἐσπουδακότες λαβεῖν, Κρήτην δὲ παίζοντες.»

31 Αἴαντα δὲ τὸν Λοκρὸν τὰ μὲν πολέμια φησι κατὰ Διομήδη τε
καὶ Σθένελον γεγονέναι, ξυνετὸν δὲ ἧττον δόξαι, προσέχειν δὲ οὐδὲν τῷ 20
Ἀγαμέμνονι· πατρός τε γὰρ εἶναι Λοκρῶν δυνατωτάτου, στρατιάν τε
οὐκ ἀφανῆ ἄγειν, οὐδὲ δουλεύσειν ποτὲ ἑκὼν οὔτ᾽ ἂν Ἀτρείδαις οὔτε
ἄλλῳ οὐδενί, «ἔστ᾽ ἂν ἥδε ἀστράπτῃ». τὴν αἰχμὴν δεικνὺς ταῦτα ἔλεγε,
[175] γοργὸν βλέπων καὶ ἀναχαιτίζων τὴν κόμην ὑπὸ τοῦ τῆς γνώμης ἑτοίμου.
2 καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἔφασκεν, ὅσοι προσεῖχον τῷ Ἀγαμέμνονι, ὑπὲρ τῆς 25
Ἑλένης ἥκειν, ἑαυτὸν δ᾽ ὑπὲρ τῆς Εὐρώπης· δεῖν γὰρ δὴ Ἕλληνας ὄντας
3 κρατεῖν βαρβάρων. εἶναι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ χειροήθη δράκοντα πεντάπηχυν

2 δὲ] τε **HKYO** τε καὶ **Λ** || 3 βραχυλογώτατον **ΦΓΙP**^{a} || 4 tit. Ἰδομενεύς habent **F**^{m}**AHK**^{m}**VYΦIP**^{b}**ÅBE**^{m}**OO**^{m}**ST** Ἰδομενέα **Λ** | Κρῆτα δὲ τὸν **V** | Ἰδομενῆα **ϰ** (Ἰδ. **H**) || 5 φησίν om. **ϰ** || 6 συμμετέχει **χ** (ξυμ- **ϰ**) || 7 σωφρόνως τε **H**^{γρ}**KΛ** || 8 φρονηματώδει **H**^{i}**ΛY** φρονιματώδει **K** || 9 ἡμῖν **VΓE** | ξυμμάχους post καὶ (omisso ὡς) transp. **HKY** (**K**^{γρ} non item) || 9-10 ὡς καὶ Lan. (cf. e.g. 2.2, 19.4, 19.6, 19.7, cet.): καὶ ὡς **FAK**^{γρ}**Λ αα** ὡς **V** (coniecerat Richards) καὶ ⟨τοιούτους⟩ ὡς Richards; ὡς ante παίζοντας transp. Visconti || 11 ὥσπερ] ὥνπερ **BT** || 14 ὧδε] τάδε **ϰ** (sed ὧδε **ϰ**^{γρ}) | ἐδώκαμεν **FH**^{γρ}**Vσ**: δεδώκαμεν **AχΓI** ⟦ἐ⟧δεδώκαμεν **P** ἐδεδώκειμεν (-ει- e corr.) **Φ** || 16 καταδουλώσεσθαι **F** | τὴν Τροίαν **KO** || 18 οἷον **χΦ**^{ac}**P**^{ac} || 19 tit. Αἴας ὁ Λοκρός habent **F**^{m}**A**^{m}**HKV**(b)**YΦIP**^{b}**ÅBE**^{m}**OO**^{m}**ST** (ὁ om. **KY**) Αἴαντα Λοκρόν **Λ** | πολεμικά **ϰ** | -μήδην **V**(b)**ÅBS** -μ$\overset{δ}{η}$′ **ΛY** || 21 τε^{1} om. **ϰ** | στρατείαν **AV** || 22 ἦγεν **ΦΓΙP**^{a} | ἂν om. **KO** || 23 ἀστράπτει **H**^{i}**Λ Yα** || 24 τοῦ om. **ϰ** || 26-27 δεῖν . . . κρατεῖν] δεινὸν . . . μὴ κρατεῖν **χ** (**H**^{γρ} **K**^{γρ} non item)

was visiting, since they did not mock those who came from Euboea even though their hair was ridiculously long. He says he 6
conversed most easily and very concisely, mixing pleasant speech with his discourse.

Protesilaos did not see the Cretan Idomeneus in Ilion, but **30**
he says that when they were in Aulis an embassy arrived from Idomeneus promising the Cretan forces as allies, if he were to share the command with Agamemnon. Agamemnon cautiously 2
listened to the proposal and introduced the ambassador, who proclaimed with a clear and self-confident voice, "Achaeans, a man who has command of Minos's Crete offers you a hundred cities as allies so that even playing like children we might capture Troy, and he requests that he be ranked with Agamemnon and rule you just as this man does." To this Agamemnon responded, "I am 3
prepared to cede the entire command if he should appear better than I." Then, he says, Ajax the son of Telamôn stepped forward and gave the following speech, "Agamemnon, we have given you supreme command for the discipline of the army and so that not many would be in command. And we are fighting not because we are slaves to either you or anyone else, but for the enslavement of Troy. May we capture it, O gods, after we have accomplished illustrious and noble deeds. We are so disposed toward excellent deeds that we are able to take Troy if we give it serious attention, but we could capture Crete for sport."

The Locrian Ajax (31.1–32.2)

Protesilaos says that the Locrian Ajax was as capable as Diomedes **31**
and Sthenelos in the arts of war, but appeared less intelligent and paid no heed to Agamemnon. His father, the most powerful of the Locrians, commanded a significant army, and he would never willingly serve the Atreidai or anyone else, "So long as this flashes." He said this with his quick mind while showing the point
of his spear, looking fierce, and throwing his long hair back. He 2
said that the others, who gave heed to Agamemnon, had come because of Helen, but he himself had come for the sake of Europe, since it was now necessary for the Hellenes to prevail over the barbarians. He also had a tame snake, five cubits long, who drank 3

τὸ μέγεθος, ὃν ξυμπίνειν τε καὶ συνεῖναι τῷ Αἴαντι καὶ ὁδῶν ἡγεῖσθαι 1
καὶ ξυνομαρτεῖν οἷον κύνα. τὴν δὲ Κασσάνδραν ἀποσπάσαι μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ
τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἕδους προσκειμένην τῇ θεῷ καὶ ἱκετεύουσαν, οὐ μὴν βιά-
σασθαί γε, οὐδὲ ὑβρίσαι ἐς αὐτήν ὁπόσα οἱ μῦθοι ἐς αὐτὸν ψεύδονται,
ἀλλ᾽ ἀπαγαγεῖν μὲν ἐς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σκηνήν, τὸν δὲ Ἀγαμέμνονα ἰδόντα 5
τὴν Κασσάνδραν (πρὸς γὰρ τῇ ὥρᾳ καὶ κατέστεπτο παρὰ τῆς τέχνης)
ἁλῶναί τε αὐτίκα τῆς κόρης καὶ ἀφελέσθαι αὐτὴν τὸν Αἴαντα, ἔριδός
τε αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ δασμῷ γενομένης ὁ μὲν ἠξίου ἑαυτοῦ εἶναι ἃ εἶλεν, ὁ
δὲ οὔτε ἀπεδίδου καὶ ἀσεβῆσαι αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἔφασκε. καθεῖν-
το δὲ τῷ Ἀγαμέμνονι λογοποιοὶ ἐς τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν διὰ τὸ ἀεὶ πρὸς τὸν 10
Αἴαντα ἔχθος, τὴν θεὸν πολλὰ καὶ ἄτοπα ἐπισημαίνειν ὑπὲρ τῆς κόρης,
καὶ ἀπολεῖσθαι τὴν στρατιὰν εἰ μὴ ἀπολέσειεν αὐτόν. ὁ δ᾽ ἐνθυμηθείς
ὅπως Αἴαντα μὲν ἀπώλεσεν ἄδικος κρίσις, Παλαμήδη δὲ οὐδὲν ἡ σοφία
ὤνησε τὸ μὴ οὐκ ἀποθανεῖν διαβληθέντα, ἀποδρᾶναι νύκτωρ ἐν πορθ-
μείῳ οὐ μεγάλῳ χειμῶνός τε καὶ ὡς ἔτυχεν, ὅτε δὴ πλέων εὐθὺ Τήνου 15
τε καὶ Ἄνδρου πρὸς Γυραῖς ἀπέθανεν. ἀγγελίας δὲ τοῦ πάθους ἐς τοὺς
Ἀχαιοὺς ἐλθούσης ὀλίγους μὲν αὐτῶν σίτου ἅψασθαι, πάντας δὲ ὡς ἐπ᾽
ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθῷ χεῖρας ἄρασθαι, προσεσχηκότας τε τῇ θαλάσσῃ ἀνακαλεῖν
αὐτὸν καὶ ὀλοφύρεσθαι καὶ τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα ἐν ὀργῇ ἔχειν μονονοὺ χερσὶ
[176] πράξαντα τὴν ἀπώλειαν τοῦ Αἴαντος. ἐναγισμάτων τε αὐτὸν τυχεῖν ἃ 20
μήπω ἐπηνέχθη πρότερον μήτε μὴν ὕστερον ἀνθρώπῳ τινί, μηδὲ ὁπό-
σους ναυμαχίαι ἀφανεῖς ἔσχον· ἐς γὰρ Λοκρίδα ναῦν, ἣ τὸν Αἴαντα ἦγε,
ξύλα νήσαντες ὥσπερ ἐς πυράν, ἔσφαξαν μέλανα πάντα, καὶ στείλαντες
αὐτὴν ἱστίοις μέλασι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὁπόσα ἐς τὸ πλεῖν εὕρηται, ξυνεῖχον
πείσμασιν ἔστε πνεῦσαι τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἄνεμον, ὃν περὶ ὄρθρον μάλιστα 25
ἡ Ἴδη ἀποστέλλει· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμέρα διεφαίνετο καὶ κατῄει τὸ πνεῦμα, πῦρ
ἐς κοίλην τὴν ναῦν ἐνῆκαν. ἔπλει τε δὴ μετεωρίζουσα ἐς τὸ πέλαγος,

1 μέγεθος] μῆκος **Aχ** | ξυνεῖναι **VχΓ** || 2 Κασσάνδραν **FI^{b}ÀEO ST^{pc}**: Κασάνδραν **υΦΓΙ^{a}PBT^{ac}** (de huius nominis orthographia cf. Ed. Fraenkel ad Aesch. Ag. 1035) || 4 ἐς αὐτὸν **Kσ**: ἐς αὐτὴν **FVα** om. **AHΛY** | ἐπιψεύδονται **AHY** || 5 ἐπαγαγεῖν **A** παραγαγεῖν **H^{γρ}KΛO** | εἰς **ΓIPST** || 6 Κασσάνδραν **FI^{b}ÀEζ**: Κασάνδραν **υΦΓΙ^{a}PB** | παρὰ] ὑπὸ **F^{ac}A^{i}H^{ac}** || 7 τε δὴ **χ** || 8 εἶλεν **κP^{b}σ**: εἶχεν **FAVYΦΓIP^{a}** || 9 εἰς **FAεST** || 10 καὶ λογοποιοὶ **AχI^{b}** (sed non **H^{γρ}**) || 11 τὴν δὲ **VχI^{b}** || 12 ἀπολεῖσθαι **F^{pc}H^{γρ} KP^{blit}σ**: ἀπωθεῖσθαι **F^{ac}**?**AVYΦΓI** ἀποθεῖσθαι **HΛ** | ἀπολύσειεν **H^{s}K** (sed -έ- **K^{γρ}**) | αὐτήν **H^{s}KO** (sed -όν **K^{γρ}**) || 13 ὅπως om. **κ** | ἀδίκω κρίσει **H^{i} KΛ** | -μήδην **V** -μη$^{δ'}$ **FY** || 16 εἰς **σ** πρὸς **H^{γρ}K^{γρ}** || 18 τε] δὲ **αS**(b)^{s} | θαλάσσῃ **FH^{ac}VYα**: θαλάττῃ **AH^{pc}KΛεOS**(b)**T** || 19 χερσὶ om. **Φ⟦I^{a}⟧PS**(b) || 20 προάξαντα **F** προάρξαντα **Φ⟦I^{a}⟧?⟦P^{a}⟧** || 21 τινί] μηδενί **Aχ** (sed τινί **κ^{γρ}**) || 22 εἰς **ΦIP** || 23 ἐς om. **ε** || 24 αὐτοῖς **χ** (sed -ὴν **H^{γρ}K^{γρ}**) | εἰς **ÀEST** | ξυνεῖχον αὐτὴν **H^{γρ}KΛ** || 25 ἔστ᾽ ἂν **V** ἔστε τοῦ **HKO** ἐς τοῦ **Λ^{γρ}** | τῆς om. **FH^{γρ}** || 26 ἡ ἡμέρα **κO**

with Ajax and accompanied him, either leading the way or following him like a dog. He dragged Cassandra away from the statue 4
of Athena, although she was clinging to the goddess and beseeching her; assuredly he neither raped nor abused her as the stories falsely tell about him,[128] but he led her away to his own tent. And when Agamemnon saw Cassandra (for in addition to beauty she was crowned by skill), he was immediately captivated by the maiden and deprived Ajax of her. When a fight between them ensued over the division of spoils, Ajax claimed as his own whatever he had captured, but Agamemnon did not yield and said that Ajax had committed sacrilege against Athena. Because of Agamem- 5
non's on-going enmity toward Ajax, Agamemnon's storytellers produced tales for the Hellenes that the goddess gave many strange signs concerning the young girl and that the army would be destroyed unless it destroyed Ajax. When this Ajax pondered 6
how an unjust judgment had destroyed the other Ajax and that cleverness did not keep Palamedes from dying after being slandered, he ran away by night in a small ferryboat during a storm, and as it happened, when sailing straight for Tênos and Andros, he died at the Gyrian rock. When news of this disaster reached the 7
Achaeans, few of them touched their food and all lifted up their hands in honor of a good man, and turning toward the sea, they invoked him, lamented, and were angry at Agamemnon because he accomplished the destruction of Ajax all but by his own hand. Ajax received offerings for the dead such as had never been of- 8
fered previously or have been since for any mortal, not even for all the many men whom naval battles destroyed. When they had 9
piled wood, as for a funeral pyre, on the Locrian ship that carried Ajax, they sacrificed all the black animals, and when they had equipped the ship with black sails and with many other things invented for sailing, they secured it with cables until the wind blew from the land, the wind that Mount Ida sends forth particularly at dawn. When day appeared and the wind swept down, they set fire to the hollow ship. Buoyed up on the high seas, it sailed away,

[128] The lost epic *The Destruction of Ilion* may have depicted Ajax as intending to rape Cassandra.

καὶ οὔπω ἡλίου ἀνίσχοντος αὐτή τε κατεφλέχθη καὶ ὁπόσα τῷ Αἴαντι 1
ἔφερεν.

32 *Χείρωνα δὲ τὸν ἐν Πηλίῳ γενέσθαι μέν φησιν ἀνθρώπῳ ὅμοιον, σοφὸν δὲ καὶ λόγους καὶ ἔργα (θήρας τε γὰρ ποικίλης ἥπτετο καὶ τὰ πολεμικὰ ἐπαίδευε καὶ ἰατροὺς ἀπέφαινε καὶ μουσικοὺς ἥρμοττε καὶ δι-* 5
καίους ἐποίει), βιῶναί τε ἐπὶ μήκιστον, φοιτῆσαι δὲ αὐτῷ Ἀσκληπιὸν Τελαμῶνά τε καὶ Πηλέα καὶ Θησέα, θαμίζειν δὲ καὶ Ἡρακλέα τῷ Χεί-
2 *ρωνι, ὅτε μὴ ἀπάγοιεν αὐτὸν οἱ ἆθλοι. μετασχεῖν δὲ τῆς τοῦ Χείρωνος ὁμιλίας καὶ αὐτός φησι Παλαμήδει ἅμα καὶ Ἀχιλλεῖ καὶ Αἴαντι.*

33 *Καὶ τὰ τοῦ Παλαμήδους ὧδε ἀπαγγέλλει· αὐτομαθῆ ἀφικέσθαι* 10
αὐτὸν καὶ σοφίας ἤδη γεγυμνασμένον καὶ πλείω γινώσκοντα ἢ ὁ Χείρων· πρὸ γὰρ δὴ Παλαμήδους ὧραι μὲν οὔπω ἦσαν οὖσαι, μηνῶν δὲ οὔπω κύκλος, ἐνιαυτὸς δὲ οὔπω ὄνομα ἦν τῷ χρόνῳ, οὐδὲ νόμισμα ἦν, οὐδὲ σταθμὰ καὶ μέτρα, οὐδὲ ἀριθμεῖν, σοφίας τε οὔπω ἔρως, ἐπεὶ μήπω
2 *ἦν γράμματα. βουλομένου δὲ τοῦ Χείρωνος ἰατρικὴν διδάσκειν αὐτόν,* 15
[177] *«ἐγὼ» ἔφη, «ὦ Χείρων, ἰατρικὴν μὲν ἡδέως οὐκ οὖσαν ἂν εὗρον, εὑρημένην δὲ οὐκ ἀξιῶ μανθάνειν, καὶ ἄλλως τὸ ὑπέρσοφόν σου τῆς τέχνης ἀπήχθηται μὲν Διί, ἀπήχθηται δὲ Μοίραις, καὶ διῄειν ἂν τὰ Ἀσκληπιοῦ,*
3 *εἰ μὴ ἐνταῦθα ἐβέβλητο». ὄντων δὲ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐν Αὐλίδι πεττοὺς εὖ-*
4 *ρεν, οὐ ῥάθυμον παιδιὰν ἀλλ' ἀγχίνουν τε καὶ εἴσω σπουδῆς. τὸν δὲ λόγον,* 20
ὃς πολλοῖς τῶν ποιητῶν εἴρηται, ὡς στρατεύοι μὲν ἐπὶ Τροίαν ἡ Ἑλλάς, Ὀδυσσεὺς δὲ ἐν Ἰθάκῃ μανίαν πλάττοιτο καὶ πρὸς ἀρότρῳ εἴη βοῦν ἵππῳ ξυμβαλών, Παλαμήδης τε αὐτὸν ἐλέγξειε τῷ Τηλεμάχῳ, οὗ φησιν ὑγιᾶ εἶναι· προθυμότατα γὰρ δὴ τὸν Ὀδυσσέα ἐς Αὐλίδα ἐλθεῖν καὶ ὄνομα ἤδη αὐτοῦ παραδεδόσθαι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐπὶ δεινότητι. διενεχθῆναι δὲ αὐτὸν 25

3 tit. Χείρων habent **F^{m}AKVYΦIP^{b}εOO^{m}ST** Χείρονα **Λ** | φησιν **υP**: φασιν **FΦΓIσ** || 5 ἰατρούς **FκI^{b}B**: ἰατρικούς **Aκ^{γρ}VYP^{bec}ÅEζ** ἰατρικά **ΦΓI^{a}** | μουσικὴν **ΦΓI^{a}⟦P^{a}⟧** || 7 δὲ] τε **F** || 8 μὴ] μὴν **H^{s}K^{γρ}Λ^{γρ}O** | δὲ] τε **HΛ** || 10 tit. Παλαμήδης habent **FA^{m}VχΦIP^{b}εOO^{m}ST** || 12 δὴ om. **F** | τοῦ Π. **KΛ** | οὖσαι om. **V** || 13 ἦν^{2} om. **ΓI** || 14 στάθμια **H^{i}KΛ** (sed -μὰ **K^{γρ} Λ^{γρ}**) | ἀριθμοί **H^{i}KΛ^{i}Y** | τε **FAKΛVP^{b}Eζ**: δὲ **HYΦΓIP^{a}ÅB** (μὲν . . . δὲ . . . δὲ . . . (. . .) τε . . . etiam 56.6 invenies) | μήπω Kay.: μήποτ' **FAV**(b)**χεOS**(b) **T** μήπο^{τ} **I** μήποτε **ΦΓP** μήπω τότ' Reiske || 15 τοῦ om. **F** | ἄλλα τε καὶ ἰατρικὴν **χ** || 16 οὐκ οὖσαν μὲν ἡδέως ἂν **εO^{Σ}T^{Σ}** (**S^{Σ}** non liquet) ἡδ. μ. ἂν οὐκ οὖσ. **κV** ἡδ. μ. οὐκ οὖσ. ἂν **A** ἡδ. μ. οὐκ ἂν οὖσ. **Y** (ἂν om. **Y^{ac}**) || 21-22 ὡς — πλάττοιτο om. **Γ** || 21 τὴν Τροίαν **κ** || 22 πλάττοιτο] ὑποκρίνοιτο **F** (sed πλ. **F^{γρ}**) ὑπεκρίνετο **σ^{Σ}** (ὑπεκρίνοιτο **O^{Σ}**) || 23 τε] δὲ **ÅB**

and before the sun had risen, the ship was consumed, along with all that it bore for Ajax.

Protesilaos says that Kheirôn, who lives on Mount Pelion, **32**
resembled a human and that he was skilled in words and deeds (for he participated in various kinds of hunts, taught the skills of war, trained physicians, "tuned" the musicians,[129] and made people just). He lived for a very long time, and Asclepius visited him as did Telamôn, Peleus, and Theseus; Herakles also often came to
Kheirôn when his labors did not divert him. Protesilaos says that .2
he himself shared the company of Kheirôn at the same time with Palamedes, Achilles, and Ajax.

Palamedes and Odysseus (33.1–34.7)

Protesilaos reports the affairs of Palamedes as follows: Palame- **33**
des arrived self-taught and already practiced in wisdom, knowing even more than Kheirôn. Before Palamedes, seasons as such did not yet exist, nor did the cycle of the months, and "year" was not yet a word for time; nor were there coins, nor weights and measures, nor numbering, and the desire for knowledge did not yet exist, because there were no letters of the alphabet yet.[130]

When Kheirôn wanted to teach him medicine, he said, 2
"Kheirôn, I would gladly have discovered medicine had it not existed, but since it has been discovered, I do not deem it worth learning. And besides, the extreme cleverness of your skill is loathsome to both Zeus and the Fates, and I would describe the deeds of Asclepius, if he had not then been struck dead." While 3
the Achaeans were in Aulis, he invented checkers,[131] which is not a frivolous pastime, but a shrewd and serious one.

The story, which has been told by many poets,[132] that, when 4
Hellas waged war on Troy and Odysseus feigned madness in Ithaca and yoked an ox together with a horse to the plow, Palamedes tested him by means of Telemachus—well, Protesilaos denies that this story is sound. He says indeed that Odysseus went to Aulis most eagerly, and his reputation for cleverness had already

[129] That is, the lyric poets.

[130] See Gorgias *Palamedes* 30, on Palamedes as the inventor of tactics, law, letters, measures, numbers, beacon-fires, and checkers.

[131] πεσσοί; see the note on *Her.* 21.15 above for a discussion of this game.

[132] See the *Cypria*; Apollodorus *Epitome* 3.7; Hyginus *Fabulae* 95.2.

τῷ Παλαμήδει ἐντεῦθεν· ἔκλειψις ἡλίου ἐν Τροίᾳ ἐγένετο καὶ ὁ στρατὸς 1
6 ἄθυμοι ἦσαν λαμβάνοντες τὴν διοσημίαν ἐς τὰ μέλλοντα. παρελθὼν οὖν
ὁ Παλαμήδης αὐτό τε τὸ πάθος τοῦ ἡλίου διεξῆλθε καὶ ὅτι τῆς σελήνης
ὑποτρεχούσης αὐτὸν ἐξαμαυροῦται καὶ ἀχλὺν ἕλκει· «κακὰ δὲ εἴ τινα
σημαίνοι, ταῦτα δήπου οἱ Τρῶες πείσονται· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀδίκων ἦρξαν, 5
ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀδικούμενοι ἥκομεν. προσήκει δὲ καὶ ἀνίσχοντι τῷ Ἡλίῳ εὔ-
7 χεσθαι, πῶλον αὐτῷ καταθύσαντας λευκόν τε καὶ ἄνετον.» ταῦτα τῶν
Ἀχαιῶν ἐπαινεσάντων (καὶ γὰρ ἥττητο τῶν τοῦ Παλαμήδους λόγων),
παρελθὼν ὁ Ὀδυσσεύς «ἃ μὲν χρὴ θύειν» ἔφη, «ἢ ὅ τι εὔχεσθαι ἢ ὅτῳ,
Κάλχας ἐρεῖ· μαντικῆς γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα· τὰ δὲ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ ἥτις 10
τῶν ἄστρων ἀταξία τε καὶ τάξις, Ζεὺς οἶδεν, ὑφ᾽ οὗ ταῦτα κεκόσμηταί
τε καὶ εὕρηται· σὺ δέ, Παλάμηδες, ἥττονα ληρήσεις προσέχων τῇ γῇ
[178] 8 μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ σοφιζόμενος.» ὑπολαβὼν οὖν ὁ Παλαμήδης
«εἰ σοφὸς ἦσθα, ὦ Ὀδυσσεῦ» εἶπε, «ξυνῆκας ἂν ὅτι μηδεὶς ἂν δύναιτο
λέγειν σοφόν τι περὶ τῶν οὐρανίων μὴ πλείω περὶ τῆς γῆς γινώσκων. 15
σὲ δὲ ἀπολελεῖφθαι τούτων οὐκ ἀπιστῶ· φασὶ γὰρ ὑμῖν τοῖς Ἰθακησίοις
9 μήτε ὥρας μήτε γῆν εἶναι.» ἐκ τούτων ὁ μὲν Ὀδυσσεὺς ἀπῆλθεν ὀργῆς
πλέως, Παλαμήδης δὲ ὡς πρὸς βασκαίνοντα ἤδη παρασκευάζων ἑαυτόν.
10 ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ δέ ποτε τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ὄντων γέρανοι μὲν ἔτυχον πετόμεναι
τὸν εἰωθότα ἑαυταῖς τρόπον, ὁ δὲ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐς τὸν Παλαμήδη βλέ- 20
ψας «αἱ γέρανοι» ἔφη «μαρτύρονται τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ὅτι αὐταὶ γράμματα

2 διοσημίαν **ΚΥΦΓΙΡ^{pc}ÅB** διοσημείαν **ΑΗΛVP^{ac}EOS**(b)**T** διοση$^{\mu}$ **F** || 3 τε om. **ΦΓΙ^{a}P** | διῆλθε **ϰ** || 4 αὐτὴν **F** | κακὸν **F^{ac}** κακῶν **F^{pc}** || 5 σημαίνει **H^{i}K^{i}ΛVα** σημαίνοιτο **A** | δήπου ἔφη **υ** | πείσοιντο **H^{i}VY** || 6 δὲ καὶ] δὲ **PS**(b) δ᾽ **ΦΓΙ** || 7 καταθύσαντες **H^{s}K^{γρ}ΛO** || 9 ὁ^{1} om. **ϰ** || 10 ἥτις] εἴ τις **ΗΓΙ** || 12 ἥττονα **FAϰVΦIP^{a}** (cf. 56.1 θεῖά τε . . . καὶ λαμπρά et Ap. 186.2s.): ἧττον **ΥΓΡ^{b}σ** || 14-15 μηδεὶς — οὐρανίων] μηδεὶς ἂν σοφόν τι π. τ. οὐ. εἴποι **υ** (sed non **H^{γρ}K^{γρ}**; τῶν om. **H**) || 15 λέγειν om. **ÅB** || 17 εἶναι μήτε γῆν **υ** || 18 ὁ Παλ. δὲ **AV** ὁ δὲ Παλ. **χ** | παρεσκεύαζεν Eitrem || 19 ἐπ᾽ ἐκκλησίας **Vχ** || 20 αὐταῖς **FVÅBE^{ac}** αὐταῖς **E^{pc}** | Παλαμήδη **AKYÅB T**: -μήδην **HVαEOS** -μὴ$^{δ'}$ **FΛ** || 21 τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς **H^{s}KΛ^{γρ}** | αὐταὶ Reiske, Westerm.: αὗται codd.

become legendary among the Hellenes. Odysseus, however, dis- 5
agreed with Palamedes from that time on: there was an eclipse of the sun at Troy, and the army lost courage, because they took it as a sign from Zeus for the future.[133] So Palamedes stepped for- 6
ward and interpreted fully the very phenomenon of the sun, that, when the moon ran beneath it, it was obscured and drew down mist.[134] "If it should signify anything bad, perhaps the Trojans will be persuaded. For they began the injustices, and we have come as the injured party. It is fitting also to make a vow to Helios when he rises by sacrificing to him a foal, white and set free from labor." When the Achaeans applauded these remarks (for 7
they were won over by Palamedes' words), Odysseus stepped forward and said, "Kalkhas will say what it is necessary to sacrifice, what to vow, and to whom, for such things require prophetic skill. What is in heaven and whatever is the improper or proper position of the stars, Zeus knows, by whom these have been arranged and invented. But you, Palamedes, will be less foolish by paying attention to the earth rather than by speculating about what is in heaven."

Then Palamedes replied, "If you were clever, Odysseus, you 8
would have understood that no one is able to say anything learned about the heavens unless he knows more about the earth. That you are wanting in these matters, I have no doubt, for they say that you Ithacans have neither seasons nor land." Because of these 9
words, Odysseus departed full of anger, and Palamedes went away to prepare himself against one who had already slandered him.

Once when the Achaeans were in their assembly, cranes hap- 10
pened to fly by in their usual manner, and Odysseus, looking at Palamedes, said, "The cranes bear witness to the Achaeans that

[133] The Athenian army, under the leadership of Nicias and the guidance of soothsayers, delayed their attack on the Syracusans after a lunar eclipse (Thucydides *Peloponnesian War* 7.50). The rivalry of Odysseus and Palamedes here is reminiscent of the attack by the seer Diopeithês upon Anaxagoras for his naturalistic explanation of heavenly phenomena and indirectly upon Pericles, Anaxagoras's pupil, for his refusal to consult the seers after an eclipse (Plutarch *Pericles* 32.1; 35.1–2).

[134] In the *Iliad*, ἀχλύς ("mist") refers to a supernatural obscuring of sight, sometimes accompanying the visitation of a god (*Il.* 5.127; 20.321), as well as to the darkening of sight in death (*Il.* 5.696; 16.344; 20.421). In the *Odyssey* (20.357), the mist follows an eclipse of the sun, which forebodes evil and destruction for Penelope's suitors in Ithaca.

εὗρον, οὐχὶ σύ». καὶ ὁ Παλαμήδης «ἐγὼ γράμματα οὐχ εὗρον» εἶπεν, «ἀλλ᾽ ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν εὑρέθην· πάλαι γὰρ ταῦτα ἐν Μουσῶν οἴκῳ κείμενα ἐδεῖτο ἀνδρὸς τοιούτου, θεοὶ δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα δι᾽ ἀνδρῶν σοφῶν ἀναφαίνουσι. γέρανοι μὲν οὖν οὐ μεταποιοῦνται γραμμάτων ἀλλὰ τάξιν ἐπαινοῦσαι πέτονται· πορεύονται γὰρ ἐς Λιβύην ξυνάψουσαι πόλεμον μικροῖς ἀνθρώποις. σὺ δ᾽ οὐδὲν ἂν περὶ τάξεως εἴποις· ἀτακτεῖς γὰρ τὰς μάχας.»

αἰτίαν δὲ οἶμαι, ξένε, Ὀδυσσεὺς εἶχεν ὡς, εἴ που Ἕκτορα ἢ Σαρπηδόνα ἢ Αἰνείαν ἴδοι, καταλείπων τὴν τάξιν καὶ μεθιστάμενος πρὸς τὰ ῥᾳστώνην ἔχοντα τοῦ πολέμου. μειρακιώδης δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας δόξας καὶ πρεσβύτερος νέου τοῦ Παλαμήδους ἡττηθείς, ἐπετείχιζεν αὐτῷ τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα ὡς πρὸς τὸν Ἀχιλλέα τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς μεθιστάντι. διενεχθῆναι πάλιν αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοιούτου φησί· λύκοι καταβαίνοντες ἐκ τῆς Ἴδης ἐσίνοντο τὰ σκευοφόρα παιδάρια καὶ τῶν ὑποζυγίων τὰ περὶ τὰς σκηνάς· ὁ μὲν δὴ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐκέλευσεν ἀραμένους τόξα καὶ ἀκόντια φοιτᾶν ἐς τὴν Ἴδην ἐπὶ τοὺς λύκους, ὁ δὲ Παλαμήδης «ὦ Ὀδυσσεῦ» ἔφη, «τοὺς [179] λύκους ὁ Ἀπόλλων προοίμιον λοιμοῦ ποιεῖται καὶ τοξεύει μὲν αὐτοὺς καθάπερ τοὺς ὀρέας τε καὶ τοὺς κύνας ἐνταῦθα, πέμπει δὲ πρότερον παρὰ τοὺς νοσήσοντας εὐνοίας εἵνεκα τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τοῦ φυλάξασθαι. εὐχώμεθα οὖν Ἀπόλλωνι Λυκίῳ τε καὶ Φυξίῳ, τὰ μὲν θηρία ταῦτα τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ τόξοις ἐξελεῖν, τὴν νόσον δὲ ἐς αἶγας, φασί, τρέψαι. καὶ ἡμεῖς δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, ἐπιμελώμεθα ἡμῶν αὐτῶν· δεῖ δὲ τοῖς φυλαττομένοις τὰ λοιμώδη διαίτης λεπτῆς καὶ κινήσεων συντόνων. ἰατρικῆς μὲν γὰρ οὐχ ἡψάμην, σοφίᾳ δὲ καταληπτὰ ἅπαντα.» εἰπὼν ταῦτα τὴν μὲν τῶν κρεῶν ἀγορὰν ἐπέσχε καὶ τὰ στρατιωτικὰ τῶν σιτίων ἐκέλευσε παραιτήσασθαι, τραγήμασι δὲ καὶ λαχάνοις ἀγρίοις διῆγε τὸν στρατὸν πειθομένους αὐτῷ καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἐκ Παλαμήδους θεῖόν τε ἡγουμένους καὶ χρησμῶδες· καὶ γὰρ δὴ ὁ λοιμὸς ὃν προὔλεγεν ἐνέσκηψε μὲν ἐς τὰς Ἑλλησποντικὰς πόλεις, ἀρξάμενος, φασίν, ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου, προσέπεσε δὲ καὶ τῷ Ἰλίῳ, τῶν δὲ Ἑλλήνων οὐδενὸς ἥψατο καίτοι στρατοπεδευόντων ἐν

1 οὐχὶ] ἀλλ᾽ οὐ **F** (sed οὐχὶ $\mathbf{F}^{m}$) | εἶπεν om. **χ** ἔφη **V** || 5 σμικροῖς $\boldsymbol{\alpha S}^{b}$ || 6 δὲ **FV** || 7 ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς **AκεOT** ($\mathbf{S}^{a}$ non liquet) || 8 καταλιπὼν $\mathbf{H}^{i}\mathbf{K}$ **ΛΥΓΡ**^{a} (sed -λείπ- $\mathbf{K}^{γρ}$) || 10 τοῦ om. **αES**(b) || 11 μεθιστάντα $\mathbf{H}^{i}\mathbf{KΓ}$ (sed -ι $\mathbf{K}^{γρ}$) || 11-12 διενεχθῆναι δὲ **υΓΙ**^{b} (cf. 28.5 κομᾶν) || 12 αὐτοὺς πάλιν **χ** | ἐκ^{2}] ἀπὸ $\mathbf{H}^{γρ}\mathbf{K}$ || 13 περὶ] παρὰ **Φ**[[$\mathbf{I}^{a}$]]**PS**(b) || 14 ἐκέλευεν **Fε** || 16 ὁ om. **ÅB** || 17 τε om. **FΛ** || 18 νοσήσαντας **ϰVΓΙP**^{ac}**O** ($\mathbf{S}^{a}$ non liquet) | εἵνεκα **ΑΓ**^{ac}**EST**: εἵνεκεν **ΦΓ**^{pc}**IP** ἕνεκα **FVχÅBO** || 20 ἑλεῖν $\mathbf{P}^{a}$ ἀνελεῖν $\mathbf{H}^{γρ}\mathbf{K}^{γρ}\mathbf{I}^{b}$ ἂν ἐξελεῖν **Y** ἂν ἐξελεῖν ἔχειν **Aϰ** | εἰς **α** | φασί om. **AVP**^{b} | ὑμεῖς **ΦIPS**^{b} || 23 δὲ καὶ **ϰ** (sed non $\mathbf{H}^{γρ}$) | καὶ εἰπὼν **F** (cf. quae ad 28.5 κομᾶν adnotavimus) || 26 πειθόμενον **V** | ἡγούμενον **V** || 27-28 Ἑλλησποντιακὰς **χ** (sed -ικὰς $\mathbf{H}^{γρ}$) || 29 οὐδενὸς] οὐδαμῶς **ΛVI**

the cranes themselves have discovered the letters of the alphabet, not you." Palamedes said, "I did not discover the letters of the al- 11
phabet, but I was discovered by them. Long ago, while lying in the house of the Muses, these letters needed such a man, and the gods reveal such letters through learned men. The cranes, then, do not lay claim to the letters, but fly, commending their orderly arrangement. They travel to Libya in order to engage in war on small humans.[135] But you, now, should not be talking about order, for you are disorderly in battles."

I think this is the reason for Palamedes' charge, my guest: 12
Odysseus believed that if he ever saw Hektor, Sarpêdon, or Aeneas, he would abandon his post and change his position to the easy places in the battle. In the opinion of the assembly he was 13
youthful, and although older he was bested by the young Palamedes, and he used Agamemnon as his bulwark against him while he made the Achaeans opposed to Achilles.

He says that once more they were brought through troubles 14
by Palamedes. When wolves descended from Mount Ida, they devoured the young pack animals and the yoked animals round about the tents. Odysseus then ordered men fitted with bows and arrows and javelins to go to Mount Ida against the wolves. But Palamedes said, "Odysseus, Apollo makes the wolves a prelude to plague, and though he then shoots them, just as he does both the mules and the dogs, he sends them beforehand among the sick, because of his goodwill toward mortals and so that they might be on guard. Let us pray therefore to both Apollo Lykios and Apollo Phyxios, for they say that the one kills the wild beasts with his own arrows, and the other diverts disease to goats. And let us, men of Hellas, take care of ourselves. To guard against the plague we must have a light diet and vigorous exercise. I did not take up medicine, but all things can be achieved by cleverness." Saying this, he halted the supply of meat and ordered the 15
army to avoid grain; instead he sustained the army on sweetmeats and wild herbs, and they trusted him and believed everything from Palamedes to be both divine and oracular. For indeed the 16

[135] The battle between the cranes and the Pygmies was well known in the ancient world (see, e.g., Homer *Il.* 3.4–6). The delta-shaped pattern in which cranes fly may have suggested a connection with the invention of the alphabet; see Marcel Detienne, *L'écriture d'Orphée* (Paris: Gallimard, 1989), 12.

17 γῇ νοσούσῃ. πρὸς γὰρ τῇ διαίτῃ καὶ τὰς κινήσεις αὐτῶν ὧδε ἐσοφίσατο· καθελκύσας ἑκατὸν ναῦς ἐνεβίβαζε τὸν στρατὸν κατὰ μέρος, ἐρέττοντάς τε καὶ ἁμιλλωμένους ἀλλήλοις ἢ ἀκρωτήριον περιβαλεῖν ἢ σκοπέλου ἅψασθαι ἢ προκατᾶραι τῶν πέλας ἐς λιμένα τινὰ ἢ ἀκτήν, ἔπεισε δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα προθεῖναί σφισι τοῦ ταχυναυτεῖν ἆθλα. χαίροντες οὖν
18 ἐγυμνάζοντο καὶ ξυνιέντες τὸ ὑγιαίνειν· καὶ γὰρ ἐδίδασκεν αὐτούς ὅτι τῆς γῆς παρεφθορυίας τε καὶ οὕτως ἐχούσης ἡδίων ἡ θάλαττα καὶ ἀσφαλε-
[180] 19 στέρα ἀναπνεῖν. ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ μὲν σοφίας ἀριστεῖα ἐστεφανοῦτο ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὁ δὲ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἀτίμως τε ἤγειτο πράττειν καὶ πανουργίας ὅ τι εἶχεν ἐπὶ τὸν Παλαμήδη ἔστρεφεν. ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Πρωτεσίλεως τοιαῦτα
20 ἀπαγγέλλει· τὸν Ἀχιλλέα στρατεύοντα ἐπὶ τὰς νήσους καὶ τὰς ἀκταίας
21 πόλεις, αἰτῆσαι τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ξὺν Παλαμήδει στρατεῦσαι. ἐμάχοντο δὲ ὁ μὲν Παλαμήδης γενναίως καὶ σωφρόνως, ὁ δὲ Ἀχιλλεὺς οὐ καθεκτῶς· ὁ γὰρ θυμὸς ἐξαίρων αὐτὸν εἰς ἀταξίαν ἦγεν, ὅθεν ἔχαιρε τῷ Παλαμήδει συνασπίζοντι καὶ ἀπάγοντι μὲν αὐτὸν τῆς φορᾶς, ὑποτιθεμένῳ δὲ ὡς χρὴ μάχεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐῴκει λεοντοκόμῳ λέοντα γενναῖον πραΰνοντί τε καὶ ἐγείροντι, καὶ οὐδὲ ἐκκλίνων ταῦτ᾽ ἔπραττεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ βάλλων καὶ
22 φυλαττόμενος βέλη καὶ ἀσπίδα ἀντερείδων καὶ διώκων στῖφος. ἐξέπλευσαν μὲν δὴ χαίροντες ἀλλήλοις, εἵποντο δὲ αὐτοῖς Μυρμιδόνες τε καὶ οἱ ἐκ Φυλάκης Θετταλοί. ταχθῆναι γὰρ μετὰ ταῦτα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν ὁ Πρωτεσίλεως ὑπ᾽ Ἀχιλλεῖ καὶ Μυρμιδόνας οὕτως ὀνομασθῆναι πάντας
23 Θετταλούς. αἱ μὲν οὖν πόλεις ἡλίσκοντο καὶ εὐδόκιμα τοῦ Παλαμήδους ἔργα ἀπηγγέλλετο· ἰσθμῶν διορυχαὶ καὶ ποταμοὶ ἐς τὰς πόλεις ἐπιστρεφόμενοι καὶ σταυροὶ λιμένων καὶ ἐπιτειχίσματα νυκτομαχία τε ἡ περὶ Ἄβυδον, ὁπότε τρωθέντες ὁ μὲν Ἀχιλλεὺς ἀνεχώρησεν, ὁ Παλαμήδης
24 δὲ οὐκ ἀπεῖπεν ἀλλὰ πρὶν μέσην ἑστάναι νύκτα, εἶλε τὸ χωρίον. ὁ δὲ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐν Τροίᾳ ξυνετίθει λόγους πρὸς τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα, ψευδεῖς

1 ἐσοφίζετο **H^{i}ΛΥI^{b}** (sed -σατο **Λ^{γρ}**) || 2 τὴν στρατιὰν **H^{i}ΚΛΥ** (sed τὸν στρατὸν **K^{γρ}**) || 4 εἰς **FO** || 6 τὸ] τοῦ **AV^{s}ε^{Σ}S^{Σ}** || 7 τε om. **ϰ** | θάλασσα **FO** || 10 Παλαμήδη **HΚVΦIP**: -μήδην **FAΓ[Å]BES**(b)**T** -μῆ^{δ} **ΛΥ** -μήδους **O** | ἔτρεφεν **ΦΓI^{a}P^{a}S**(b) || 12 αἰτήσασθαι **HΛΥ** (sed -ῆσαι **H^{γρ}**) || 13 τε καὶ **Vχ** || 14 ἐς **Vχ** || 15 μὴ ἀπάγοντι **ϰ^{γρ}εO** | αὐτὸν om. **P^{a}ε** | ἀπὸ τῆς **Aε** || 16 καὶ^{2} om. **BO** || 17 τε om. **F** γε **ΦΓIP^{a}** | ἐκκλίνων] ἐλιννύων **K ΛV** (ἐλι- **K** ἐλη- **Λ**) ἐλωνύων **H** (sed ἐκκλίνων **H^{γρ}K^{γρ}**) | ἀλλὰ ⟦καὶ⟧ **P** || 19 Μυρμηδόνες **FHΛVY** | τε om. **FY** || 20 ἐκ om. **F** | Θεσσαλοί **F** | γὰρ] μὲν γὰρ **HKVY** μὲν γὰρ δὴ **Λ** δὲ **AΓI** | δύναμίν φησιν **P^{b}σ** || 21 Ἀχιλλεῖ φησι **υΦ^{b}I^{b}** (cf. 53.7 ἄρχεσθαι; Ael. V. H. 119.11s. Dilts; Schmid, Attic. IV 110) | Ἀχιλλέως tacite Kay. | Μυρμηδόνας **FHΛVY** || 22 Θετταλούς **υΓIS**(b): Θεσσαλούς **FΦPεOT** | τὰ τοῦ **VO** || 23 τὰ ἔργα **HK** | διωρυχαὶ **AχΦΓI^{pc} P** διορυγαὶ **V^{pc}** διωρυγαὶ **V^{ac}** || 24 ⟦ἡ⟧ **P** om. **S**(b) || 25 ὁπότε καὶ **χI^{b}**

plague that he foretold did strike the cities of the Hellespont, beginning, they say, from the Pontus, and it even fell upon Ilion, but it touched none of the Hellenes although they were encamped in the diseased land. Thus he instructed them in their diet and 17
exercises. After launching one hundred ships, he put the army on board in turns, rowing and competing with one another either to surround the promontory, or to touch the headland, or to run before their neighbors into some harbor or shoreline, and he per-
suaded Agamemnon to offer them prizes for fast sailing. They 18
exercised gladly then and with an understanding of health, for truly he taught them that, since the land was spoiled and was in such a state, the sea was more pleasant and safer to breathe. In 19
addition to these things, Palamedes was crowned with rewards for his wisdom by the Hellenes but Odysseus planned to act dishonorably, and whatever villainy he had he turned against Palamedes.

In addition to these stories, Protesilaos reports the follow- 20
ing: Achilles, who was fighting against the islands and the coastal cities, asked the Achaeans to fight along with Palamedes. They 21
did fight—Palamedes nobly and wisely, but Achilles fought without restraint. His fighting spirit rose up and led him away from his post in battle, where he rejoiced at Palamedes who was fighting alongside him; Palamedes, carrying him out of the rush of battle, enjoined him how one ought to fight. And what is more, he resembled a lion tamer who calms and stirs up a well-bred lion, and he did these things without even giving way, but while hurling darts and being on guard against them, standing firm against shields, and pursuing warriors in close formation. Then, after saying 22
farewell to one another, they sailed away, and both the Myrmidons and the Thessalians from Phulakê followed them. Afterwards, Protesilaos stationed his own force under Achilles, and thus all the Thessalians are called Myrmidons. Indeed, the cities were being 23
captured and glorious deeds of Palamedes were reported: digging of canals through narrow passages of land, rivers diverted into the cities, pilings for harbors, forts, and a battle by night around Abydos. In this battle, when they were wounded, Achilles retreated but Palamedes did not give up, and before the middle of the night came, he conquered the place. Odysseus, however, was compos- 24
ing reports to Agamemnon in Troy, reports that were false, but

μέν, πιθανοὺς δὲ πρὸς τὸν εὐήθως ἀκούοντα, ὡς ἐρῴη μὲν ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς 1
25 *τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀρχῆς, μαστροπῷ δὲ τῷ Παλαμήδει χρῷτο· «καὶ*
ἀφίξονται μὲν» ἔφη «μικρὸν ὕστερον, σοὶ μὲν βοῦς τε ἀπάγοντες καὶ
[181] *ἵππους καὶ ἀνδράποδα, ἑαυτοῖς δὲ χρήματα, οἷς ὑποποιήσονται δήπου*
τοὺς δυνατοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπὶ σέ· Ἀχιλλέως μὲν οὖν ἀπέχεσθαι χρὴ 5
καὶ γινώσκοντας αὐτὸν φυλάττεσθαι, τὸν σοφιστὴν δὲ ἀποκτεῖναι τοῦτον.
εὕρηται δέ μοι κατ' αὐτοῦ τέχνη, δι' ἧς μισηθήσεταί τε ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων
26 *καὶ ἀπολεῖται ὑπ' αὐτῶν.» καὶ διεξῆλθεν, ὡς ἡτοίμασται αὐτῷ τὰ περὶ*
27 *τὸν Φρύγα καὶ τὸ χρυσίον τὸ ληφθὲν ὑπὸ τῷ Φρυγί. σοφῶς δὲ τούτων*
ἐπινενοῆσθαι δοκούντων καὶ ξυνθεμένου τῇ ἐπιβουλῇ τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνο- 10
νος, «ἄγε δή, ὦ βασιλεῦ» ἔφη, «τὸν μὲν Ἀχιλλέα φύλαττέ μοι περὶ τὰς
πόλεις ἐν αἷς ἐστι νῦν, τὸν Παλαμήδη δὲ ὡς τειχομαχήσοντα τῷ Ἰλίῳ
καὶ μηχανὰς εὑρήσοντα μεταπέμπου ἐνταῦθα· ἄνευ γὰρ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως
28 *ἥκων, οὐκ ἐμοὶ μόνῳ ἔσται ἁλωτὸς ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλῳ ἧττον σοφῷ.» ἔδοξε*
ταῦτα καὶ ἔπλεον οἱ κήρυκες ἐς Λέσβον· ἐαλώκει δ' οὔπω πᾶσα, ἀλλ' ὧδε 15
τὰ περὶ αὐτὴν εἶχε· πόλις Αἰολὶς Λυρνησσὸς ᾠκεῖτο τειχήρης τὴν φύσιν
καὶ οὐδὲ ἀτείχιστος, ᾗ φασι τὴν Ὀρφέως προσενεχθῆναι λύραν καὶ δοῦ-
ναί τινα ἠχὴν ταῖς πέτραις, καὶ μεμούσωται ἔτι καὶ νῦν τῆς Λυρνησσοῦ
29 *τὰ περὶ τὴν θάλατταν ὑπ' ᾠδῆς τῶν πετρῶν. ἐνταῦθα προσκαθημένων*
δεκάτην ἡμέραν (χαλεπὸν γὰρ ἦν ἁλῶναι τὸ χωρίον), ἀπήγγειλαν μὲν οἱ 20
κήρυκες τὰ τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος, ἐδόκει δὲ πείθεσθαι καὶ τὸν μὲν κατα-
μένειν, τὸν Παλαμήδην δὲ ἀπιέναι, καὶ ἀπῆλθον ἀλλήλων δακρύοις ἅμα.

1 πιθανῶς $H^sΓI^aO$ | ὁ om. **F** || 3 ἀφίξαιντο $ΦIP^a$ | μὲν^1 om. **χ B** | ἐπάγοντες **I** || 9 λειφθὲν **HΛ** | ὑπὸ] ὁμοῦ **Vχ** (sed ὑπὸ $H^{γρ}K^{γρ}$) || 11 ἔφη ὦ **β. ε** | περὶ $AH^iKΛYI^b$: παρὰ $FH^sK^{γρ}VΦΓI^aPσ$ || 12 ἐν om. **ε** | -μήδην **BEOS** -μ$\overset{δ'}{η}$ **Y** || 14 μόνον Hertlein (sed cf. e.g. Im. 335.5) | ἔσται om. **ε** ⟦ἔσται⟧ **P** ἔστιν **Γ** ἔστι I^a || 16 Αἰολὶς om. **F** | καὶ τειχήρης **E** || 17 οὐδὲ] οὐδ' ἄλλως ("vel simile quid") dubitanter Eitrem || 18 ἠχὼ $H^iKΛYI^b$ || 19 θάλασσαν **Fα** || 20 ἦν om. $ΦΓIP^a$ || 22 τὸν om. **ε** | -μήδην **VO** -μ$\overset{δ'}{η}$ **FΛY** | δὲ Παλ. **χ**

convincing to whoever foolishly listened, to the effect that Achilles lusted after dominion over the Hellenes and that he was using Palamedes as a go-between.[136] Odysseus said to Agamemnon, 25
"They will arrive in a little while, paying you cattle, horses, and captives, but keeping for themselves money with which they will doubtless seduce powerful Hellenes against you. Thus, it is necessary to keep away from Achilles, to be on guard against those who know him, and to kill this schemer Palamedes. I have devised a plan against him by which he will be hated by the Hellenes and killed by them." Protesilaos then related how the events sur- 26
rounding the Phrygian and the gold that had been received by the hand of the Phrygian had been arranged by Odysseus.[137] Since 27
these things seemed to have been cleverly contrived, and since Agamemnon agreed with the plot, Odysseus said, "Come, King, keep Achilles for me around the cities where he is now, but summon Palamedes here on the pretense that he is going to lay siege to Ilion and invent engines of war. Since he will come without Achilles, he will be a captive not only to me but to anyone else who is less clever than I." These matters seemed good, and the heralds sailed off to Lesbos.

The entire island, however, had not yet been captured, but 28
Achilles blockaded it in this way. An Aeolian city, Lyrnêssos, is naturally enclosed by walls and fortified; they say Orpheus brought his lyre here and gave the rocks a certain echo, and that even now at Lyrnêssos the area around the sea resounds with the song of the rocks. While laying siege here until the tenth 29
day (for it was difficult to capture the place), the heralds proclaimed the message from Agamemnon. It seemed that Achilles was persuaded to remain behind while Palamedes went, and so

[136] μαστροπός; literally, a pimp or procurer of sexual encounters. Here the term is used metaphorically for a middle-man or negotiator (for a similar usage, see also Xenophon *Symposium* 4.61–67).

[137] This episode is also narrated by Hyginus (*Fabulae* 105), who records that Odysseus framed Palamedes by planting a large quantity of gold in Palamedes' tent and forging a letter from Priam to Palamedes that promised much gold for the betrayal of the Greeks. This letter was found on the body of a Phrygian, murdered by Odysseus's order. Apollodorus (*Epitome* 3.8) recounts a similar tale, except that in this version the letter was written by the captured Phrygian and left in the camp.

30 *ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέπλευσεν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ τὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀπήγγειλεν* 1
ἀνατιθεὶς ἅπαντα Ἀχιλλεῖ, «ὦ βασιλεῦ» ἔφη, «κελεύεις με τειχομα-
χεῖν τῇ Τροίᾳ; ἐγὼ δὲ μηχανήματα μὲν γενναῖα ἡγοῦμαι τοὺς Αἰακίδας
καὶ τὸν Καπανέως τε καὶ Τυδέως καὶ τοὺς Λοκρούς, Πάτροκλόν τε δή-
[182] *που καὶ Αἴαντα· εἰ δὲ καὶ ἀψύχων μηχανημάτων δεῖσθε, ἤδη ἡγεῖσθε* 5
31 *τὴν Τροίαν τό γε ἐπ᾽ ἐμοὶ κεῖσθαι.» ἀλλ᾽ ἔφθησαν αὐτὸν αἱ Ὀδυσσέως*
μηχαναὶ σοφῶς ξυντεθεῖσαι, καὶ χρυσοῦ μὲν ἥττων ἔδοξε προδότης τε
εἶναι κατεψεύσθη, περιαχθεὶς δὲ τῷ χεῖρε κατελιθώθη, βαλλόντων αὐ-
τὸν Πελοποννησίων τε καὶ Ἰθακησίων· ἡ δὲ ἄλλη Ἑλλὰς οὐδὲ ἑώρα
32 *ταῦτα ἀλλὰ καὶ δοκοῦντα ἀδικεῖν ἠγάπα. ὠμὸν καὶ τὸ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ κήρυγ-* 10
μα· μὴ γὰρ θάπτειν τὸν Παλαμήδη μηδὲ ὁσιοῦν τῇ γῇ, ἀποθνήσκειν
33 *δὲ τὸν ἀνελόμενόν τε καὶ θάψαντα. κηρύττοντος δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ Ἀγαμέ-*
μνονος, Αἴας ὁ μέγας ἐπιρρίψας ἑαυτὸν τῷ νεκρῷ πολλὰ μὲν δάκρυα
περὶ αὐτῷ ἀφῆκεν, ἀναθέμενος δὲ αὐτὸν διεξέπαισε τοῦ ὁμίλου γυμνῷ
τῷ ξίφει καὶ ἑτοίμῳ· θάψας οὖν ὡς εἰκὸς ἦν τὸν εἰργόμενον, οὐ προσ- 15
ήει τῷ κοινῷ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οὐδὲ βουλῆς ἢ γνώμης ἥπτετο, οὐδὲ ἐξήει
34 *ἔτι ἐς τὰς μάχας. Ἀχιλλέως τε ἀφικομένου μετὰ τὴν τῆς Χερρονήσου*
35 *ἅλωσιν, ἄμφω ἐπὶ τῷ Παλαμήδει ἐμήνισαν. ὁ μὲν Αἴας οὐκ ἐπὶ πολύ·*
ὡς γὰρ ᾔσθετο τῶν ξυμμάχων κακῶς πραττόντων, ἤλγησέ τε καὶ τὴν
36 *ὀργὴν μετέθηκεν. ὁ δὲ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐπεμήκυνε τὴν μῆνιν· ᾠδήν τε γὰρ* 20
τῆς λύρας τὸν Παλαμήδην ἐπεποίητο καὶ ᾖδεν αὐτὸν ὅσα τοὺς προτέ-
ρους τῶν ἡρώων, ἐδεῖτό τε ὄναρ ἐφίστασθαι οἱ, σπένδων ἀπὸ κρατῆρος
37 *οὗ Ἑρμῆς ὑπὲρ ὀνείρων πίνει. ἔοικέ τε ὁ ἥρως οὗτος οὐκ Ἀχιλλεῖ μόνον,*

1 εἰς **FAVεS**(b)**T** | στρατιᾶς **FAH^{i}ΛΥΦΓΙ^{a}P^{a}S**(b): στρατείας **H^{s}KVI^{b}P^{b}εOT** (coniecerat Reiske, sed cf. Liddell-Scott-Jones s. v. στρατεία fin.; Meisterh., Gramm. att. Inschr.^{3} 55 [31]) || 2 Ἀχ. πάντα ἀνατιθεὶς **Aχ** || 5-6 κεῖσθαι post ἡγεῖσθε transp. **χ** || 7 τε] δὲ **κVÅBS^{a}** || 8 βαλόντων **F^{ac}KΓε ST** λαβόντων **H^{s}O** || 11 -μήδην **S** -μ$\overset{\delta}{\eta}$′ **FΛY** || 12 δὲ^{1}] τε **AΓI[[P^{a}]]O** | ὁ ἀνελόμενός τε καὶ θάψας **AHΛ** (sed non **H^{γρ}**) || 14 διεξέπαισε **Φ^{b}** (coniecerat Boiss.): διεξέπεσε rell. || 15 καὶ om. **F** | ἦν om. **ÅB** || 17 ἔτι ἐς] ἐπὶ **χ** (sed ἔτι ἐς **H^{γρ}K^{γρ}**) || 20 μεθῆκεν (quod etiam VS 26.18 et Diog. Laert. V 78 praetulit) Cobet (sed cf. 20.2? praeterea possis vertere "mutavit") | τε om. **F** || 21 Παλαμήδην **FAPÅEOS**(b)**T**: -μήδη **HKVΦΓI** -μ$\overset{\delta}{\eta}$′ **ΛYB** || 23 τε] γε Reiske | οὗτος **AH^{γρ}Λ^{γρ}σ**: αὐτὸς **FVχα**

at once they departed from one another with tears. When Pala- 30
medes sailed back to the encampment and reported the events of the expedition, ascribing everything to Achilles, he said, "King, are you ordering me to attack the walls of Troy? I believe the Aiakidai, both the son of Kapaneus and the son of Tydeus, the Locrians, and, of course, Patroklos and Ajax are excellent fighting machines. But if you also need lifeless fighting machines, believe Troy already lies within my control."

But the wiles of Odysseus, which were already cleverly de- 31
vised, had anticipated him. He was reputed to give in to gold and was falsely accused of being a traitor, and so with his hands twisted around behind his back, he was stoned to death, with both Peloponnesians and Ithacans throwing stones at him. The rest of Hellas had not seen these events, but were pleased with them too even though they seemed to be unjust. The proclamation against 32
him was savage: neither to bury Palamedes nor to satisfy divine law by throwing earth,[138] but rather to kill the one who took him up for burial and performed funeral rites. After Agamemnon 33
had announced these things, the greater Ajax cast himself on the corpse and shed many tears over it. Placing Palamedes upon himself, he burst through the crowd with his unsheathed and ready sword. Then, after performing funeral rites for him who had been denied them, as was appropriate, he did not approach the assembly of the Hellenes or participate in their council or purpose, and he did not join in the battles. When Achilles arrived, after the 34
capture of the Chersonesus, both were enraged over the affair of Palamedes. Ajax was not enraged for long, for when he perceived 35
that his allies were faring badly, he grieved and then changed his disposition. Achilles, however, prolonged his wrath; he created a 36
song for the lyre called the "Palamedes" and praised him in song just as much as he did the earlier heroes. He begged for a vision to come to him in his sleep, by pouring out a libation for dreams from a *krater* out of which Hermes drinks.[139]

Not only to Achilles, but also to all who possessed love of 37
strength and wisdom, this hero seemed to show himself worthy

[138] Here earth is thrown over the body in place of the funerary rites. See the passionate speech by Antigone in defense of such an act even in defiance of royal order (Sophocles *Antigone* 499–524).

[139] Compare the appearance of Patroklos to Achilles in Homer *Il.* 23.54–107.

ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσιν οἷς ῥώμης τε καὶ σοφίας ἔρως, παρέχειν ἑαυτὸν ζήλου τε καὶ ᾠδῆς ἄξιον, ὅ τε Πρωτεσίλεως, ἐπειδὰν ἐς μνήμην αὐτοῦ ἀφικώμεθα, ἀστακτὶ δακρύει, τήν τε ἄλλην ἀνδρείαν τοῦ ἥρω ἐπαινῶν καὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ
[183] θανάτῳ· οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἱκετεῦσαι τὸν Παλαμήδη, οὐδὲ οἰκτρόν τι εἰπεῖν οὐδὲ ὀδύρασθαι, ἀλλ᾽ εἰπὼν «ἐλεῶ σε, ἀλήθεια· σὺ γὰρ ἐμοῦ προαπόλωλας», ὑπέσχε τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῖς λίθοις, οἷον ξυνιεὶς ὅτι ἡ Δίκη πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἔσται.

38 Φ. Ἔστι καὶ τὸν Παλαμήδη ἰδεῖν, ἀμπελουργέ, καθάπερ καὶ τὸν Νέστορα εἶδον καὶ τὸν Διομήδη καὶ τὸν Σθένελον, ἢ οὐδὲν περὶ τῆς ἰδέας αὐτοῦ ὁ Πρωτεσίλεως ἑρμηνεύει;

39 Ἀ. Ὑπάρχει, ξένε, καὶ ὅρα· μέγεθος μὲν τοίνυν αὐτὸν κατὰ Αἴαντα τὸν μείζω γενέσθαι, κάλλος δὲ Ἀχιλλεῖ τε ἁμιλλᾶσθαι καὶ Ἀντιλόχῳ καὶ ἑαυτῷ φησιν ὁ Πρωτεσίλεως καὶ Εὐφόρβῳ τῷ Τρωί· γένεια μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ ἁπαλὰ ἐκφύεσθαι καὶ ξὺν ἐπαγγελίᾳ βοστρύχων, τὴν κόμην δὲ ἐν χρῷ εἶναι, τὰς δὲ ὀφρῦς ἐλευθέρας τε καὶ ὀρθὰς καὶ ξυμβαλλούσας πρὸς
40 τὴν ῥῖνα τετράγωνόν τε οὖσαν καὶ εὖ βεβηκυῖαν. τὸν δὲ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν νοῦν ἐν μὲν ταῖς μάχαις ἄτρεπτόν τε φαίνεσθαι καὶ γοργόν, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἡσυχίᾳ φιλέταιρόν τε καὶ εὐπροσήγορον τὰς βολάς· λέγεται δὲ καὶ με-
41 γίστοις ἀνθρώπων ὀφθαλμοῖς χρήσασθαι. καὶ μὴν καὶ γυμνόν φησι τὸν Παλαμήδη μέσα φέρεσθαι βαρέος ἀθλητοῦ καὶ κούφου, καὶ αὐχμὸν περὶ τῷ προσώπῳ ἔχειν πολὺν ἡδίω τῶν Εὐφόρβου πλοκάμων τῶν χρυσῶν. αὐχμοῦ δὲ ἐπεμεμέλητο ὑπὸ τοῦ καθεύδειν τε ὡς ἔτυχεν, αὐλίζεσθαί τε πολλάκις ἐν τῇ ἀκρωνυχίᾳ τῆς Ἴδης ἐν σχολῇ τῶν πολεμικῶν· τὴν γὰρ κατάληψιν τῶν μετεώρων ἐντεῦθεν ἀπὸ τῶν ὑψηλοτάτων οἱ σοφοὶ
42 ποιοῦνται. ἦγε δὲ εἰς Ἴλιον οὔτε ναῦν οὔτε ἄνδρα, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν πορθμείῳ ξὺν Οἴακι τῷ ἀδελφῷ ἔπλευσε, πολλῶν, φασί, βραχιόνων ἀντάξιον ἑαυ-
43 τὸν ἡγούμενος. οὐδὲ ἀκόλουθος ἦν αὐτῷ οὐδὲ θεράπων οὐδὲ Τέκμησσά τις ἢ Ἶφις λούουσα ἢ στρωννῦσα τὸ λέχος, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτουργὸς βίος καὶ

2 εἰς **AHVεOS**(b) || 3 ἀστακτὶ om. $\mathbf{P^aS^b}$? | ἀνδρίαν **FAKΛ^{pc}** | ἐπαινῶν τοῦ ἥρω **υεOS**(b)**T** || 4 ὁ Παλαμήδης **AHYI^{blit}** τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα ὁ Παλαμήδης **Λ** | -μήδην **ȦB** -μ$\mathring{\eta}^{\delta}$′ **Φ** || 5 ὀδύνασθαι **ϰ** || 6 αὐτοῦ **FYα**: αὐτοὺς **AϰVσ** || 8 -μήδην **VȦζ** -μ$\mathring{\eta}^{\delta}$′ **ΛBE** | καὶ^2 om. **Aχ** || 9 -μήδην **P^{b}ȦES** -μ$\mathring{\eta}^{\delta}$′ **FΛB** | τὸν^2 om. **Vχ** || 11 ὑπάρξει **ΛΓ** || 11-12 τὸν Αἴαντα τὸν **ϰ** || 13 ἑαυτῷ φησιν ὁ Πρ.] αὐτῶ Πρωτεσίλεω **ϰ** (**H^{γρ}** non item) || 14 δὲ κόμην **α** | δὲ] τε **Aϰ** || 15 ξυμβαλούσας **F^{ac}VχIε** || 18 τὰς βουλάς **AH^{i}KΛΓ** ταῖς βουλαῖς **Y** || 19 φησι **V**: φασι rell. || 20 -μήδην **P^b** -μ$\mathring{\eta}^{\delta}$′ **FΛVY** || 21 πολὺ ("aut saltim πολύ γ'") Reiske || 22 ἐπιμεμέλητο **H^{s}KΛO** ἐμεμέλητο **Γ** ἐπεμέλητο **F** | τε om. **Vχ** || 23 ἀκρωνυχίδι **F** || 27 Τέκμησα **FH^{s}V^{ac}Γ IO** || 28 ἢ^2] τε καὶ **ϰ** | στρωννῦσα **FH^{mi}VΓIS** (-ονῦ- **H^{mi}** -ωνῦ- **Γ** -οννύ- **I^a**): στορνῦσα **AH^{ms}KΦP^{b}εOT** στρωννύουσα **Yσ^Σ** στορνύουσα **P^a** στορεννύσα **HΛ**

of emulation and song. Whenever we return to the remembrance of him, Protesilaos sheds floods of tears, praising the uncommon courage of the hero even in death. Indeed, he reports that Palamedes did not make supplication, either saying anything pitiable or lamenting, but after he had said, "I have pity on you, Truth, for you have perished before me," he held out his head to the stones as though knowing that Justice would be in his favor.

PH. Is it also possible to behold Palamedes, vinedresser, 38
just as I beheld Nestor, Diomedes, and Sthenelos; or does Protesilaos describe nothing about his appearance?

V. It is possible, my guest, just look! So then in height he 39
was the same as the greater Ajax; in beauty, Protesilaos says, he vied with Achilles, Antilokhos, Protesilaos himself, and with the Trojan Euphorbus. His soft beard was springing up and with the promise of curls; his hair was cut close to his skin; his eyebrows were noble, straight, and came together above the nose, which was perfect as a square and stately. The resolve of his eyes ap- 40
peared unshaken and fierce in battles, but when he was at rest their gaze was full of comradely affection and affable; he also is said to have possessed the most marvelous eyes among mortals. And in 41
truth, Protesilaos also says that when he was naked, Palamedes weighed halfway between an athlete and a lithe person, and that he had a toughness about his face that was much more pleasant than the golden locks of Euphorbus. And he cultivated toughness by sleeping wherever he happened to be and by frequently encamping on top of Mount Ida during lulls in the battles, for the learned make direct observations of meteors from the highest elevations. He brought to Ilion neither ship nor armed men, but 42
he sailed on a ferryboat with his brother Oiax, considering himself, they say, to be worth as much as many strong arms. He had 43
no attendant nor companion[140] nor a Tekmêssa or Iphis to wash him or to make up his bed, but his life was simple and without

[140] θεράπων in Homer refers to a hero's closest companion (as Patroklos to Achilles), who often fights and dies in place of the hero. The word is connected to the concept of a ritual substitute; see Nagy, *The Best of the Achaeans*, 33, 292–93.

[184] 44 ἔξω τοῦ κατεσκευάσθαι. εἰπόντος γοῦν ποτε πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀχιλλέως «ὦ Παλάμηδες, ἀγροικότερος φαίνῃ τοῖς πολλοῖς, ὅτι μὴ πέπασαι τὸν θεραπεύσοντα», «τί οὖν, ὦ Ἀχιλλεῦ, ταῦτα;» ἔφη τὼ χεῖρε ἄμφω προτείνας. 45 διδόντων δὲ αὐτῷ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐκ δασμοῦ χρήματα καὶ κελευόντων αὐτὸν πλουτεῖν, «οὐ λαμβάνω» ἔφη, «κἀγὼ γὰρ ὑμᾶς κελεύω πένεσθαι καὶ οὐ πείθεσθε». ἐρομένου δέ ποτε αὐτὸν Ὀδυσσέως ἐξ ἀστρονομίας ἥκοντα «τί πλέον ἡμῶν ὁρᾷς ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ;», «τοὺς κακούς» εἶπεν. ἀμείνων δ' ἂν ἦν τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἐκδιδάξας ὅτῳ ποτὲ τῶν τρόπων φανεροὶ οἱ κακοί· οὐ γὰρ ἂν προσήκαντο τὸν Ὀδυσσέα ἐπαντλοῦντα αὐτῷ ψευδεῖς 47 οὕτω καὶ πανούργους τέχνας. τὸ δὲ λεγόμενον πῦρ ὑπὸ Ναυπλίου περὶ κοίλην Εὔβοιαν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἀρθῆναι, ἀληθές τέ φησιν εἶναι καὶ ὑπὲρ Παλαμήδους ἐκ Μοιρῶν πεπρᾶχθαι καὶ Ποσειδῶνος, ἴσως, ξένε, μηδὲ βουλομένης τῆς Παλαμήδους ταῦτα ψυχῆς· σοφὸς γὰρ ὢν ξυνεγί- 48 νωσκέ που αὐτοῖς τῆς ἀπάτης. ἔθαψαν δὲ αὐτὸν Ἀχιλλεύς τε καὶ Αἴας ἐς τὴν ὅμορον τῇ Τροίᾳ τῶν Αἰολέων ἤπειρον, ὑφ' ὧν καὶ ἱερὸν αὐτῷ τι ἐξῳκοδόμητο μάλα ἀρχαῖον καὶ ἄγαλμα Παλαμήδους ἵδρυται γενναῖόν τε καὶ εὔοπλον, καὶ θύουσιν αὐτῷ ξυνιόντες οἱ τὰς ἀκταίας οἰκοῦντες 49 πόλεις. μαστεύειν δὲ χρὴ τὸ ἱερὸν κατὰ Μήθυμνάν τε καὶ Λεπέτυμνον· ὄρος δὲ τοῦτο ὑψηλὸν ὑπερφαίνεται τῆς Λέσβου.

34 Τὰ δὲ Ὀδυσσέως οὑτωσὶ φράζει· γενέσθαι μὲν αὐτὸν ῥητορικώτατον καὶ δεινόν, εἴρωνα δὲ καὶ ἐραστὴν φθόνου καὶ τὸ κακόηθες ἐπαινοῦντα, κατηφῆ τε ἀεὶ καὶ οἷον ἐπεσκεμμένον, τὰ πολέμιά τε δοκοῦντα μᾶλλον [185] γενναῖον ἢ ὄντα, οὐ μὴν ἐπιστήμονα ὁπλίσεως, ἢ τοῦ τάξαι ναυμαχίας τε 2 καὶ τειχομαχίας, καὶ αἰχμῆς καὶ τόξων ἕλξεως. τὰ δὲ ἔργα αὐτοῦ εἶναι πολλὰ μέν, οὐ μὴν θαυμάσαι ἄξια πλὴν ἑνός, τοῦ ἐς τὸν ἵππον τὸν κοῖλον, οὗ τέκτων μὲν Ἐπειὸς σὺν Ἀθηνᾷ ἐγένετο, Ὀδυσσεὺς δὲ εὑρετής· καὶ

1 κατασκευάσθαι **AYΦ^{a}O** κατασκευάσασθαι **K** κατασκευάσαι **V** || 1-2 ὦ Παλάμηδες om. **F** || 2 πέπα/σαι **Φ^{a}** πέπα[[υ]]σαι **P** πέπ σαι **E** κέκτησαι **V**(b) **χΦ^{b}I^{blit}P^{Σ}σ^{Σ}** || 3 ταῦτα ἔφη ὦ Ἀχ. **χ** (ἔφη om. **Y**) | ταῦτα ἔφη om. **F** | προτείνας ἄμφω **α** || 9 αὐτοῦ **VP^{b}** || 12 ὑπὲρ] ὑπὸ **ΦΓIP^{a}** | ἐκ] ὑπὸ **H^{lit}KVY** ὑπὲρ **Λ** || 13 μηδὲ] μὴ **ΛV^{s}** καὶ **V^{1}** | τῆς τοῦ **ϰ** | ταῦτα om. **F** | ταῦτα ψυχῆς om. **Λ**; ταῦτα post βουλομένης transp. **ÅB**, post ψυχῆς transp. **HKVY** || 13-14 συνεγίνωσκε **Vχ** | ξυνεγίνωσκέ που] ξυνεγίνωσκεν **OT** (**S^{a}** non liquet) || 14 που] τε **χ** | ἔθαψε **χO** | δὲ] τε **OT** (**S^{a}** non liquet) || 15 ἐς **HKVY** | ὑφ' ὧν] ἐφ' ὃν **ϰ** (sed ἐφ' ὧν **H^{γρ}** ὑφ' ὧν **K^{γρ}**) | ὑφ' ὧν τι **H^{γρ}O** | αὐτῷ τι] τι αὐτῷ τι **H^{γρ}O^{pc}** τι αὐτῷ **FO^{ac}ST** || 16 ἐξῳκοδόμηται Kay. (sed cf. Ap. 133.4–26, ubi patet illud ἱερὸν μάλα ἀρχαῖον iam ante Apollonii tempora periisse) || 18 δὲ] τε **χOT** (sed δὲ **O^{Σ}T^{Σ}**; **S^{a}** non liquet) | Λέπυρον **Vχ I^{bγρ}** || 20 tit. Ὀδυσσεύς habent **F^{m}AHKVY^{m}ΦIP^{a}P^{bm}εO^{m}S**(b)**T** Ὀδυσσέα **Λ** || 22 μάλα **ΦΓP^{a}** μάλλα [[**I^{a}**]]? || 26 μὲν Ἐπειὸς om. **ζ**

furnishings. At any rate, Achilles once said to him, "Palame- 44
des, you appear rather boorish to many people because you do not possess a servant." He replied, "What then are these, Achil-
les?" stretching forth both hands. Once when the Achaeans gave 45
him treasures from the spoil and urged him to enjoy the riches, he said, "I do not accept them, for I myself urge you to remain poor, but you do not obey." Once when Odysseus asked him as 46
he returned from observing the stars, "What more do you see in the sky than we do?" he said, "I perceive evil men." It would have been better, however, had Palamedes thoroughly instructed the Achaeans in what manner the evil men would someday be revealed. They would not then have believed Odysseus, who was in this way pouring a flood of lies and villainous plots against Pala-
medes. He said that the fire alleged to have been set by Nauplios 47
against the Achaeans in the valley of Euboea was real, and it had been done on behalf of Palamedes by the Fates and Poseidon, my guest, probably even though the ghost of Palamedes did not wish these things; indeed, being clever, he joined, I suppose, in the trick with them. Achilles and Ajax honored him with funeral rites 48
on the mainland of the Aeolians that borders Troy. The Aeolians also built a very ancient sanctuary to him and set up a noble and well-armed statue of Palamedes. Those who settled the coastal cities come together and sacrifice to him. His sanctuary must be 49
sought across from Methymna and Lepetumnos (this mountain appears high above Lesbos).

Protesilaos speaks about Odysseus in this way. He was **34**
extremely skilled in public speaking and clever, but he was a dis-
sembler, a lover of envy, and praised malice. His eyes were always downcast, and he was the sort of person who engages in self-examination. He appeared more noble than he was in military matters; surely he was not well versed in preparing for war, in commanding naval battles and sieges, or in drawing of spear and bows. His deeds were many, but not worth admiration except for 2
one, namely, the hollow horse, whose builder was Epeios, with Athena's help, but whose inventor was Odysseus. It is said that while in the horse he appeared more daring for the ambush than the rest inside.

ἐν αὐτῷ δὲ λέγεται τῷ λόχῳ θαρσαλεώτερος ὀφθῆναι τοῦ πληρώματος. 1
3 *εἰς Ἴλιον μὲν οὖν παρηβηκὼς ἦλθεν, ἐς δὲ Ἰθάκην γεγηρακώς· μα-*
κροτέρᾳ γὰρ ἐχρήσατο τῇ ἄλῃ διὰ τὸν πόλεμον ὃς πρὸς Κίκονας αὐτῷ
4 *διεπολεμήθη κατατρέχοντι τὰ ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ τοῦ Ἰσμάρου. τὰ γὰρ Πο-*
λυφήμου καὶ Ἀντιφάτου καὶ Σκύλλης καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἅιδου καὶ ὁπόσα αἱ 5
Σειρῆνες ἦδον, οὐδὲ ἀκούειν ξυγχωρεῖ ὁ Πρωτεσίλεως, ἀλλ' ἐπαλείφειν
ἡμᾶς κηρὸν τοῖς ὠσὶ καὶ παραιτεῖσθαι αὐτά, οὐχ ὡς οὐ πλέα ἡδονῆς
5 *καὶ ψυχαγωγῆσαι ἱκανά, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀπίθανά τε καὶ παρευρημένα. καὶ τὴν*
νῆσον δὲ τὴν Ὠγυγίαν καὶ τὴν Αἰαίαν καὶ ὡς ἥρων αὐτοῦ αἱ θεαί, πα-
ραπλεῖν κελεύει καὶ μὴ προσορμίζεσθαι τοῖς μύθοις· ἔξωρόν τε γὰρ τῶν 10
ἐρωτικῶν εἶναι τὸν Ὀδυσσέα καὶ ὑπόσιμον καὶ οὐ μέγαν καὶ πεπλανημέ-
6 *νον τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς διὰ τὰς ἐννοίας τε καὶ ὑπονοίας. ἐνθυμουμένῳ γὰρ*
ἐῴκει, τοῦτο δὲ ἄχαρι ἐς τὰ ἐρωτικά. οἷος μὲν δὴ οἷον καὶ ὡς σοφώτε-
ρόν τε καὶ ἀνδρειότερον ἑαυτοῦ τὸν Παλαμήδη ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἀπέκτεινεν,
7 *ἱκανῶς ἐκ τούτου διδάσκει ὁ Πρωτεσίλεως· ὅθεν καὶ τὸν θρῆνον τὸν* 15
παρ' Εὐριπίδῃ ἐπαινεῖ, ὁπότε Εὐριπίδης ἐν Παλαμήδους μέλεσιν

«ἐκάνετε» φησίν, «ἐκάνετε τὸν
πάνσοφον, ὦ Δαναοί,
τὰν οὐδέν' ἀλγύνουσαν ἀηδόνα Μουσᾶν»,

καὶ τὰ ἐφεξῆς μᾶλλον, ἐν οἷς φησι καὶ ὅτι πεισθέντες ἀνθρώπῳ δεινῷ 20
καὶ ἀναιδεῖ ταῦτα δράσειαν.

[186] **35** *Αἴαντα δὲ τὸν Τελαμῶνος ἐκάλουν οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ μέγαν, οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ*
μεγέθους, οὐδ' ἐπειδὴ μείων ὁ ἕτερος, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ὧν ἔπραττε, καὶ ἐποιοῦντο

1 θαρσαλεώτατος **χ** || 2 ἐς **VχO** | οὖν om. ζ | εἰς **AαεS** | δὲ om. $\Phi^{a}IP^{a}$ | Ἰθ. δὲ $\Phi^{b}\Gamma P^{b}$ || 3 τοὺς Κίκονας **εOT** (**S**^{a} non liquet) || 4 τὰ^{I}] τῶν **κΓ** (sed τὰ $H^{\gamma\rho}K^{\gamma\rho}$) τὸν **ΦI**^{a}[[**P**^{a}]]? || 6 Σειρῆνες ἐν τῇ νήσῳ **AYI**^{b} || 9 Ὠγυγίην **FH**^{s}**V**^{s}**εOS**(b)^{i}**T** Αἰγυγίαν **Λ** | Αἰάαν **H**^{s} Αἴαν **Λ** Ναιαίαν **ΦI**[[**P**^{a}]] Αἰη$^{\tau'}$ **F** || 12 γὰρ ἀεὶ **υI**^{b} || 14 -μήδην **FÅE** -μη$^{\delta'}$ **ΛYB** || 15 τούτων **υI**^{b} || 16 Εὐριπίδει **H**^{s} -ίδου **P**^{apc} -ίδην **ΦΓIP**^{aac} -$^{\delta'}$ **FΛY** | ὁ Εὐριπίδης **AVY** || 17 ἐκτάνετε^{I} **T** (bis) | τὸν] τὰν **Y**, Diog. Laertii (II 44) et Io. Tzetzae (Exeg. Il. 44.14s. Hermann = 772.7s. Bachmann) codd. || 18 ὦ Δαναοί om. **T**^{ac}, Diog. codd. || 19 οὐδέν' Diog. cod. **B**$^{\gamma\rho}$ (coniecerat Valckenaer praeeunte H. Grotio) οὐδεν **F** | ἀλγύνασαν **Y**, Diog. codd. **BP** ἀγλύνασαν **H** (sed ἀλγύνουσαν $H^{\gamma\rho}$) | Μουσᾶν **FAH**$^{\gamma\rho}$**KO**: Μουσῶν **Λ** Μοῦσᾶν **T** Μοῦσαν **HVYαεS**(b), Diog. et Tzetzae (Exeg., 1.1. et Schol. in Lycophr. 386) codd. || 20 καὶ^{2} del. Kay. || 21 ἀναιδεῖ λόγῳ **AχI**^{b} || 22 tit. Αἴας ὁ Τελαμώνιος habent **FAHV**^{m}?**ΦIP** **εOO**^{m}**ST** Αἴας Τελαμῶνος **K** Αἴας Τελαμώνιος μέγας **Y** Αἴαντα Τελαμῶ$^{\breve{\omega}'}$ **Λ** || 23 μεῖον **ΦI**

Odysseus came to Ilion already past his prime and returned 3
to Ithaca when he was an old man. He experienced a longer wandering because of the war which was waged against the Kikones when he was ravaging their lands by the sea of Ismaros.[141] Pro- 4
tesilaos does not even allow us to listen to the stories about Polyphemos, Antiphatês, Scylla, the events in Hades, and what the Sirens sang, but he permits us to smear over our ears with beeswax and to avoid these stories,[142] not because they are not full of pleasure and able to allure us, but because they are untrustwor- 5
thy and fabricated.[143] He bids us to sail past the islands of Ôgugia and Aiaia and the stories of how the goddesses made love to him, and not to cast our anchor among fables. Odysseus, he says, was too old for amorous affairs, was somewhat flat-nosed, short, and had shifty eyes because of his schemings and insinuations. He was 6
like one who was always plotting, and this gracelessness extended to his amorous affairs. Therefore, Protesilaos aptly teaches that a man like Odysseus killed a man like Palamedes, who was both more clever and more courageous than he. Thus he also praises 7
the dirge in Euripides, where Euripides says in the verses from the *Palamedes*:

> "You have killed," he says, "yes killed,
> the all-wise one, O Danaans,
> the nightingale of the Muses who caused no pain."[144]

He praised the succeeding verses even more, in which Euripides also says that they did these things in obedience to a terrible and shameless person.

The Telamônian Ajax (35.1–36.1)

The Achaeans called Ajax the son of Telamôn great, not because **35**
of his size, nor because the other Ajax was smaller, but because of the things he did. They considered him a good advisor for the

[141] Homer *Od.* 9.39–61.

[142] Odysseus was warned by Circe of the Sirens' seductive melodies; she instructed Odysseus to put wax in his companions' ears, but if he himself wished to listen to their song, he should have himself tied to the ship by his men (Homer *Od.* 12.39–54). The emphasis here is not on what it takes to listen safely to the stories, but rather on avoiding hearing them altogether.

[143] Compare Socrates' justification for excluding the poets from his ideal society (Plato *Republic* 602c–608b.)

[144] Nauck, *Tragicorum graecorum fragmenta*, frg. 588.

αὐτὸν ξύμβολον τοῦ πολέμου ἀγαθὸν ἐκ πατρῴου ἔργου· τὸν γὰρ Λαο- 1
μέδοντα τὸν Ἡρακλῆ ἀπατήσαντα μετῆλθε ξὺν Ἡρακλεῖ ὁ Τελαμὼν
2 καὶ αὐτῷ Ἰλίῳ εἷλεν. ἔχαιρον μὲν οὖν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀόπλῳ. (πελώριος γάρ
τις ἦν καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν στρατιὰν πᾶσαν καὶ φρόνημα αἴρων εὐήνιόν τε καὶ
σῶφρον.) ὡπλισμένου τε ἐξεκρέμαντο, μετέωρόν τε βαίνοντος ἐπὶ τοὺς 5
Τρῶας καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα εὖ μεταχειριζομένου τοσαύτην οὖσαν, βλέποντός
τε χαροποῖς τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ὑπὸ τὴν κόρυν, οἷον οἱ λέοντες ἐν ἀναβολῇ
3 τοῦ ὁρμῆσαι. τὰς μάχας δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐποιεῖτο, Λυκίους μὲν καὶ
Μυσοὺς καὶ Παίονας ἀριθμοῦ φάσκων ἕνεκα ἐς Τροίαν ἥκειν, τοὺς δὲ
τούτων ἡγεμόνας ἀξιομάχους τε ἡγούμενος καὶ οἵους ἀποκτείναντι μὲν 10
ὄνομα δοῦναι, τρωθέντι δὲ οὐκ ἄδοξον τραῦμα. πολέμιόν τε ἑλὼν ἀπεί-
χετο τῶν ὅπλων· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀποκτείνειν ἀνδρὸς εἶναι, τὸ δὲ σκυλεύειν
4 λωποδύτου μᾶλλον. ἀκόλαστον δὲ οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ὑβριστικὸν ἐφθέγξατο ἂν
οὐδεὶς ἐν ἐπηκόῳ τοῦ Αἴαντος, οὐδὲ ὁπόσοις ἦν διαφορὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους,
ἀλλὰ καὶ θάκων ὑπανίσταντο αὐτῷ καὶ ὁδῶν ὑπεξίσταντο, οὐχ οἱ πολ- 15
5 λοὶ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ τῆς εὐδοκίμου μοίρας. πρὸς δὲ Ἀχιλλέα φιλία
ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ βασκαίνειν ἀλλήλοις οὔτε ἐβούλοντο οὔτε ἐπεφύκεσαν, τάς
τε λύπας ὁπόσαι περὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα, εἰ καὶ μὴ μικρῶν ἕνεκεν ἐγίνοντο,
πάσας ἐπράυνε, τὰς μὲν ὡς ἂν ξυναλγῶν τις, τὰς δ' οἷον ἐπιπλήττων, κα-
θημένων τε ὁμοῦ καὶ βαδιζόντων ἐπεστρέφετο ἡ Ἑλλάς, ἐς ἄνδρε ὁρῶσα 20
[187] 6 οἷω μετὰ Ἡρακλέα οὔπω ἐγενέσθην. τὸν μέν γε Αἴαντα καὶ τρόφιμον
τοῦ Ἡρακλέους εἶναι ἔφασαν καὶ βρέφος ὄντα ἐνειληθῆναι τῇ λεοντῇ
τοῦ ἥρωος, ὅτε ἀνασχὼν αὐτὸν τῷ Διί, ἀνάλωτον ᾖτει γενέσθαι κατὰ
τὴν δορὰν τοῦ λέοντος, ἀετός τε εὐξαμένῳ ἀφίκετο φέρων ἐκ Διὸς τῷ
7 μὲν παιδὶ ὄνομα, ταῖς δὲ εὐχαῖς νεῦμα. δῆλός τε ἦν καὶ ἁπλῶς βλέψαντι μὴ 25

1 ξύμβουλον **AH^{s}K^{γρ}ΛVYΦΓΙ[[P]]O** (sed -βολ- **Λ^{γρ}**) || 2 Ἡρακλῇ **F** **AH^{i}V^{ac}?Y**: -κλῆ/ **P** -κλῆν **H^{s}KΛΦΓΙΕζ** -κλέα **V^{pc}ÅB** || 3 αὐτῷ Ἰλίῳ] σὺν αὐτῷ τὸ Ἴλιον **Vχ** | αὐτῷ^{2}] ἑαυτῷ **Φ^{a}**](sic)**ΓΙ[[P^{a}]]** || 5 [[ἀεὶ]] σῶφρον **F** | τε^{I}] δὲ **AV**(b)**χ** om. **O** | ἐξεκρέμμαντο **F** || 7 ὑπὸ] ἐπὶ **F** || 8 δὲ] τε **Å B** | μὲν **AO**: μὲν [[γὰρ]] **P** μὲν γὰρ **FVχΦΓΙεST** || 9 ἕνεκεν **ΦPS**(b) εἵνεκεν **ΓΙ** om. **V** | εἰς **VαS**(b) || 13 ἂν om. **V** || 15 θώκων **ΦΓIP^{a}** om. **Λ** | ὑπεξανίσταντο **K** | ἐξίσταντο **H^{i}KΛVY** || 17 οὔτε^{I}] οὔτ' **α** | οὔτε^{2}] οὔτ' **F** **αS**(b) || 18 τε] δὲ **ΓÅB** | μὴ om. **VΦΓI^{a}PS**(b) | ἕνεκεν **Fα**: ἕνεκα **υσ** | ἐγίνοντο **HKVY**: ἐγίγνοντο **FAΛασ** || 20 τε] δὲ **χ** || 21 ἐγενέσθην **YΦ^{b}Å^{s} B**: γενέσθην **FAκVΦ^{a}IPÅ^{i}Eζ** ἐγενήθην **Γ** (cf. 7.2, 7.12, 8.8, cet.) || 23 ὅταν **F** ὅτι **Φ^{a}I^{a}P** ὥστε **κ^{γρ}O** || 24 λέοντος] Αἴαντος **ÅE** | εὐξαμένου **H^{s}KΛO** (sed -ῳ **K^{γρ}Λ^{γρ}**) || 25 δῆλον **K^{γρ}Yζ** | τε] δὲ **HΛY** | βλέψαντι ἐς αὐτὸν **V** ἐς αὐτὸν βλέψαντι **Aχ** (εἰς **HKY**)

war because of his father's deed: along with Herakles, Telamôn pursued Laomedôn, when he had tricked Herakles, and captured Troy itself. The Achaeans delighted in Ajax even when he was 2
unarmed (for he was someone mighty even beyond the entire army and bore a disciplined and prudent spirit); they depended on him when he was armed, setting out proudly against the Trojans, handling his shield well even though it was so large,[145] and looking out from under his helmet with flashing eyes, like lions
preparing to attack. He fought battles against the best men, and 3
although he said that the Lycians, the Mysians, and the Paionians came to Troy for the sake of the sheer number,[146] he considered their leaders well worth combating and capable of giving fame to their slayer and not a disgraceful injury to the wounded. After killing an enemy, Ajax kept his hands off the weapons because killing is for a courageous man, but stripping a slain enemy of his arms is more for a clothes-stealer.

No one would have uttered anything undisciplined or offen- 4
sive within Ajax's hearing, nor how much they were in disagreement with one another. Instead they rose from their seats out of respect for him and withdrew from his path. Not only did the *hoi polloi* do so, but even those whose lot in life was highly esteemed.
He had a friendship with Achilles, and they neither wished to ma- 5
lign each other nor did they stick close together. As for Achilles' sorrows, even if they did not arise on account of trivial matters, he calmed them all, some as if he were a fellow sufferer, others as if he were reproving. Hellas used to pay attention to Achilles and Ajax when they were sitting or walking together, seeing in these men such as had not been since Herakles.

They say that Ajax was a foster-child of Herakles, and as an 6
infant he was wrapped in the hero's lion skin. When Herakles dedicated him to Zeus, he asked that the child be invincible like the lion's skin. An eagle came to him as he prayed, bearing a name
from Zeus for the child and giving approval to his prayers.[147] It 7

[145] According to Homer (*Il.* 7.219–20), Ajax's shield consisted of seven layers of leather and one of bronze.

[146] Perhaps a reference to the number of Trojan allies (Homer *Il.* 2.824–77).

[147] This story is also found in the epic poem, the *Great Eoiae* (Hesiod frg. 250 [Merkelbach and West]), where it provides an etiology of Ajax's name (αἰετός "eagle"; Αἴας latinized is "Ajax"); see also Pindar *Isthmian* 6.34–54.

ἀθεεὶ φῦναι, διά τε τὴν ὥραν διά τε τὴν ῥώμην τοῦ εἴδους, ὅθεν ὁ 1
8 *Πρωτεσίλεως ἄγαλμα πολέμου καλεῖ αὐτόν. ἐμοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος «καὶ μὴν*
κατεπαλαίσθη ἀεὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως ὁ μέγας οὗτος καὶ θεῖος», «εἰ
Κύκλωπες» ἔφη «ἐγεγόνεισαν καὶ ἀληθὴς ἦν ὁ περὶ αὐτῶν μῦθος, μᾶλ-
9 *λον ἂν τῷ Πολυφήμῳ διεπάλαισεν Ὀδυσσεὺς ἢ τῷ Αἴαντι.» ἤκουσα* 5
τοῦ Πρωτεσίλεω, ξένε, κἀκεῖνα περὶ τοῦ ἥρω τούτου, ὡς ἄρα ἐκόμα
ποταμῷ Ἰλισσῷ τῷ Ἀθήνησι, καὶ ἠγάπων αὐτὸν οἱ ἐν Τροίᾳ Ἀθηναῖοι
καὶ ἡγεμόνα ἡγοῦντο καὶ ὅ τι εἴποι ἔπραττον, ἠττίκιζέ τε ἄτε, οἶμαι,
Σαλαμῖνα οἰκῶν, ἣν Ἀθηναῖοι δῆμον πεποίηνται, παῖδά τε αὐτῷ γενό-
μενον, ὃν Εὐρυσάκην οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ ἐκάλουν, τήν τε ἄλλην ἔτρεφε τροφὴν ἣν 10
Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπαινοῦσι καὶ ὅτε Ἀθήνησιν οἱ παῖδες ἐν μηνὶ ἀνθεστηριῶ-
νι στεφανοῦνται τῶν ἀνθέων, τρίτῳ ἀπὸ γενεᾶς ἔτει, κρατῆράς τε τοὺς
ἐκεῖθεν ἐστήσατο καὶ ἔθυσεν ὅσα Ἀθηναίοις ἐν νόμῳ· μεμνῆσθαι δὲ καὶ
10 *αὐτὸν ἔφασκε τουτωνὶ τῶν Διονυσίων κατὰ Θησέα. ὁ δὲ τοῦ θανάτου*
λόγος, ὃν ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἀποσφαγεὶς ἀπέθανεν, ἀληθὴς μέν, ἐλεεινὸς δὲ καὶ 15
Ὀδυσσεῖ τάχα, τά τε ἐν Ἅιδου·

3 ἀεὶ] * **F**, om. **V**(b) (et, ut vid., $\mathbf{V}^{a}$) **B** || 4 ἐγεγόνησαν **Γ** ἐγεγόνεσαν **V** γεγόνασι (εισαν) **H** γεγόνασι **Λ** ἐγεγόνασι **Y** || 5 ἂν τῷ **FHΛY**: αὐτῷ $\mathbf{AH}^{\gamma p}\mathbf{\Lambda}^{\gamma p}\mathbf{Vασ}$ ἂν αὐτῶ τῶ **K** || 6 ante τοῦ add. παρὰ **ΦΓΙ⟦P⟧** | ξένε κἀκ. **Fσ**: κἀκ. ξένε **υ** **α** | ἄρ' **κ** | ἐκόμα $\boldsymbol{\kappa}\mathbf{VΓ}^{s}\mathbf{P}^{b}\boldsymbol{\sigma}$: κομᾷ $\mathbf{FAYΦΓ}^{i}\mathbf{IP}^{a}$ || 8 εἶπη **Φ⟦I**^{a}**⟧P** || 10 Εὐρυσάκη $\mathbf{AH}^{i}$ || 11 οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι **HKΦ** || 13 Ἀθηναίων **κ** (sed -οις $\mathbf{K}^{\gamma p}$ $\mathbf{\Lambda}^{\gamma p}$) || 15 ὑφ' ἑτοῦ **F** ὑφ' αὐτοῦ **ΛV** ὑπ' αὐτοῦ **Y** ὑφ' αὐτοῦ **HK** || 16 τε] δὲ Reiske

was absolutely clear to anyone who saw him that he did not grow up without divine aid because of the beauty and strength of his physique. Hence, Protesilaos calls him the very picture of war. But when I said, "And certainly this one who was great and godly 8
was always defeated by Odysseus in wrestling," he replied, "If Cyclopes had existed and the story concerning them were true, Odysseus would have wrestled with Polyphemos rather than with Ajax."

My guest, I also heard the following about this hero from 9
Protesilaos: how he groomed himself by the river Ilissos in Athens, how the Athenians in Troy cherished him and considered him a leader, and how they did whatever he said.[148] I think he sided with the Athenians because he dwelt in Salamis, which the Athenians made a deme[149] and also because when a child was born to him, whom the Athenians called Eurusakês, he fed him with a strange food that the Athenians recommended. And when the children of Athens were crowned with flowers in the month of Anthestêrion, in the third year of his son's life, he set up *kraters* from there and sacrificed according to Athenian custom. Protesilaos said that he also observed these sacred festivals of Dionysos as established by Theseus.

The account of his death, namely, that he died by killing 10
himself, is true, but perhaps shows pity even for Odysseus. About the things that took place in Hades—

[148] In the *Iliad*, the only mention of the Athenians is in the catalogue of ships (Homer *Il.* 2.546–56); this is usually considered a late addition to the catalogue. The prominence of the Athenians here contrasts with their brief mention in the rest of the *Iliad*. Ajax's association with Athens is perhaps suggested by the catalogue of ships in which, immediately after the account of the Athenian forces, Ajax is said to have come from Salamis and placed his twelve ships next to the Athenians (Homer *Il.* 2.557–58).

[149] A territorial district, which during the classical and hellenistic periods constituted the unit of formal subdivision of a *polis*. During the late sixth century B.C.E., Cleisthenes reorganized the 139 demes of Athens and the Attic countryside into ten tribes; one of the eponymous tribes (Aiantis) was named after Ajax. Athens had gained possession of Salamis from Megara in the early sixth century B.C.E., and Salamis was made a *cleruchy*, or a special type of colony.

μὴ ὄφελον νικᾶν τοιῷδ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἀέθλῳ· 1
τοίην γὰρ κεφαλὴν ἕνεκ᾽ αὐτῶν γαῖα κατέσχεν,

ἐκεῖ μὲν οὔ φησιν εἰρῆσθαι τῷ Ὀδυσσεῖ, μὴ γὰρ καταβῆναι αὐτὸν ζῶντα,
[188] *πάντως δὲ εἰρῆσθαί που. πιθανὸν γάρ που παθεῖν τι καὶ τὸν Ὀδυσσέα καὶ*
ἀπεύξασθαι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ νίκην ἐλέῳ τοιοῦδε ἀνδρὸς ἐπ᾽ αὐτῇ ἀποθανόντος. 5
11 *ἐπαινῶν δὲ ὁ Πρωτεσίλεως τοῦ Ὁμήρου ταῦτα, πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐπαινεῖ τὸ*
ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ ἔπος ἐν ᾧ φησι·

παῖδες δὲ Τρώων δίκασαν·

καὶ γὰρ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἀφεῖλε τὴν ἄδικον κρίσιν καὶ δικαστὰς ἐκάθισεν
οὓς εἰκὸς ἦν καταψηφίσασθαι τοῦ Αἴαντος· συγγενὲς γὰρ φόβῳ μῖσος. 10
12 *μανέντα δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν Τρῶες ἔδεισαν πλείω ἢ εἰώθεσαν, μὴ προσβαλὼν*
τῷ τείχει ῥήξῃ αὐτό, καὶ ηὔχοντο Ποσειδῶνί τε καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι, ἐπειδὴ ἐς
τὸ τεῖχος ἐθήτευσαν, προβεβλῆσθαι τῶν περγάμων τοῦ ἄστεος καὶ σχεῖν
τὸν Αἴαντα εἰ τῶν ἐπάλξεων ἅπτοιτο· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες οὐκ ἐπαύοντο ἀγα-
πῶντες αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ πένθος τε τὴν τοῦ Αἴαντος μανίαν ἐποιοῦντο καὶ τὰ 15
13 *μαντεῖα ἱκέτευον χρῆσαι πῶς ἂν μεταβάλοιτο καὶ εἰς νοῦν ἔλθοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ*
ἀποθανόντα εἶδον καὶ περὶ τῷ ξίφει κείμενον, ᾤμωξαν μὲν οὕτως ἀθρόον,
ὡς ἀνήκοοι γενέσθαι μηδὲ τῷ Ἰλίῳ· προὔθεντο δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸ σῶμα καὶ
Μενεσθεὺς ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ λόγον ἠγόρευσεν ᾧ νομίζουσι Ἀθήνησι τιμᾶν τοὺς
14 *ἐκ τῶν πολέμων τελευτῶντας. ἔργον ἐνταῦθα εὐδόκιμον τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως* 20
ὁ Πρωτεσίλεως οἶδε· προκειμένῳ γὰρ τῷ Αἴαντι τὰ ὅπλα ἐπενεγκὼν τοῦ

1 ὤφελον **ℵ** | ἄθλῳ **HΛYαS**(b)^{pc} || 2 τοίην γὰρ] καὶ τὸ τοίην γὰρ **ℵ** καὶ τὸ τοιήνδε **VY** || 4 δὲ που εἰρῆσθαι **F** | που^{1}] τι **Vχ** (sed που **H**^{γρ}) | πιθανὸν **υΓI**^{blit}**P**^{b}**σ**: πιθα **F** πείθ • **Φ**^{a} (-ανὸν supra lineam add. **Φ**^{b}) **P**^{a} || 5 ἐπεύξασθαι **ÅE** || 6 τοῦ] τὰ **H**^{γρ}**KI** || 7 αὐτῶν **Aχ** (sed -ῶ **ℵ**^{γρ}) || 8 δίκασαν **Vχ**: ἐδίκασαν **FAασ** || 10 ξυγγενὲς **υ** || 11 πλεῖον **H**^{i}**ΛVY** || 15 τὴν om. **ΛI** || 16 μεταβάλλοιτο **ΑΛV** || 17 ἀθρόως **ΦΓ**[[**I**^{a}]]**P**^{a}**S**(b) || 19 νομίζουσι τιμ. Ἀθ. **F** || 20 ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων **F** ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ **σ**^{Σ} | τελευτῶντας del. Cobet coll. imprimis VS 106.30 et Thuc. II 34.5 (sed lectio tradita servari potest: de part. praes. τελευτῶντας cf. e.g. {Demosth.} LX 2, de praep. ἐκ cf. Hdt. III 29. 3; Pl. Lg. 877b) | τοῦ Ὀδ. εὐδ. **Vχ** || 21 ὁ om. **FH**

> I wish I had not been the victor in such a contest;
> For the earth has covered such a head for the sake of this armor[150]—

he denies that this was said by Odysseus there (according to Protesilaos, Odysseus did not descend to Hades while still alive), but says that it was certainly said somewhere. For it is plausible, I suppose, that even Odysseus suffered somewhat and that he wished away his own victory through pity for this man who died because of it. Although Protesilaos commends these verses of Ho- 11
mer, how much more does he praise the verse in which he says,

> The sons of the Trojans rendered judgment.[151]

Indeed, he took away from the Achaeans the unjust decision and appointed judges who were likely to condemn Ajax. Hatred is akin to fear, and after Ajax had gone mad, the Trojans feared him 12
more than they usually did, lest by attacking the wall he break it down. They also prayed to both Poseidon and Apollo, since they labored at the wall, to stand guard before the citadel of the city and to check Ajax in case he seized the battlements. The Hellenes, however, did not cease their fondness for him, but they both publicly mourned Ajax's madness and supplicated the oracles to prophesy how he might turn himself around and come to his senses. When they saw him dead and lying transfixed by 13
his sword, they so wailed aloud all at once that they did not go unheard even in Ilion. The Athenians laid out his body, and Menestheus proclaimed over it the speech by which at Athens they customarily honor those who have died in wars.[152] Protesilaos 14
knows then of a highly esteemed deed of Odysseus: after Odysseus conferred the armor of Achilles upon Ajax as he lay dead

[150] Homer *Od.* 11.548–49.

[151] Homer *Od.* 11.547.

[152] The funeral oration, or *epitaphios*, was a genre and custom peculiar to Athens, beginning most likely in the fifth century B.C.E., and given at the public burial in the Kerameikos of those who died in war. It consisted not only of an exaltation of the excellent deeds of the dead, but also of a summary of Athens' history. The most famous example is the funeral oration of Pericles over those who had died in the first year of the Peloponnesian War (see Thucydides *Peloponnesian War* 2.35–46). For a full discussion of the genre and its setting and function within Athenian democracy, see Nicole Loraux, *The Invention of Athens: The Funeral Oration in the Classical City* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1986).

Ἀχιλλέως καὶ δακρύσας, «θάπτου τοι» ἔφη «ἐν οἷς ἠγάπησας καὶ τὴν νίκην τὴν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἔχε, μηδὲν ἐς μῆνιν βαλόμενος». ἐπαινούντων δὲ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν τὸν Ὀδυσσέα ἐπῄνει μὲν καὶ ὁ Τεῦκρος, τὰ δὲ ὅπλα παρῃτεῖτο· μὴ γὰρ ὅσια εἶναι ἐντάφια τὰ τοῦ θανάτου αἴτια. ἔθαψαν δὲ αὐτὸν καταθέμενοι ἐς τὴν γῆν τὸ σῶμα, ἐξηγουμένου Κάλχαντος ὡς οὐχ ὅσιοι πυρὶ θάπτεσθαι οἱ ἑαυτοὺς ἀποκτείναντες.

189] **36** *Τὸν δὲ Τεῦκρον νέον μὲν ἦγον, μέγεθος δὲ καὶ εἶδος καὶ ῥώμην ἔχειν.*

2 *Φ. Τὰ δὲ τῶν Τρώων γινώσκει ὁ Πρωτεσίλεως, ἀμπελουργέ, ἢ οὐκ ἀξιοῖ μνημονεύειν αὐτῶν, ὡς μὴ ἄξιοι σπουδῆς φαίνοιντο;*

3 *Ἀ. Οὐκ ἔστι, ξένε, τὸ τοῦ Πρωτεσίλεω τοιοῦτον· ἄπεστι γὰρ αὐτοῦ φθόνος. ἀπαγγέλλει δὲ δὴ καὶ τὰ τῶν Τρώων ἐσπουδακυίᾳ τῇ*
4 *γνώμῃ· φησὶ γὰρ κἀκείνους πολὺν πεποιῆσθαι λόγον ἀρετῆς. δίειμι δέ σοι πρὸ τοῦ Ἀχιλλείου λόγου ταῦτα· εἰ γὰρ μετ᾽ ἐκεῖνον λέγοιτο, οὐ θαυμαστὰ εἶναι δόξει.*

37 *Ἐπαινῶν τοίνυν τὸν Ἕκτορα ὁ Πρωτεσίλεως ἐπαινεῖ καὶ τὸν Ὅμήρου ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ λόγον· ἄριστα γὰρ τὸν Ὅμηρον τάς τε ἡνιοχήσεις αὐτοῦ διελθεῖν καὶ τὰς μάχας καὶ τὰς βουλὰς καὶ τὸ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ μὴ ἐπ᾽ ἄλλῳ εἶναι τὴν Τροίαν, καὶ ὁπόσα δὲ κομπάζει ἐν τῇ τοῦ Ὁμήρου ποιήσει ὁ Ἕκτωρ ἀπειλῶν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς τὸ ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς πῦρ, πάνυ φησὶν ἐοικέναι τῇ φορᾷ τοῦ ἥρω· πολλὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα λέγειν αὐτὸν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις, ἐκ-*
2 *πληκτικώτατα δὲ ἀνθρώπων βλέψαι καὶ φθέγξασθαι μέγα. εἶναι δὲ τοῦ μὲν Τελαμωνίου μείω, κακίω δὲ οὐδὲν τὰς μάχας, ἐν αἷς ἐνδείκνυσθαί*
3 *τι αὐτὸν καὶ τῆς τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως θερμότητος. διεβέβλητο δὲ πρὸς τὸν Πάριν ὡς δειλὸν καὶ ἥττω τοῦ κοσμεῖσθαι· τό τοι κομᾶν, καίτοι σπουδαζόμενον βασιλεῦσί τε καὶ βασιλέων παισίν, ἀνάξιον ἑαυτοῦ δι᾽ ἐκεῖνον*
4 *ἡγεῖτο. τὰ δὲ ὦτα κατεαγὼς ἦν, οὐχ ὑπὸ πάλης (τουτὶ γάρ, ὡς ἔφην, οὔτ᾽ αὐτὸς ἐγίνωσκεν οὔθ᾽ οἱ βάρβαροι), ἀλλὰ ταύροις ἀντήριζε καὶ τὸ συμπλέκεσθαι τοῖς θηρίοις τούτοις πολεμικὸν ἡγεῖτο· παλαίοντος μὲν*

2 τὴν om. **α** | βαλλόμενος **AYαB** || 5 εἰς **FVσ** | ὅσιον $\mathbf{H^{s}K\Lambda^{\gamma\rho}VY^{ac}}$?$\mathbf{O^{pc}}$ || 6 ἀποκτείνοντες **ϰ** || 7 tit. Τεῦκρος habent **FAHKVYΦIP^{b} ÅBE^{m}OO^{m}ST** Τεῦκρον **Λ** | ῥώμην ἐν τοῖς μέσοις τῶν Ἀχαιῶν **Vχ** || 9 γιγνώσκει **FAT** || 10 ἄξιοι] ἄξια **HÅB** || 11 τὸ om. $\mathbf{H^{\gamma\rho}\Phi\Gamma I^{a}PO}$ || 12 δὲ om. **AχBEζ** | δὴ om. **VÅ** || 14 ἐκείνων $\mathbf{\Phi\Gamma I^{a}}$ || 15 θαυμαστὸν $\mathbf{\Phi I^{a}P^{a}}$ | εἶναι] οἶμαι **χ** (sed εἶναι **ϰ**$^{\gamma\rho}$) || 16 tit. Ἕκτωρ habent **FAHKV^{m}YΦIP^{b}εOO^{m}ST** Ἕκτορα **Λ** || 18 μὴ^{2}] τὸ μὴ **F** || 19 δὲ] δὴ **ε** || 20 ἐπὶ] ἐς **ϰ** εἰς **Y** || 21 ἥρωος **Vχ** (sed ἥρω $\mathbf{H^{\gamma\rho}\Lambda^{\gamma\rho}}$) || 22 ἀνθρώπων] αὐτὸν **HΛ** (sed ἀνθ. **H**$^{\gamma\rho}$) || 26 τε om. **α** | ἐκείνων $\mathbf{H^{s}K^{\gamma\rho}\Lambda^{\gamma\rho}O}$ || 27 οὐχ om. **ϰ** (sed non $\mathbf{H^{\gamma\rho}K^{\gamma\rho}}$) || 28 ἐγίγνωσκεν **FAΦPT** | ἀλλὰ] καὶ **BE**

and wept, he said, "Be buried with funeral rites in these arms that you loved and have the victory that comes with them, by no means falling into anger." After the Achaeans praised Odysseus, Teukros also commended him, but deprecated this use of the arms, since it is not permitted by divine law for the instruments of death to be interred. They buried him by laying his body 15
in the earth, since Kalkhas prescribed that those who had killed themselves were not permitted by divine law to be honored with a funeral pyre. And consider that Teukros was a young man, but **36**
one who had size, a good physique, and might.

The Trojan Heroes (36.2–42.4)

PH. Does Protesilaos know stories about the Trojans, vine- 2
dresser, or does he not think it fit to mention them, lest they appear worthy of great attention?

V. Such is not the case with Protesilaos, my guest. His 3
grudge is gone. In fact, he reports even stories of the Trojans with zealous resolve, for he says that even those men gained for themselves a great account of their excellence. I shall relate these 4
things to you before the story of Achilles, since if they are told afterwards, they will not seem marvelous. So then, by praising **37**
Hektor, Protesilaos also praised Homer's report about him. He said that Homer spoke in most excellent terms about his chariotry, battles, councils, and about Troy's dependence upon him and not upon another. However much Hektor boasts in Homer's poem while threatening the Achaeans with fire on the ships, Protesilaos says it certainly befits the bearing of the hero. Protesilaos says that Hektor said many such things in battles, looked most terrifying of all mortals, and shouted loudly. He was smaller than the 2
son of Telamôn, but not at all inferior in fighting, in which he displayed something even of the heat of Achilles. He was filled with 3
resentment against Paris as a coward and as one who gave in to self-adornment. In truth, Hektor thought that to have long hair, even though it is treated with respect by princes and the children of princes, was despicable for himself because of that man. His 4
ears were damaged, not by wrestling (for this sport, as I said, neither he nor the barbarians knew), but he fought against bulls and considered engagement with such beasts warlike. These activities also are a part of wrestling, but when he did them, he was ignorant of this sport, and for military exercise he practiced submitting to

γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα ἦν, ὁ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν ἠγνόει πράττων, τὸ δὲ ὑφίστασθαι μυ- 1
[190] κωμένους καὶ θαρσεῖν τὰς αἰχμὰς τῶν κεράτων καὶ ἀπαυχενίσαι ταῦρον καὶ τρωθεὶς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ μὴ ἀπειπεῖν, ὑπὲρ μελέτης τῶν πολεμικῶν ἤσκει.
τὸ μὲν δὴ ἄγαλμα τὸ ἐν Ἰλίῳ νέον τὸν Ἕκτορα καὶ μειρακιώδη φέρει,
ὁ Πρωτεσίλεως δὲ γενέσθαι μὲν αὐτὸν κἀκείνου ἡδίω φησὶ καὶ μείζω, 5
ἀποθανεῖν δὲ τριακοντούτην ἴσως, οὐ μὴν φεύγοντα ἢ παρεικότα τὰς χεῖρας (ταυτὶ γὰρ συκοφαντεῖσθαι τὸν Ἕκτορα ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὁμήρου), ἀλλὰ καρτερῶς ἀγωνισάμενον καὶ μόνον τῶν Τρώων καταμείναντα ἔξω τοῦ τείχους πεσεῖν ὀψὲ τῆς μάχης· ἀποθανόντα δὲ ἑλχθῆναι μὲν ἠρτημένον τοῦ ἅρματος, ἀποδοθῆναι δέ, ὡς Ὁμήρῳ εἴρηται. 10

38 Αἰνείαν δὲ μάχεσθαι μὲν τούτου ἧττον, συνέσει δὲ περιεῖναι τῶν Τρώων, ἀξιοῦσθαι δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν Ἕκτορι, τὰ δὲ τῶν θεῶν εὖ εἰδέναι, ἃ δὴ ἐπέπρωτο αὐτῷ Τροίας ἁλούσης, ἐκπλήττεσθαι δὲ ὑπ᾽ οὐδενὸς φόβου· τὸ γὰρ ἔννουν τε καὶ λελογισμένον ἐν αὐτοῖς μάλιστα τοῖς φοβεροῖς
2 ἔχειν. ἐκάλουν δὲ οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ τὸν μὲν Ἕκτορα χεῖρα τῶν Τρώων, τὸν δὲ 15
Αἰνείαν νοῦν, καὶ πλείω παρέχειν αὐτοῖς πράγματα Αἰνείαν σωφρονοῦντα
3 ἢ μεμηνότα Ἕκτορα. ἦστην δὲ ἰσήλικές τε καὶ ἰσομήκεις. τὸ δὲ εἶδος τοῦ Αἰνείου φαιδρὸν μὲν ἧττον ἐφαίνετο, καθεστηκότι δὲ ἐῴκει μᾶλλον ἐκόμα τε ἀνεπαχθῶς· οὐ γὰρ ἤσκει τὴν κόμην οὐδὲ ὑπέκειτο αὐτῇ, ἀλλὰ μόνην τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐποιεῖτο κόσμημα, σφοδρὸν δὲ οὕτω τι ἔβλεπεν, ὥστε 20
ἀποχρῶν εἶναί οἱ πρὸς τοὺς ἀτακτοῦντας καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ βλέψαι.

39 Σαρπηδόνα δὲ Λυκία μὲν ἤνεγκε, Τροία δὲ ἦρεν· ἦν μὲν γὰρ κατὰ τὸν Αἰνείαν τὰς μάχας, ἦγε δὲ Λυκίους ξύμπαντας καὶ ἀρίστω ἄνδρε
[191] 2 Γλαύκόν τε καὶ Πάνδαρον. ἦν δὲ αὐτοῖν ὁ μὲν ὁπλιτεύειν εὐδόκιμος, ὁ δὲ Πάνδαρος τὸν Ἀπόλλω τὸν Λύκιον ἐπιστάντα οἱ μειρακίῳ ἔτι κοι- 25
νωνῆσαι ἔφη τοῦ τοξεύειν, καὶ ηὔχετο ἀεὶ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ὅτε τοῦ τόξου
3 ἐπὶ μεγάλῳ ἅπτοιτο. καὶ πανστρατιᾷ δὲ ὁ Πρωτεσίλεως ἀπαντῆσαί φησι τῷ Σαρπηδόνι τοὺς Τρῶας· πρὸς γὰρ τῇ ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ τῷ εἴδει θείῳ τε καὶ γενναίῳ ὄντι ἀνήρτητο τοὺς Τρῶας καὶ τῷ λόγῳ τῷ περὶ τοῦ

1-2 μηκωμένους **ÀB** || 2 τὸ θαρσεῖν $\mathbf{P^{b}}\varepsilon$ || 4 φέρει] φαίνει Richards || 5 αὐτὸν om. **E** ⟦αὐτὸν⟧ **P** | κἀκείνου ἡδίω] καὶ ἡδίω ἐκείνου dubitanter Kay. || 9 ἀποθανόντα δὲ] ὅθεν καὶ $\mathbf{ΦΓI^{a}}$⟦$\mathbf{P^{a}}$⟧ (ἀποθανόντα δὲ $\mathbf{I^{bγρ}}$) | ἀνηρτημένον **HΛY** ἐξηρτημένον $\mathbf{H^{γρ}KΛ^{γρ}}$ || 11 tit. Αἰνείας habent $\mathbf{F^{m}AH^{m}K^{m}V^{m}YΦIP^{bm}Å^{m}BEOO^{m}ST}$ Αἰνείαν **Λ** || 13 ἃ] καὶ ἃ $\mathbf{VχI^{b}}$ | δὴ] μὴ δὲ **F** | πέπρωτο **Φ** $\mathbf{ΓIP^{a}}$ | αὐτῷ om. **F** || 17 ἢ om. $\mathbf{Φ^{a}P^{a}}$ || 19 τε] δὲ **ÀB** || 20 δὲ om. **F** | τι] τοι $\mathbf{A^{i}κ^{γρ}PS}$(b) || 21 βλέψαι] βλέμμα $\mathbf{K^{γρ}Λ^{γρ}}$ || 22 tit. Σαρπηδών. Γλαῦκος. Πάνδαρος habent **FHKVYΦIP^{b}σ** (καὶ Πάνδ. **FΦE**; in **F** καὶ Πάνδ. est in marg.) Σαρπηδών **A** Σαρπηδόνα **Λ** | δὲ^{1} om. **χ** || 25 Λύκειον $\mathbf{H^{s}ÀEζ}$ (cf. 33.14) || 26 τῷ om. **BE** || 27 μεγάλου $\mathbf{H^{i}ΛYα}$ (sed -ω $\mathbf{Λ^{γρ}}$) || 28 ἀνδρίᾳ $\mathbf{FH^{i}KΛY}$

bellowing bulls, having no fear of the points of their horns, taming a bull by forcing back its neck, and not giving up, even though he was wounded by it.

The statue in Ilion indeed presents Hektor as young and 5
boyish, but Protesilaos says that he was more pleasant and larger than that statue. He died probably at the age of thirty, and he surely did not flee or let his hands drop idly (for in these matters Hektor is slandered by Homer).[153] Rather he fought mightily, and he alone of the Trojans remained outside the wall of Troy to perish late in the battle. After he died, he was dragged strapped to a chariot, but his body was returned, as is said by Homer.

38 But Aeneas, although inferior to Hektor as a fighter, surpassed the Trojans in intelligence and was considered worthy of the same honors as Hektor. He knew well the intentions of the gods, which had been fated for him once Troy had been captured, but he was not struck with panic by any fear, for he had intelligence and good judgment, especially in frightening situations.[154]
2 While the Achaeans called Hektor the hand of the Trojans, they called Aeneas the mind. He presented matters to them more prudently than did the madly raging Hektor. They were both of the
3 same age and height, and although Aeneas's appearance seemed less radiant, he resembled Hektor more when that man had settled down, and he wore his hair long without offense. He did not adorn his hair, nor was he enslaved to it. Instead, he made virtue alone his adornment, and he looked at things so vehemently that even his glance itself was sufficient against the unruly.

39 Lycia brought forth Sarpêdon, but Troy exalted him. He was like Aeneas in battle, and he led the whole body of Lycians, along with their two best men, Glaukos and Pandaros. Although
2 Glaukos, of the two, was famed for being a man at arms, Pandaros claimed that when Lycian Apollo stood near him while still in his youth, they joined together in archery, and thus he always prayed to Apollo whenever he grasped his bow for a great cause. Prote-
3 silaos says that with the whole army the Trojans met Sarpêdon's arrival, since besides his strength and his appearance, which was both divine and noble, he attached himself to the Trojans and to

[153] Compare Homer *Il.* 22.136–231.

[154] Perhaps a reference to Aeneas's fight with Achilles (Homer *Il.* 20.278–352).

γένους· ἀπὸ Διὸς μὲν γὰρ Αἰακίδας τε ἄδεσθαι καὶ Δαρδανίδας καὶ τοὺς 1
Ταντάλου, τὸ δ᾽ αὐτοῦ Διὸς γεγονέναι μόνῳ τῶν ὑπὲρ Τροίας τε καὶ
ἐπὶ Τροίαν ἐλθόντων ἐκείνῳ ὑπάρξαι, τουτὶ δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα μείζω
4 ποιῆσαι καὶ θαυμασιώτερον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. ἀποθανεῖν δὲ ὡς Ὁμήρῳ
εἴρηται, καὶ εἶναι ἀμφὶ τὰ τετταράκοντα ἔτη καὶ τάφου ἐν Λυκίᾳ τυχεῖν, 5
ἐς ὃν παρέπεμψαν οἱ Λύκιοι δεικνύντες τὸν νεκρὸν τοῖς ἔθνεσι δι᾽ ὧν
ἤγετο. ἐσκεύαστο δὲ ἀρώμασι καὶ ἐῴκει καθεύδοντι, ὅθεν οἱ ποιηταὶ
πομπῷ φασιν αὐτὸν τῷ Ὕπνῳ χρήσασθαι.

40 Ἄκουε καὶ τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Πάριδος, εἰ μὴ ἄχθῃ αὐτῷ σφόδρα.
Φ. Ἄχθομαι μέν, οὐ χεῖρον δὲ ἀκοῦσαι. 10
2 Ἀ. Φησὶ τοίνυν Ἀλέξανδρον Τρωσὶ μὲν ἀπηχθῆσθαι πᾶσι, κακὸν
δ᾽ οὐκ εἶναι τὰ πολέμια, τὸ δὲ εἶδος ἥδιστον ἐπίχαρίν τε τὴν φωνὴν καὶ
τὸ ἦθος ἅτε τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ ἐπιμίξαντα, μάχεσθαι δὲ πάντας τρό-
που καὶ τὴν ἐπιστήμην ὁπόση τόξων μὴ λείπεσθαι τοῦ Πανδάρου.
3 καὶ πλεῦσαι μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἔφηβον, ὅτε δὴ ξένον τοῦ Μενέλεω 15
γενέσθαι αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν Ἑλένην ἑλεῖν τῷ εἴδει, ἀποθανεῖν δὲ οὔπω τρια-
4 κοντούτην. γάνυσθαι δὲ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ κάλλει καὶ περιβλέπεσθαι μὲν ὑφ᾽
ἑτέρων, περιβλέπειν δὲ καὶ ἑαυτόν, ὅθεν χαριέστατα ὁ ἥρως ἐς αὐτὸν
[192] 5 παίζει· τοῦτον γὰρ τὸν ταώ (χαίρει δὲ ὁ Πρωτεσίλεως τῇ ἄνθῃ καὶ
τῇ ὥρᾳ τοῦ ὄρνιθος) ἰδών ποτε ὑπερανεστηκότα καὶ περιβεβλημένον 20
τὰ πτερὰ περιβλέποντά τε αὐτὰ καὶ καθαίροντα, ἔστι δ᾽ ἃ καὶ διατι-
θέντα, ἵν᾽ ὥσπερ οἱ τῶν λίθων ὅρμοι κεκοσμημένα φαίνοιτο, «ἰδού»
ἔφη, «οὗ πρώην ἐμνημονεύομεν, Πάρις ὁ τοῦ Πριάμου». ἐμοῦ δὲ ἐρο-
6 μένου αὐτόν· «τί ἔοικεν ὁ ταὼς τῷ Πάριδι;», «τὸ φίλαυτον» εἶπε. καὶ
γὰρ δὴ κἀκεῖνος κόσμου ἕνεκεν περιήθρει μὲν ἑαυτόν, περιεσκόπει δὲ 25
τὰ ὅπλα. δορὰς δὲ παρδάλεων ἐνῆπτο τοῖς ὤμοις, αὐχμὸν δὲ προσι-
ζάνειν ταῖς κόμαις οὐδὲ ὁπότε μάχοιτο ἠνείχετο, ἔστιλβε δὲ καὶ τοὺς

2 ὑπὲρ Τροίαν **ΚΛΟ** ἐπὶ Τροίαν **ΗΥ** | τε om. **αS**(b) || 3 ἐπὶ Τρ.] ὑπὲρ Τροίας $\mathbf{H^{i}Y}$ ὑπὲρ Τροίαν $\mathbf{H^{s}}$ || 4 τοῖς — 43.7 Πέρσην perierunt in **F** || 9 tit. Ἀλέξανδρος habent **ΗΚV^{m}ΥΦΙΡÅΒΟΟ^{m}ST** Ἀλέξανδρον **Λ** Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Πάρις **Ε** Πάρις $\mathbf{A^{m}}$ | τὰ τοῦ Ἀλ. **ΚεΟ** || 11 τὸν Ἀλ. **ΑΗΚΥ^{s}** || 17 γάνυσθαι **ζ**: γάννυσθαι **υαε** || 19 ταώ **VχΦ^{b}P^{pc}** (= $\mathbf{P^{b}}$?) **εST** (cf. 9): ταῶ **ΑΦ^{a}Γ IP^{ac}** (= $\mathbf{P^{a}}$?) ταών $\mathbf{H^{m}O}$ || 19-20 τῇ ὥρᾳ καὶ τῇ ἄνθῃ **υ** || 20 ὑπανεστηκότα **V** ἀνεστηκότα **ΗΥ** (sed ὑπεραν- $\mathbf{H^{γρ}}$) || 23 μὲν ἐμνημονεύομεν **ΦΓΙ⟦P⟧** || 24 τίνι **χ** (sed τί $\mathbf{K^{γρ}}$) | τῷ φιλαύτῳ **ΛΥ** τῶ φιλτάτω **ΗΚ** (sed τὸ φίλαυτον $\mathbf{H^{γρ}}$ $\mathbf{K^{γρ}}$)

the story of their lineage. For the descendants of Aiakos, Dardanos, and Tantalos are celebrated as springing from Zeus, but to have been begotten by Zeus himself belonged to that one alone of all those who came to fight both on behalf of and against Troy. (By this same divine parentage Herakles was also made greater and more excellent among mortals.) But Sarpêdon died, as has 4
been told by Homer; he was about forty years old, and there is a tomb in Lycia to which the Lycians escorted him, showing his corpse to the peoples through whom he was carried. His body was prepared with aromatic herbs, and he appeared to be sleeping; for this reason the poets say that he used Hypnos as an escort.[155]

Listen also to the deeds of Alexandros, known as Paris, un- **40**
less you are exceedingly vexed with him.

PH. I am vexed, but I may as well listen.

V. Protesilaos says that Alexandros was hated by all the 2
Trojans, but that he was not worthless in the business of war; his appearance was most pleasing, and his voice and character were charming inasmuch as he had dealings with the Peloponnesus. He could fight in all ways and, as far as knowledge of bows is concerned, he did not fall short of Pandaros. Protesila- 3
os says that at eighteen he also sailed to Hellas, when he was a guest of Menelaos and seized Helen because of her beauty, and that he was not yet thirty years old when he died. He delighted 4
in his own beauty and was not only admired by others, but also admired himself. For this reason the hero makes sport of him 5
most elegantly: Once when he saw this peacock (Protesilaos enjoys the brilliance and beauty of this bird) strutting, spreading out its wings, admiring and preening them—that they might appear arranged like necklaces of precious stones—he said, "Behold, Paris, son of Priam, whom we were mentioning just now!" And when I asked him, "How does the peacock resemble Paris?" he said, "By his self-love."[156] For surely that man not only inspected 6
himself all around for the sake of his adornment, but also examined his weapons carefully. He attached panthers' skins to his shoulders, he did not allow dirt to settle on his hair, not even when

[155] Homer *Il.* 16.419–683. See also the depiction of this scene in a vase painting by Euphronius; MMA 1972.11.10

[156] On the character of the peacock, see Aristotle *History of the Animals* 1.1 (488b24); Ovid *Metamorphoses* 13.802.

ὄνυχας τῶν χειρῶν, καὶ ὑπόγρυπος ἦν καὶ λευκὸς καὶ τὸ ὄμμα ἐγέγραπτο, 1
ἡ δὲ ἑτέρα ὀφρῦς ὑπερῆρε τοῦ ὄμματος.

41 *Ἕλενος δὲ καὶ Δηίφοβος καὶ Πολυδάμας ξυνέβαινον μὲν ἀλλήλοις τὰς μάχας καὶ ταὐτὸν ἐφέροντο τῆς ῥώμης, εὐδόκιμοι δὲ τὰς ξυμβουλίας ἦσαν· ὁ δὲ Ἕλενος καὶ μαντικῆς ἥπτετο ἴσα τῷ Κάλχαντι.* 5

42 *Περὶ δὲ Εὐφόρβου τοῦ Πάνθου καὶ ὡς γένοιτό τις ἐν Τροίᾳ Εὔφορβος καὶ ἀποθάνοι ὑπὸ τοῦ Μενέλεω, τὸν Πυθαγόρου, οἶμαι, τοῦ Σαμίου λόγον ἤκουσας· ἔλεγε γὰρ δὴ ὁ Πυθαγόρας Εὔφορβος γεγονέναι μεταφῦναί τε Ἴωνα μὲν ἐκ Τρωός, σοφὸς δὲ ἐκ πολεμικοῦ, κεκολασμένος δὲ ἐκ τρυφῶντος· τήν τε κόμην, ἣν σοφὸς γενόμενος ἐκόσμει τῷ αὐχμῷ,* 10
2 *χρυσῆν ἐν Τροίᾳ ἐποιεῖτο ὁπότ' ἦν Εὔφορβος. ὁ δὲ Πρωτεσίλεως τὸν Εὔφορβον ἥλικα ἑαυτοῦ ἡγεῖται καὶ ἐλεεῖ καὶ ὁμολογεῖ τὸν Πάτροκλον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τρωθέντα παραδοθῆναι τῷ Ἕκτορι. εἰ δὲ εἰς ἄνδρας ἦλθεν,*
3 *οὐδὲν ἄν φησιν αὐτὸν κακίω νομισθῆναι τοῦ Ἕκτορος. τὴν μέν γε ὥραν*
[193] *αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς Ἀχαιούς φησι θέλγειν· ἐοικέναι γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀγάλματι,* 15
ὁπότε κάλλιστα ἑαυτοῦ ὁ Ἀπόλλων ἀκερσεκόμης τε καὶ ἁβρὸς φαίνοιτο.

4 *Τοσαῦτα, ξένε, περὶ Τρώων δίεισιν ὁ θεῖός τε καὶ ἀγαθὸς ἥρως. λοιπὸν δ' ἡμῖν ἴσως τὸν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως ἀποτελέσαι λόγον, εἰ μὴ ἀπείρηκας πρὸς τὸ μῆκος.*

43 *Φ. Εἰ οἱ τοῦ λωτοῦ παρ' Ὁμήρῳ φαγόντες, ὦ ἀμπελουργέ, προ-* 20
θύμως οὕτω προσέκειντο τῇ πόᾳ ὡς ἐκλελῆσθαι τῶν οἴκοι, μὴ ἀπίστει κἀμὲ προσκεῖσθαι τῷ λόγῳ καθάπερ τῷ λωτῷ, καὶ μήτ' ἂν ἑκόντα ἀπελθεῖν ἐνθένδε, ἀπαχθῆναι δὲ μόγις ἂν ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν καὶ δεθῆναι δὲ αὖ ἐν
2 *αὐτῇ κλάοντα καὶ ὀλοφυρόμενον ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ ἐμπίπλασθαι τοῦ λόγου. καὶ γάρ με καὶ πρὸς τὰ τοῦ Ὁμήρου ποιήματα οὕτω διατέθεικας, ὡς θεῖά τε* 25

1 ἐγγέγραπται $\mathbf{I}^{b\gamma\rho}$ || 2 ὑπερῆρε Ald.: ὑπερῆρε codd. (nisi -εῖχε **V** -ῆκε $\mathbf{I}^{a}$ -ῆρκε **Γ**) || 3 tit. Ἕλενος. Δηίφοβος. Πολυδάμας habent **AHKVYΦI** $\mathbf{P}^{b}$**εOS**(b)**T** (καὶ Π. **AΦI**$\mathbf{P}^{b}$**ε**) Ἕλενον Δηίφοβον Πολυδάμαν **Λ** || 4 ξυμβουλὰς **V**(b)$\mathbf{P}^{a}$ || 6 tit. Εὔφορβος habent **HKVYΦI**$\mathbf{P}^{b}$**εOS**(b)**T** Εὔφορβον **Λ** | δὲ om. **χ** || 7 τοῦ^{1} om. **V** || 8 ἤκ. λόγον **α** | δήπου **V** om. **A** || 9 πολέμου $\mathbf{H}^{\gamma\rho}$**K O** || 10 ἐκόσμει τῷ αὐχμῷ $\mathbf{H}^{\gamma\rho}$**Κασ**: ἐκοσμεῖτο αὐχμῶ **AV** αὐχμῷ ἐκοσμεῖτο **HY** αὐχμῶ ἔκειτο **Λ** || 13 δὲ καὶ **ȦB** || 14 οὐδὲ **ΦI**^{a}**P** | φασιν **ȦB** | φησι scr. et αὐτὸν om. **ζ** | κακίων **ζ** || 16 μάλιστα **K** | ὁ om. **ΦΓI**^{a}$\mathbf{P}^{a}$ || 17 τοσαῦτα] ταῦτα **ΦΓI**^{a}$\mathbf{P}^{a}$ | τῶν Τρώων **ΚΛσ** || 20 Ὁμήρου **ΦIP** | ὦ om. **V** || 21 οὕτως **Aα** | λελῆσθαι **V** κεκλῆσθαι [[Φ^{a}]]**Γ**[[$\mathbf{I}^{a}$]][[$\mathbf{P}^{a}$]] || 23 δὲ^{1}] τε $\mathbf{H}^{i}$**ΚΛYI**^{blit} | δὲ αὖ **AHKVΦIOT**: [[δὲ]] αὖ **P** αὖ **ΛΓS**(b) δ' ἂν Boiss., Richards ἂν ε δὲ **Y** || 24 ὀδυρόμενον **εOS**(b)**T** | ἐμπεπλῆσθαι $\mathbf{P}^{b}$**εS**(b)**T** ἐκπεπλῆσθαι $\mathbf{H}^{\gamma\rho}\mathbf{K}^{\gamma\rho}$**O** || 25 τοῦ om. **Aε**

he was fighting, and he polished his fingernails. He had a rather aquiline nose and white skin, his eyes were painted, and his left eyebrow rose above the eye.

Helenos, Deiphobos, and Polydamas went into the battles **41**
together with one another. They attained the same measure of strength and were also highly esteemed at giving counsel, but Helenos also engaged in prophecy equal to that of Kalkhas.

About Euphorbus, son of Panthous, and how a certain Eu- **42**
phorbus was in Troy and was killed by Menelaos, you have heard, I suppose, the account of Pythagoras of Samos. For indeed Pythagoras said that he had been Euphorbus and that Euphorbus had changed from a Trojan into an Ionian, from a warrior into a sage, and from one who lived luxuriously into one chastened. His hair, which the one become a sage adorned with dirt, he dyed golden-yellow in Troy when he was Euphorbus. Protesil- 2
aos thinks that Euphorbus was his own age, pities him, and agrees that after Patroklos was wounded by Euphorbus, he was handed over to Hektor.[157] Had Euphorbus come to manhood, Protesilaos says that he would have been considered no worse than Hektor. He says that his beauty charmed even the Achaeans, for he resem- 3
bled a statue [of Apollo] whenever Apollo appears his own most lovely self with unshorn hair and grace.

The godly and noble hero narrates so much concerning the 4
Trojans, my guest. It remains for us, perhaps, to conclude the story of Achilles, unless you have tired of its length.

V. ON HOMER AND HIS ART (43.1–44.4)

PH. If they who in Homer ate the lotus,[158] vinedresser, **43**
were so readily addicted to the meadow as to forget utterly their own affairs, do not doubt that I also am addicted to the story just as to the lotus, and I would not even go away from here willingly, but would be carried off to the ship with difficulty and would be bound again to it, weeping and lamenting at not getting my fill of the story. For truly, you have so disposed me even toward 2
Homer's poems that, although I thought they seemed divine and

[157] Compare Homer *Il.* 16.808–29.
[158] Homer *Od.* 9.82–104.

αὐτὰ ἡγούμενον καὶ πέρα ἀνθρώπου δόξαι, νῦν ἐκπεπλῆχθαι μᾶλλον, οὐκ 1
ἐπὶ τῇ ἐποποιίᾳ μόνον, οὐδ᾽ εἴ τις ἡδονὴ διήκει σφων, ἀλλὰ πολλῷ μᾶλλον
ἐπί τε τοῖς ὀνόμασι τῶν ἡρώων ἐπί τε τοῖς γένεσι καὶ νὴ Δί᾽ ὡς ἕκα-
3 στος αὐτῶν ἔλαχε τοῦ κτεῖναί τινα ἢ ἀποθανεῖν ὑφ᾽ ἑτέρου. τὸν μὲν γὰρ
Πρωτεσίλεων δαίμονα ἤδη ὄντα οὐδὲν οἶμαι θαυμαστὸν εἰδέναι ταῦτα, 5
Ὁμήρῳ δὲ πόθεν μὲν Εὔφορβος, πόθεν δὲ Ἕλενοί τε καὶ Δηίφοβοι καὶ
νὴ Δί᾽ ἐκ τῆς ἀντικειμένης στρατιᾶς οἱ πολλοὶ ἄνδρες οὓς ἐν καταλόγῳ
4 φράζει; τὸ γὰρ μὴ ὑποτεθεῖσθαι ταῦτα τὸν Ὅμηρον, ἀλλὰ γεγονότων
τε καὶ ἀληθινῶν ἔργων ἀπαγγελίαν ποιεῖσθαι μαρτυρεῖ ὁ Πρωτεσίλεως,
πλὴν ὀλίγων, ἃ δοκεῖ μᾶλλον ἑκὼν μετασκευάσαι ἐπὶ τῷ ποικίλην τε καὶ 10
5 ἡδίω ἀποφῆναι τὴν ποίησιν· ὅθεν τὸ ὑπὸ ἐνίων λεγόμενον, ὡς Ἀπόλ-
[194] λων αὐτὰ ποιήσας τὸν Ὅμηρον ἐπέγραψε τῇ ποιήσει, σφόδρα μοι δοκεῖ
ἐρρῶσθαι· τὸ γὰρ γινώσκειν ταῦτα θεῷ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνθρώπῳ ἔοικε.

6 Ἀ. Τὸ μὲν θεοὺς ἡγεμόνας εἶναι τοῖς ποιηταῖς, ξένε, πάσης ᾠδῆς,
αὐτοί που οἱ ποιηταὶ ὁμολογοῦσιν, οἱ μὲν τὴν Καλλιόπην, οἱ δὲ πάσας, 15
οἱ δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω πρὸς ταῖς ἐννέα παρατυχεῖν αἰτούμενοι τῷ λόγῳ·
τὰ δὲ Ὁμήρου ταῦτα οὐκ ἀθεεὶ μὲν εἴρηται, οὐ μὴν Ἀπόλλωνί γε αὐτῷ
7 ἢ Μούσαις αὐταῖς ᾖσται. γέγονε γάρ, ξένε, γέγονε ποιητὴς Ὅμηρος καὶ
ᾔδεν, ὡς μέν φασιν ἕτεροι μετὰ τέτταρα καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτη τῶν Τρωικῶν,
οἱ δὲ μετὰ ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατόν, ὅτε τὴν ἀποικίαν ἐς Ἰωνίαν 20
ἔστειλαν· οἱ δὲ ἑξήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἔτη γεγονέναι μετὰ τὴν Τροίαν ἐπὶ
Ὁμηρόν τέ φασι καὶ Ἡσίοδον, ὅτε δὴ ᾆσαι ἄμφω ἐν Χαλκίδι, τὸν μὲν τὰ
ἑπτὰ ἔπη τὰ περὶ τοῖν Αἰάντοιν καὶ ὡς αἱ φάλαγγες αὐτοῖς ἀραρυῖαί τε
ἦσαν καὶ καρτεραί, τὸν δὲ τὰ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ Πέρσην, ἐν
οἷς αὐτὸν ἔργων τε ἐκέλευεν ἅπτεσθαι καὶ γεωργίᾳ προσκεῖσθαι, ὡς μὴ 25

1 ⟨οἷα⟩ πέρα Kay. (sed cf. 36.1 : νέον ~ ἔχειν) | post δόξαι distinguunt **A** **κVαεOS**(b?), ante δόξαι Boiss. ; non dist. **YT** (δόξαι utique cum πέρα ἀνθρώπου iungendum est: cf. 47.5, 50.3 ; Ap. 63.20s., 163.22s.) | νῦν **Yασ**: νῦν δὲ **V** νῦν δ᾽ **κ** καὶ νῦν δ᾽ Ald., om. **A** | ἐκπεπλῆσθαι **κ** (sed -πλῆχ- $\mathbf{H}^{\gamma\rho}$) || 2 πολὺ $\mathbf{H}^{s}$ $\mathbf{Λ}^{\gamma\rho}$ || 3 ἡρώων] Τρώων $\mathbf{H}^{\gamma\rho}\mathbf{K}^{\gamma\rho}\mathbf{O}$ || 5 Πρωτεσίλεω **ε** || 6 μὲν om. **ΚΛ** | Εὔφορβος $\mathbf{H}^{s}\mathbf{ΦΓPσ}$: Εὔφορβοι $\mathbf{AH}^{i}\mathbf{KΛVYI}^{blit}$ || 7 ἐκ] οἱ ἐκ $\mathbf{H}^{\gamma\rho}\mathbf{ΛÀBOS}^{a}$?**T** ὡς ἐκ **E** || 10 ἑκὼν εἶναι $\mathbf{YI}^{b}$ | μετασκευάσας $\mathbf{ΦΓI}^{a}$ μετεσκευάσθαι **κ** (κατα- $\mathbf{H}^{s}$) κατασκευάσαι $\mathbf{K}^{\gamma\rho}$ κατασκεῦσαι **O** || 12 ἐπέγραφε **V** || 14 πάσης ᾠδῆς ξένε **V** || 15 ποι **ΦIP** || 19 ἕτεροι] ἔνιοι **χ** || 20 οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι post ἀποικίαν add. **HK**, post Ἰωνίαν $\mathbf{VYI}^{blit}$ (οἱ om. $\mathbf{I}^{b}$) ; οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι tamquam glossam supra lineam habent $\mathbf{P}^{b}\mathbf{σ}$ (οἱ om. **O**) || 22 τέ om. **V** | φασι om. **α** || 23 ἑπτὰ om. **AHKY** (sed non $\mathbf{H}^{\gamma\rho}\mathbf{K}^{\gamma\rho}$) || 24 καὶ καρτ. ἦσαν **Aχ** | τὸν ἑαυτοῦ om. **χ** | τὸν ἑαυτοῦ τὸν **V** || 24-25 a verbis ἐν οἷς denuo incipit **F** || 25 ἐκέλευσεν **Φ**

beyond the capability of a mortal, I am now amazed more not only at the epic poetry, even if some pleasure pervades Homer's poems, but to a much greater degree at the names of the heroes and their lineages, and, by Zeus, how each of them obtained the lot of killing a certain person or of dying at the hand of another. For I 3
do not think it amazing that Protesilaos knows these things, since he is now a daimon, but from where does knowledge of Euphorbus come to Homer, and of such men as Helenos and Deiphobos, and, by Zeus, of the many men of the opposing army whom he mentions in the catalogue? Protesilaos testifies that Homer did 4
not invent these things, but that he made a narrative of deeds that had happened and were genuine, except for a few of them, which he rather seems to transform purposefully so that his poetry appears elaborate and more pleasurable. Hence, that which is said 5
by some, that Apollo, after composing these poems signed the name "Homer" to the work, seems to me to be greatly confirmed, since knowing these stories is more fitting for a god than for a mortal.

V. That the gods are guides to the poets of every song, my 6
guest, the poets themselves, I suppose, confess: some invoke Calliope to be present in their story, others all the Muses, and still others Apollo in addition to the nine Muses. Homer's poems were not uttered without the aid of a god, but surely they were not sung by Apollo or the Muses themselves.

For he existed, my guest, the poet Homer existed and sang 7
twenty-four years after the Trojan War, as some say; but others say one hundred and twenty-seven years afterwards, when they colonized Ionia.[159] Still others say that there were one hundred and sixty years from Troy until the time of Homer and Hesiod, when both of them sang in Chalcis.[160] The former sang the seven epics about the two Ajaxes, how their ranks of battle were joined closely together and strong, and the latter sang songs about the affairs of his own brother, Persês, songs in which he urges Persês to engage in work and to devote himself to farming, so that he

[159] According to Aristarchus, the second-century B.C.E. Alexandrian scholiast of Homer, Homer was an Athenian who lived around 1000 B.C.E. Discussions about the date of Homer characterize later historicizing of the composition of the epic traditions. See Nagy, *Poetry as Performance*, 150–51.

[160] This seems to be a reference to the *certamen* or ἀγών, the contest between Homer and Hesiod, inspired by Hesiod *Works and Days* 650–60.

δέοιτο ἑτέρων μηδὲ πειν̣ώ̣η. καὶ ἀληθέστερα, ξένε, περὶ τῶν Ὁμήρου
χρόνων ταῦτα· ξυντίθεται γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὁ Πρωτεσίλεως. δύο γοῦν ποιη-
τῶν ὕμνον ποτὲ εἰπόντων ἐς αὐτὸν ἐνταυθοῖ καὶ ἀπελθόντων, ἤρετό με ὁ
ἥρως ἀφικόμενος ὅτῳ αὐτῶν ψηφιζοίμην· ἐμοῦ δὲ τὸν φαυλότερον ἐπαι-
νέσαντος (καὶ γὰρ μᾶλλον ἔτυχέ με ἡρηκώς), γελάσας ὁ Πρωτεσίλεως
«καὶ Πανίδης» εἶπεν, «ἀμπελουργέ, ταὐτόν σοι πέπονθε· Χαλκίδος γὰρ
τῆς ἐπ᾽ Εὐρίπῳ βασιλεὺς ὢν ἐκεῖνος Ἡσιόδῳ κατὰ Ὁμήρου ἐψηφίσατο,
καὶ ταῦτα τὸ γένειον ἔχων μεῖζον ἢ σύ.» γέγονε μὲν δή, ξένε, ποιητὴς
Ὅμηρος καὶ τὰ ποιήματα ἀνθρώπου ταῦτα. τὰ δὲ ὀνόματα ᾔδει καὶ τὰ
[195] ἔργα ξυνελέξατο μὲν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἃς ἕκαστοι ἦγον· ἦλθε μὲν γὰρ περὶ
τὴν Ἑλλάδα μετὰ χρόνον τῶν Τρωικῶν οὔπω ἱκανὸν ἐξαμαυρῶσαι τὰ
ἐν τῇ Τροίᾳ. ἔμαθε δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ τρόπον ἕτερον δαιμόνιόν τε καὶ σοφίας
πρόσω· εἰς Ἰθάκην γάρ ποτε τὸν Ὅμηρον πλεῦσαί φασιν ἀκούσαντα ὡς
πέπνυται ἔτι ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως, καὶ ψυχαγωγίᾳ ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν χρήσα-
σθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνελθεῖν τὸν Ὀδυσσέα, ὁ μὲν ἠρώτα αὐτὸν τὰ ἐν Ἰλίῳ, ὁ
δὲ εἰδέναι μὲν πάντα ἔλεγε καὶ μεμνῆσθαι αὐτῶν, εἰπεῖν δ᾽ ἂν οὐδὲν ὧν
οἶδεν εἰ μὴ μισθὸς αὐτῷ παρ᾽ Ὁμήρου γένοιτο εὐφημίαι τε ἐν τῇ ποιή-
σει καὶ ὕμνος ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ τε καὶ ἀνδρείᾳ. ὁμολογήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Ὁμήρου
ταῦτα καὶ ὅ τι δύναιτο χαριεῖσθαι αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ ποιήσει φήσαντος, διῄει
ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς πάντα ξὺν ἀληθείᾳ τε καὶ ὡς ἐγένετο· ἥκιστα γὰρ πρὸς αἱ-
ματί τε καὶ βόθροις αἱ ψυχαὶ ψεύδονται. ἀπιόντος δὲ ἤδη τοῦ Ὁμήρου,
βοήσας ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς «Παλαμήδης με» ἔφη «δίκας ἀπαιτεῖ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ
φόνου καὶ οἶδα ἀδικῶν καὶ πάντως μὲν πείσομαί τι· οἱ γὰρ θεμιστεύοντες

2-3 ποτε ποιητῶν ὕμνον **F** ποιητῶν ποτε ὕμνον **V** || 3 εἰς **AV** || 4 ἥρως] Πρωτεσίλεως **VȦB** || 5 ἔτυχέ με Kay. ἔτυχέ μ᾽ Papavasilios | εἰρηκώς $\mathbf{V^bY}$**αȦB** ἠριστευκώς **κ** (sed ἡρηκώς $\mathbf{H^{γρ}K^{γρ}}$) || 6 Πανίδας **Y** Πανοίδης vulgo codd. Certaminis Hom. et Hes. ll. 69 et 177 Allen, ubi tamen e pap. **A** (PPetrie I, ed. Mahaffy, Dublini 1891, 70, XXV, col. I, v. 4) Πανήδης restituerunt Kirchhoff (Sitzb. preuss. Akad. Wiss. 1892, 887) et Rzach (Hes. Carm., Lips. 1902, 437) | ἔφη **χ** | ἔπαθε **HKY** (sed πέπονθε $\mathbf{K^{γρ}}$) || 7 Ἡσίοδον **κ** Ἡσιόδου **O** || 8 μεῖζον ἔχων **FVB** || 9 τὰ δὲ] καὶ τὰ **FΓI** | ᾔδει **Fα**: ἤδη **Aσ** καὶ τὰ εἴδη **Vχ** || 10 ξυνέλεξε **HΛY** (sed -ατο $\mathbf{H^{γρ}}$) | ἦλθε . . . περὶ] ἐπῆλθε . . . Kay. (sed cf. 57.15 περὶ τὴν νῆσον) | μὲν γὰρ] γὰρ **Aχ** δὲ **V** || 12 τῇ om. $\mathbf{ΦΓI^aP}$ | ⟨κατὰ⟩ τρόπον Papavasilios (sed cf. 10.5, 13.1, 25.9, cet.) || 13 φησιν **χ** || 14 αὐτὸν $\mathbf{FΦΓIP^{ac}}$ (= $\mathbf{P^a}$?): αὐτὴν $\mathbf{P^{pc}}$ (= $\mathbf{P^b}$?) **υσ** || 16 ἔλεγε om. **FA** || 17 εἶδεν **α** | Ὁμήρου $\mathbf{AH^sΛ^{γρ}YI^bP^bσ}$: Ὁμήρῳ $\mathbf{FH^iKΛVΦΓI^aP^a}$ | αἱ ἐν $\mathbf{HKΛ^{pc}Y}$ || 18 ἀνδρίᾳ $\mathbf{FAH^iKY^{pc}}$ || 20 ὁ om. **FVΓB** || 23 γὰρ] δὲ $\mathbf{ΦΓ[\![I^a]\!]P}$

will not beg from others or go hungry.[161] The following events 8
of Homer's time, my guest, are quite true since Protesilaos agrees
with them. Once, at any rate, after two poets had recited a song 9
in praise of him here and had gone away, the hero came and asked
me for which one of them I would cast my vote. When I praised
the simpler one (for he happened to have won the contest by far),
Protesilaos laughed and said, "Panidês too had the same experi-
ence as you did, vinedresser. When that man was king of Chalcis
on the Euripos, he voted for Hesiod over Homer, and this when
his beard was longer than yours."[162]

So then, my guest, the poet Homer existed, and these are 10
the poems of a mortal. He used to sing their names and collect 11
their deeds from the cities that each of them led. Homer went
about Hellas after the time of the Trojan War, when it was not yet
long enough for the events at Troy to have faded away. He also 12
learned these things in another manner as well, a manner both
supernatural and requiring the utmost skill. For they say that
Homer once sailed to Ithaca because he heard that the ghost of
Odysseus still breathed, and they say that Homer summoned him
from the dead. When Odysseus came up, Homer began asking 13
him about the events in Ilion, but Odysseus kept saying that al-
though he knew and remembered them all, he would say nothing
of the things he knew unless there would be a reward for him from
Homer, songs of praise in his poetry and a song for his wisdom
and bravery. After Homer agreed to these things and said that in 14
his poetry he would do whatever he could to favor him, Odysseus
narrated everything truthfully and just as it happened. For you
see, the ghosts of the dead least of all speak falsely in the pres-
ence of blood and offering pits.[163] Moreover, just when Homer 15
was leaving, Odysseus cried out and said, "Palamedes is demand-
ing justice from me for his own murder! I know I did wrong, and
I am completely persuaded of it. Those who issue judgments here

[161] This is a reference to Hesiod's *Works and Days*.

[162] According to *Certamen* 322 (Allen, p. 237), in the contest between Homer and Hesiod, the Hellenes recognized Homer's verses as exceeding the ordinary level, but Panidês crowned Hesiod because his selection was about peace and farming, rather than war and slaughter.

[163] On the means of conjuring the dead, see Homer *Odyssey* 11. Pits (βόθροι), rather than stone altars, were used for sacrifices to heroes and chthonic gods.

ἐνταῦθα δεινοί, Ὅμηρε, καὶ τὰ ἐκ Ποινῶν ἐγγύς. εἰ δὲ τοῖς ἄνω ἀν- 1
θρώποις μὴ δόξω εἰργάσθαι τὸν Παλαμήδη ταῦτα, ἧττόν με ἀπολεῖ τὰ
ἐνταῦθα· μὴ δὴ ἄγε τὸν Παλαμήδη ἐς Ἴλιον, μηδὲ στρατιώτῃ χρῶ, μηδὲ
ὅτι σοφὸς ἦν εἴπῃς. ἐροῦσι μὲν γὰρ ἕτεροι ποιηταί, πιθανὰ δὲ οὐ δόξει
16 *μὴ σοὶ εἰρημένα.» αὕτη, ξένε, ἡ Ὀδυσσέως τε καὶ Ὁμήρου ξυνουσία,* 5
καὶ οὕτως Ὅμηρος τὰ ἀληθῆ μὲν ἔμαθε, μετεκόσμησε δὲ πολλὰ ἐς τὸ
συμφέρον τοῦ λόγου ὃν ὑπέθετο.

44 *Φ. Πατρίδα δὲ Ὁμήρου, ὦ ἀμπελουργέ, καὶ τίνων ἐγένετο, ἤρου*
ποτὲ τὸν Πρωτεσίλεων;

Ἀ. Καὶ πολλάκις, ξένε. 10

[196] *Φ. Ὁ δὲ τί;*

2 *Ἀ. Φησὶ μὲν εἰδέναι, Ὁμήρου δὲ παραλιπόντος αὐτὰ ἵνα αἱ σπου-*
δαῖαι τῶν πόλεων πολίτην αὐτὸν σφῶν αὐτῶν ποιοῖντο, ἴσως δὲ καὶ
θεσμοῦ Μοιρῶν ἐπὶ Ὁμήρῳ ὄντος ἄπολιν αὐτὸν δοκεῖν, οὔτ' ἂν ταῖς
Μοίραις οὔτ' ἂν ταῖς Μούσαις φίλα γε ἔφη αὐτὸν πράττειν εἰ τοῦτ' ἐκ- 15
3 *φέροι, περιεστηκὸς λοιπὸν εἰς ἔπαινον τῷ Ὁμήρῳ. προστίθενται μὲν*
γὰρ αὐτῷ πᾶσαι μὲν πόλεις, πάντα δὲ ἔθνη, καὶ δικάσαιντο δ' ἂν περὶ
4 *αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἀλλήλας, ἐγγράφουσαι τῷ Ὁμήρῳ ἑαυτὰς οἷον πολίτῃ. τοῦ*
δὲ μηδ' ἂν τοῦτον σιωπῆσαι τὸν λόγον πρὸς σέ, ὦ Φοῖνιξ, μηδ' ἂν κρύψαι
εἴπερ ἐγίνωσκον αὐτόν, τεκμήρια ἔστω σοι ἃ εἴρηκα· ἀφθόνως γὰρ οἶμαι 20
διεληλυθέναι σοι ὁπόσα οἶδα.

5 *Φ. Πιστεύω, ἀμπελουργέ, καὶ ἑπώμεθα τῷ λόγῳ δι' ὃν σιωπᾶται*
ταῦτα. τὸν δὲ Ἀχιλλέα ὥρα σοι ἀναφαίνειν, εἰ μὴ καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐκπλήξει,
ὥσπερ τοὺς Τρῶας ὅτ' ἔλαμψεν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς τάφρου.

45 *Ἀ. Μὴ δέδιθι τὸν Ἀχιλλέα, ὦ ξένε· παιδὶ γὰρ ἐντεύξῃ αὐτῷ παρὰ* 25
τὴν πρώτην τοῦ λόγου.

1 ἄνω om. ℵ || 2 -μὴ′ **FΛΥΒ** || 3 δὴ] δὲ **ΗΛΦΙΡ** | -μήδην **V** -μὴ′ **F** **ΛΥΟ** | εἰς **ΑVΒ** || 4 εἴποις **ΛVΙ^{a}Ο^{ac}**? εἰπέ **F** || 5 τε om. χ || 6 ὁ Ὅμ. **A** **O** | τἀληθῆ **ΛVΓε** | μετεκόμισε ℵ (sed -κόσμησε **Η^{γρ}Κ^{γρ}**) | πολλὰ om. **ÅΒ** || 7 ὃν ℵ: ὃ **FAℵ^{γρ}VYασ** (cf. 25.3, 13) || 8 Ὁμήρου om. **F**, post ἀμπελουργέ transp. **Y** || 12 ἵν' **FV** || 12-13 σπουδαὶ αἱ τῶν **ΗΛΥΦΙ^{b}Ρ^{a}** (-δαῖ **Φ**) σπουδαὶ αὐτῶν **Γ⟦Ι^{a}⟧** (σπον- **I**) || 13 δὲ καὶ] οὐδὲ **FΦ⟦Ι^{a}⟧?Ρ^{a}** || 14 Ὁμήρου **F^{ac}Η^{i}Κ** **ΛVΥα** (sed -ω **Λ^{γρ}**) || 15 αὐτὸν Lan. (cf. Ap. 11.2s., 106.32s., 224.4; Schmid, Attic. II 57, III 81, IV 83.620): αὐτὸν **FAKVYασ** ἑαυτὸν **ΗΛ** {αὐτὸν} Kay. || 16 προστίθεται **F** | μὲν om. **AVσ** || 17 αἱ πόλεις **AVΦΓΙ⟦Ρ⟧** || 19 ὦ om. ℵ | μηδ' ἂν] μηδὲ **V** || 20 ἐγίγνωσκον **FΦΓΙΤ** || 23 δὲ om. ℵ || 24 τῆς] τοῦ **Φ^{a}ΓΙΡ^{a}** || 25 tit. Ἀχιλλεύς habent **FA^{m}Η^{m}ΚVYΦ^{m}ΙΡ^{b}ÅΕ^{m}ΟΟ^{m}S**(b)**T** Ἀχιλλέα **Λ**

are terrible, Homer, and the punishments of the Poinai are near at hand! If to mortals above the ground I do not seem to have done these things to Palamedes, the forces here will destroy me less. Do not lead Palamedes to Ilion, neither treat him as a soldier nor say that he was wise! Other poets will say these things, but because they have not been said by you, they will not seem plausible." This, my guest, was the conversation between Odysseus and 16
Homer, and in this way Homer learned the truth, but he modified many things for the expediency of the account that he composed.

PH. Vinedresser, did you ever ask Protesilaos about Ho- **44**
mer's homeland and from what people he came?

V. Very often, my guest.

PH. What was his answer?

V. Protesilaos says that he knows them. Because Homer 2
omitted them in order that the excellent men of the cities might make him their own citizen, and perhaps also because the decree of the Fates was against Homer, he seems to be without a city. Protesilaos says that he himself would not please either the Fates or the Muses if he disclosed this secret, since it would then come around to praise for Homer. For all cities ally themselves with 3
him, and all peoples, and they would also plead their case about him against one another, when they enter themselves in the public register with Homer as a citizen. Phoenician, let what I have said 4
be proof to you that I would neither keep this story secret from you nor hide it if I knew it. For I think that I have ungrudgingly divulged to you as much as I know.

VI. ACHILLES (44.5–57.17)

Achilles' Life, Appearance, and Character (44.5–52.2)

PH. I believe you, vinedresser. Let us agree with the reason 5
why these matters are kept silent. It is time for you to bring Achilles to light, unless he will also strike us with panic, just as he did the Trojans, when he shone forth on them from the trench.

V. Do not be afraid of Achilles, my guest, because you will **45**
meet him as a child at the beginning of the story.

Φ. Μεγάλα δώσεις διεξελθὼν αὐτὸν ἐκ νηπίου· μετὰ ταῦτα γὰρ 1
ὁπλιζομένῳ που ἐντευξόμεθα καὶ μαχομένῳ.

2 *Ἀ. Οὕτως ἔσται καὶ πάντα φήσεις τὰ Ἀχιλλέως εἰδέναι. ἤκουσα*
δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοιάδε· Πηλεῖ φάσμα ἐφοίτα θαλαττίας δαίμονος καὶ ἐρῶ-
σα αὐτοῦ ἡ δαίμων ξυνῆν τῷ Πηλεῖ ἐν Πηλίῳ, αἰδοῖ τοῦ ὁμίλου οὔπω τὰ 5
3 *ἑαυτῆς λέγουσα, οὐδὲ ὁπόθεν ἥκοι. γαλήνης δ' ἐπεχούσης τὴν θάλατταν*
ἡ μὲν ἔτυχεν ἐπὶ δελφίνων τε καὶ ἱπποκάμπων ἀθύρουσα, ὁ δὲ ἐκ περιω-
[197] *πῆς τοῦ Πηλίου ὁρῶν ταῦτα ξυνῆκε τῆς θεοῦ καὶ ἔδεισεν ἥκουσαν. ἡ δὲ*
ἐς θάρσος ἦγε τὸν Πηλέα Ἠοῦς τε μνημονεύουσα ὡς Τιθωνοῦ ἥρα, καὶ
Ἀφροδίτης ὡς ἥττητο τοῦ Ἀγχίσου, καὶ Σελήνης ὡς Ἐνδυμίωνι ἐπεφοί- 10
τα καθεύδοντι· «ἐγὼ δέ σοι καὶ παῖδα» εἶπεν, «ὦ Πηλεῦ, δώσω κρείττω
4 *ἀνθρώπου.» ἐπεὶ δ' Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐγένετο, ποιοῦνται αὐτοῦ τροφέα τὸν Χεί-*
ρωνα· ὁ δὲ ἔτρεφεν αὐτὸν κηρίοις τε καὶ μυελοῖς νεβρῶν, ἐς ἡλικίαν τε
ἥκοντα ἐν ᾗ οἱ παῖδες ἁμαξίδων καὶ ἀστραγάλων δέονται, εἶργε μὲν οὐδὲ
τῶν τοιούτων, ἀκοντίοις δὲ εἴθιζε καὶ παλτοῖς καὶ δρόμοις. ἦν δὲ αὐτῷ 15
καὶ μελία μικρὰ τετμημένη ὑπὸ τοῦ Χείρωνος, καὶ ἐῴκει ψελλιζομένῳ
5 *ἐς τὰ πολεμικά. ἐφήβου δὲ ἁπτόμενος ἀκτῖνα μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου ἔπ-*
εμπεν, ὑπερφυὴς δὲ τὸ σῶμα ἐφαίνετο, αὐξηθείς τε ῥᾷον ἢ τὰ πρὸς ταῖς
πηγαῖς δένδρα, πολὺς μὲν ἐν συμποσίοις ἤδετο, πολὺς δὲ ἐν σπουδαῖς.
6 *ἐπεὶ δὲ θυμοῦ ἥττων ἐφαίνετο, μουσικὴν αὐτὸν ὁ Χείρων ἐδιδάξατο·* 20
μουσικὴ γὰρ ἱκανὴ πραΰνειν τὸ ἕτοιμόν τε καὶ ἀνεστηκὸς τῆς γνώμης·
ὁ δὲ οὐδενὶ πόνῳ τάς τε ἁρμονίας ἐξέμαθε καὶ πρὸς λύραν ᾖσεν. ᾖδε

4 τοιαῦτα **Αχ** τάδε **ΦΙ** (τοιάδε — 5 αὐτοῦ om. **Γ**) | Θετταλίας **FΗΛ** **Φ**⟦**Ι**^{a}⟧⟦**Ρ**^{a}⟧ || 5 αὐτοῦ οἶμαι **χ** (**Η**^{m} non item) || 6 ἥκει **Η**^{i}**Κ**^{i}**VΓ**^{i} | θάλασσαν **F** || 8 Πηλίου] Ἰλίου **ȦB** || 12 ὁ Ἀχ. **χ** || 14 ᾗ] οἷς **F** || 15 ἤθιζε **Ακ****Γ** || 17 δὲ] τε **Η**^{i}**Υ** || 19 σπονδαῖς **ΦΓΙ**^{a} || 20 θυμοῦ τε **ΦΓΙΡ**^{pc} | Χείρων — 46.5 μητέρων perierunt in **F** || 21 ὑπερανεστηκὸς **Η**^{γρ}**ΚΛ** | γνώμης] ψυχῆς **V** || 22 ᾖσεν] ᾖδεν **Η**^{s}**ΚΛ**

PH. You will bestow great gifts if you discuss him in detail from infancy, since after this we shall perhaps meet him armed and fighting.

V. So shall it be, and you will say that you know everything 2
about Achilles. I have heard the following about him. An apparition of a daimon of the sea used to visit Peleus. Because she loved him, the daimon had intercourse with Peleus on Mount Pelion, although out of shame for the crowd she did not yet speak about herself, not even from where she came. When the sea was 3
calm, she happened to be frolicking seated upon dolphins and sea horses, while he, looking at these things from the summit of Mount Pelion, became aware of the goddess and feared her approach. But she made Peleus courageous by reminding him how Eos loved Tithônos, how Aphrodite was in love with Anchises, and how Selene habitually visited the sleeping Endymion. "Peleus," she said, "I shall even give to you a child mightier than a mortal." When Achilles was born, they made Kheirôn his 4
foster-father. He fed him honeycombs and the marrow of fawns. When Achilles reached the age at which children need wagons and knucklebones, he did not prohibit such games, but accustomed him to small javelins, darts, and race courses. Achilles also had a small ashen spear hewn by Kheirôn, and he seemed to babble about military affairs.

When he became an ephebe, a brightness radiated from his 5
face, and his body was beyond natural size, since he grew more easily than do trees near springs. He was celebrated much at symposia[164] and much in serious endeavors. When he appeared to 6
yield to anger, Kheirôn taught him music.[165] Music was enough to tame the readiness and rising of his disposition. Without exertion, he thoroughly learned the musical modes, and he sang to

[164] Symposia, drinking parties held in the evening, were occasions for stories, songs (especially *scolia* or formalized drinking songs), riddles, philosophical discourse, and games.

[165] Homer *Il.* 9.185–91. On music as an important means of education and a preparation for philosophical training, see Plato *Republic* 401e and *Laws* 795d. For a discussion of Plato's views of musical education, see Jaeger, *Paideia*, 2:229; 3:250–51; and Warren D. Anderson, *Ethos and Education in Greek Music* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1966). Music was also a central element of sophistic training (Jaeger, *Paideia*, 1:290).

δὲ τοὺς ἀρχαίους ἥλικας, τὸν Ὑάκινθον καὶ τὸν Νάρκισσον καὶ εἴ τι 1
Ἀδώνιδος. προσφάτων δὲ ὄντων τῶν περὶ Ὕλλᾳ τε καὶ Ἀβδήρῳ θρήνων,
ἐπειδὴ ἄμφω ἐφήβω ὄντε ὁ μὲν ἐς πηγὴν ᾤχετο ἀφανισθείς, τὸν δὲ αἱ
7 τοῦ Διομήδους ἵπποι ἐδαίσαντο, οὐκ ἀδακρυτὶ ταῦτα ᾔδεν. ἤκουσα δὲ
κἀκεῖνα, θύειν μὲν αὐτὸν τῇ Καλλιόπῃ μουσικὴν αἰτοῦντα καὶ τὸ ἐν 5
ποιήσει κράτος, τὴν θεὸν δὲ ἐπιστῆναι καθεύδοντι καὶ «ὦ παῖ» φάναι,
«μουσικῆς μὲν καὶ ποιητικῆς δίδωμί σοι τὸ ἀποχρῶν ὡς ἡδίους μὲν τὰς
δαῖτας ἐργάζοιο, κοιμίζοις δὲ τὰς λύπας· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐμοί τε καὶ Ἀθηνᾷ
[198] δοκεῖ πολεμικὸν εἶναί σε καὶ δεινὸν ἐν δεινοῖς {ἐν στρατοπέδοις}, Μοῖραί
τε οὕτω κελεύουσι, σὺ μὲν ἐκεῖνα γυμνάζου κἀκείνων ἔρα. ποιητὴς δὲ 10
ἔσται χρόνοις ὕστερον ὃν ἐγὼ ἀνήσω τὰ σὰ ὑμνεῖν ἔργα.» ταυτὶ μὲν αὐτῷ
8 περὶ Ὁμήρου ἐχρήσθη. μειράκιον δὲ γενόμενος οὐχ, ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοί
φασιν, ἀπόθετος ἐν Σκύρῳ ἐτρέφετο, τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ἐν ταῖς παρθένοις· οὔτε
γὰρ τὸν Πηλέα εἰκὸς ἄριστον τῶν ἡρώων γενόμενον ὑπεκπέμψαι ποι τὸν
υἱὸν πολέμους τε καὶ κινδύνους ἀποδράντα, καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ Τελαμῶνος 15
ἐξορμῶντος τὸν Αἴαντα, οὔτ' ἂν Ἀχιλλεὺς ἠνέσχετο ἐς γυναικωνῖτιν
ἐσβεβλῆσθαι, παρεὶς ἑτέροις τὸ θαυμάζεσθαί τε καὶ εὐδοκιμεῖν ἐν Τροίᾳ·
τὸ γὰρ φιλότιμον πλεῖστον δὴ καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἦν.

46 Φ. Τί οὖν δὴ ὁ Πρωτεσίλεως, ἀμπελουργέ, περὶ τούτων οἶδε;

2 Ἀ. Πιθανώτερα, ξένε, καὶ ἀληθέστερα· φησὶ γὰρ Θησέα ἐξ Ἀθη- 20
νῶν φεύγοντα ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρᾷ τῇ ἐς τὸν υἱὸν ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ Λυκομήδους ἐν
Σκύρῳ, Θησεῖ δὲ ξένον ὄντα τὸν Πηλέα καὶ κοινωνὸν τοῦ Καλυδωνίου
ἔργου στεῖλαι τὸν Ἀχιλλέα ἐς τὴν Σκῦρον τιμωρὸν τῷ Θησεῖ, τὸν δὲ
ἐκπλεύσαντα ὁμοῦ τῷ Φοίνικι μόνα ὑπὸ γήρως τὰ ξυμβουλευτικὰ εἰδότι
κατασεῖσαι τὴν Σκῦρον ἐκ προσβολῆς μετέωρον οὖσαν καὶ ἀνῳκισμένην 25
ἐπ' ὄχθου πετραίου, τὸν Λυκομήδη δὲ σχεῖν μέν, οὐ μὴν ἀποκτεῖναι, ἀλλ'

1 τι] τινα **ΦΓΙ^{a}**⟦**P**⟧ || 2 περὶ] ἐπὶ Cobet (conferre possis 25.5 et Im. 321.2, 345.14, at cf. 33.33 et Schmid, Attic. IV 462s.) | Ὕλα **V** (cf. 26.4) | Αὐδήρῳ **ΗΛVO** || 3 αἱ] οἱ **Γ** || 4 ἐδαίσαντο **OS**(b)**T** ἐδάσαντο **H^{s}ΛΦ^{alit}**? (-σσ- **H^{s}Λ^{pc}**) || 6 δὲ θεὸν **V** || 8 κομίζοις **A^{i}ΛÅ^{ac}** κομίζοιο **Y** || 9 del. Lan. (cf. Schmid, Attic. IV 504[β]): ἐν δεινοῖς ἐν στρατοπέδοις **I** ⟦ἐν δεινοῖς⟧ ἐν στρατοπέδοις **P** ἐν δεινοῖς στρατοπέδοις **ΗΛΦ** ἐν στρατοπέδοις **AH^{γρ}KVYΓσ** || 11 ἔργα ὑμνεῖν **α** || 14 τὸν^{1} om. **AK** | πη **ΦΓΙP^{a}** || 17 ἐμβεβλῆσθαι **V** **χI^{blit}ÅB** (sed ἐσ- **H^{γρ}**) || 18 δὴ] ἤδη **H^{γρ}KP^{b}σ** | καὶ om. **Aχ** (sed non **H^{γρ} K^{γρ}**) | ἦν] εἶναι **χ** (sed ἦν **H^{γρ}K^{γρ}**) || 19 δὴ om. **κ** | ἀμπ. περὶ τ. οἶδε (οἶδεν **HYO**)] περὶ τ. οἶδεν ἀμπ. **α** || 22 καὶ] ἅτε Valckenaer || 24 Φοίνικι] Κίμυκι **I^{bγρ}** | συμβουλευτικὰ **Bζ** || 25 ἀπῳκισμένην **χI^{b}** || 26 δὲ Λυκ. **V** | -μήδην **V** -μὴ$^{δ'}$ **Y** | μὴν δ' **HKI^{b}**

the accompaniment of a lyre. He used to sing of the ancient comrades, Hyacinthus and Narcissus, and something about Adonis. And the lamentations for Hyllas and Abdêros being fresh—since, when both were ephebes, the one was carried into a spring until he disappeared, and upon the other the horses of Diomedes feasted—not without tears did he sing of these matters.

I also heard the following things: that he sacrificed to Cal- 7
liope asking for musical skill and mastery of poetic composition, and that the goddess appeared to him in his sleep and said, "Child, I give you enough musical and poetic skill that you might make banquets more pleasant and lay sufferings to rest. But since it seems both to me and to Athena that you are skilled in war and powerful even in dangerous situations {in army camps}, the Fates command thus: practice those skills and desire them as well. There will be a poet in the future whom I shall send forth to sing your deeds." This was prophesied to him about Homer.

When he became a young lad, he was not, as many say, 8
reared in hiding on Skyros, of all things among young maidens![166] It is not likely that Peleus, who had become the best of heroes, would have sent away his son somewhere secretly, running from battles and dangers. Moreover, when Telamôn sent Ajax forth to war, Achilles would not have put up with being thrown into women's quarters, yielding to others the opportunity to be admired and highly esteemed in Troy. Clearly, the greatest ambition for honor was also found in him.

PH. What then does Protesilaos know about these events, **46**
vinedresser?

V. Things more plausible and truthful, my guest. He says 2
that after Theseus had fled from Athens because of the curse against his son, he died in Skyros by the hand of Lykomêdês. Peleus, who had been Theseus's guest-friend and companion in the Calydonian deed, sent Achilles to Skyros to avenge Theseus. And after he set sail together with Phoenix, who by reason of old age knew only the deliberative arts, he overthrew Skyros, which was on high ground away from attack after it had been rebuilt on a rocky hill. He guarded Lykomêdês and indeed did not

[166] This episode appears in Statius's unfinished epic *Achilleid* 207–396. Pausanias (*Description of Greece* 1.22.6) mentions it as an alternative to the tradition that Achilles captured Skyros.

3 ἐρέσθαι τί παθὼν ἄνδρα ἑαυτοῦ βελτίω ἀπέκτεινεν· εἰπόντα δὲ ὅτι «ἐπ' 1
ἀδίκοις, ὦ Ἀχιλλεῦ, ἥκοντα καὶ πειρῶντα τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν ἐμήν», ἀφῆκεν
ὡς ἐν δίκῃ ἀποκτείναντα καὶ ἀπολογήσεσθαι ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἔφη πρὸς τὸν
4 Πηλέα. Δηιδάμειαν δὲ θυγατέρα τοῦ Λυκομήδους ἔγημε καὶ γίνεται αὐ-
[199] τοῖς Νεοπτόλεμος, ὀνομασθεὶς τοῦτο διὰ νεότητα τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως καθ' ἣν 5
5 ἐς τὸ πολεμεῖν ὥρμησεν. ἐνταῦθα τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ διαιτωμένῳ παρεγίνετο ἡ
Θέτις καὶ ἐθεράπευε τὸν υἱὸν ὥσπερ αἱ θνηταὶ τῶν μητέρων, ξυλλεγο-
μένου δὲ ἐς τὴν Αὐλίδα τοῦ στρατοῦ διεπόρθμευσεν αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν Φθίαν
διὰ τὰ ἐπ' αὐτῷ κεκλωσμένα, τὸν Πηλέα ποιουμένη κύριον τοῦ παιδός·
6 λέγεται καὶ ὅπλα ἐκποιῆσαι αὐτῷ οἷα μήπω τις ἤνεγκε, ξὺν οἷς ἐς τὴν 10
Αὐλίδα ἀφικόμενος ἐλπίδος τε ὑπέπλησε τὸν στρατόν, θεοῦ τε οὕτω τι
ἐνομίσθη παῖς, ὡς θύειν αὐτοὺς τῇ Θέτιδι ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ καὶ προσκυνεῖν
7 τὸν Ἀχιλλέα ἄττοντα ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις. ἠρόμην τὸν Πρωτεσίλεων καὶ περὶ
τῆς μελίας, ὅ τι ἦν τὸ περὶ αὐτῇ θαῦμα, καί φησι μῆκος μὲν εἶναι τῇ
μελίᾳ ὃ μὴ ἄλλῃ αἰχμῇ, εὐθὺ δὲ τὸ ξύλον καὶ οὕτω τι ἐρρωμένον ὡς μὴ 15
ἂν κλασθῆναι, τὸ δὲ στόμα τῆς αἰχμῆς ἀδάμαντός τε εἶναι καὶ παντὸς
διεκπαίειν, τὸν δὲ στύρακα ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ θάτερα ὀρειχάλκου ἐμβεβλῆσθαι,
ἵνα πᾶσα δὴ ἀστράπτουσα ἐμπίπτοι.

47 Φ. Τὰ δὲ ὅπλα, ὦ ἀμπελουργέ, πῶς φησιν αὐτῷ κεκοσμῆσθαι;
2 Ἀ. Οὐ τὸν Ὁμήρου τρόπον, ὦ ξένε· θεῖα μὲν κἀκεῖνα ἐξευρῆσθαι 20
τῷ Ὁμήρῳ, πόλεις τε ἀναγράφοντι καὶ ἄστρα καὶ πολέμους καὶ γεωρ-
3 γίας καὶ γάμους καὶ ᾠδάς, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνα περὶ αὐτῶν φησιν· Ἀχιλλεῖ ὅπλα
μὴ γεγονέναι ἄλλα ἢ ἃ ἐς Τροίαν ἤνεγκε, μηδὲ ἀπολωλέναι ποτὲ Ἀχιλ-
λεῖ ὅπλα, μηδὲ τὸν Πάτροκλον ἐνδῦναι αὐτὰ παρὰ τὴν μῆνιν· ἀποθανεῖν
μὲν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ὅπλοις εὐδοκιμοῦντα τῇ μάχῃ καὶ ἁπτόμενον ἤδη 25
4 τοῦ τείχους, τὰ δὲ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως ἄσυλα μεῖναι καὶ ἀνάλωτα. οὐδὲ γὰρ
[200] ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις τελευτῆσαι αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ ἐς γάμον ἥκειν δοκοῦντα, γυμνὸν

1 ἔρεσθαι **AHΛVY** (sed ἐρέ- $\mathbf{H}^{\gamma\rho}$) | φεύγοντα ἀπέκτεινεν **AχI**$^{\mathbf{b}}$ (ἔκτεινεν **A**) (φεύγοντα ex 46.2 huc delatum esse vid.) || 3 ἐνδίκως **KΛ**$^{\gamma\rho}$ ἐν δίκης $\mathbf{H}^{\mathbf{s}}$**O** | ἀπολογήσεσθαι Kay.: ἀπολογήσασθαι codd. (cf. infinitivi in 1.2, 4.8, 6.6, cet.) | πρὸς om. **ΓI**$^{\mathbf{a}}$ || 4 γίγνεται **σ** || 5 τὴν νεότητα **ϰ** | τοῦ om. **A** || 6 τὸν πόλεμον **ȦB** | παρεγίνετο **AVYσ**: παρεγένετο **ϰα** || 7-8 a voce ξυλλεγομένου denuo incipit **F** || 8 τὴν^{1} om. **ȦB** | ἐς^{2}] ἐπὶ **F** | Φθίαν] Τροίαν **VB** || 9 Πηλέα δὲ **ϰV** || 10 δὲ καὶ **Γ** om. **V** | ἐξήνεγκε **ϰ** || 12 τι] τοι **ϰPB**$^{\mathbf{pc}}$ || 14 περὶ αὐτῇ $\mathbf{H}^{\mathbf{s}}$: παρ' αὐτῇ **FAVασ** περὶ αὐτὴν $\mathbf{H}^{\mathbf{i}}$**KΛYI**$^{\mathbf{b}\gamma\rho}$ || 15 τι] τοι **A** **ϰP** || 16 εἶναι] ἦν **F** || 17 θάτερον $\mathbf{E}^{\Sigma}\mathbf{S}^{\Sigma}$ || 18 ἅπασα δὴ **χ** δὴ πᾶσα **ε** | ἐμπίπτοι $\mathbf{F}^{\mathbf{pc}}$**AHKYΦI**$^{\mathbf{b}}$**P** (ἐκ- **A**): ἐμπίπτῃ $\mathbf{F}^{\mathbf{ac}}$**ΛVσ** ἐμπίπτει **ΓI**$^{\mathbf{a}}$ || 19 ὦ om. **Vχ** || 20 μὲν γὰρ **υP**$^{\mathbf{b}}$**σ** || 25 τὴν μάχην $\mathbf{H}^{\mathbf{i}}$**ΛY**

kill him, but asked him what possessed him to kill a man better than himself. When Lykomêdês said, "Because, Achilles, he 3
came for unjust reasons and made an attempt on my dominion," Achilles released him, since he killed Theseus justly, and said that he would speak in his defense to Peleus. Achilles married 4
Dêidameia, daughter of Lykomêdês, and there was born to them Neoptolemos, who was named this because of Achilles' youth when he rushed forward into war. Thetis appeared to Achilles 5
while he was living there, and she attended to her son just as mortal mothers do. When the army was assembling at Aulis, she carried him over to Phthia because of the fates spun for him when she made Peleus the child's master. It is said that she also made 6
for him weapons such as no one had yet carried. When he arrived at Aulis with these, he filled the army with hope; he was in this way so esteemed as a child of a goddess that they sacrificed to Thetis on the sea and worshipped Achilles when he darted about in his armor.

I also asked Protesilaos about the ashen spear—what its 7
wonder was—and he says that the length of this spear was unlike that of any other, that the wooden shaft was straight and strengthened to such an extent that it could not be broken. The point of the spear was of unbreakable metal and could penetrate anything, and the spike on the other end of the shaft had been dipped in mountain copper, so that the whole spear would strike blazing like lightning.

PH. And his armor, vinedresser, how does he say it was dec- **47**
orated?

V. Not in the way that Homer describes, my guest. He says 2
that the divine armor was also invented by Homer when he depicted cities, stars, wars, fields, weddings, and songs,[167] but the following is what Protesilaos says about it. The armor of Achilles 3
has never been anything other than what he brought to Troy, neither was Achilles' armor ever destroyed, nor did Patroklos put it on because of Achilles' wrath. He says that Patroklos died in his own armor while distinguishing himself in battle and just grasping the wall, and the armor of Achilles remained inviolable and unassailable. Achilles did not even die in his armor, but thinking 4
that he was going to his wedding, he died unarmed and wreathed

[167] See Homer's description of the shield in *Il.* 18.478–608.

ἀποθανεῖν ἐστεφανωμένον ὥσπερ οἱ νυμφίοι. τὰ δὲ ὅπλα κατεσκευάσθαι 1
μὲν ἄσημα καὶ σώφρονα, συγκεκρᾶσθαι δὲ αὐτοῖς ποίκιλμα ὕλης, μεθ-
ιστάμενον ἐς αὐγὰς ἄλλοτε ἄλλας, ὅσας ἡ ἶρις· ὅθεν δοκεῖν αὐτὰ πέρα
τέχνης καὶ Ἡφαίστου ᾄδεσθαι.

48 *Φ. Ἦ καὶ δείξεις αὐτόν, ἀμπελουργέ, καὶ ἀναγράψεις ἀπὸ τοῦ* 5
εἴδους;

2 *Ἀ. Τί δὲ οὐ μέλλω φιληκόου γέ σου τυγχάνων; τὴν μὲν δὴ κόμην*
ἀμφιλαφῆ αὐτῷ φησιν εἶναι καὶ χρυσοῦ ἡδίω καὶ εὐσχήμονα, ὅπῃ καὶ
ὅπως κινοίη αὐτὴν ἢ ἄνεμος ἢ αὐτός, τὴν δὲ ῥῖνα οὔπω γρυπὴν ἀλλ᾽ οἷον
μέλλουσαν, τὴν δὲ ὀφρῦν μηνοειδῆ, τὸν θυμὸν δὲ τὸν ἐν τοῖς ὄμμασι χα- 10
ροποῖς οὖσιν ἡσυχάζοντος μὲν ἀναβάλλεσθαί τινα ὁρμήν, ὁρμήσαντος δὲ
3 *συνεκπηδᾶν τῇ γνώμῃ, τοῖς τε ἐρῶσιν ἡδίω αὐτὸν φαίνεσθαι. πεπονθέναι*
γάρ τι τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς πρὸς αὐτὸν οἷόν τι πρὸς τοὺς ἀλκίμους τῶν λεόντων·
ἀσπαζόμενοι γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ, μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς χαίρομεν ἐπὰν θυμοῦ
ὑποπλησθέντες ἐπὶ σῦν ὁρμήσωσιν ἢ ταῦρον ἤ τι τῶν μαχίμων θηρίων. 15
4 *τὸ δὲ λῆμα τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως δηλοῦσθαί φησι καὶ παρὰ τοῦ αὐχένος· εἶναι*
5 *γὰρ δὴ ὀρθὸν καὶ ἀνεστηκότα. δικαιότατον δὲ αὐτὸν ἡρώων γενέσθαι*
φύσει τε καὶ ξυνουσίᾳ τοῦ Χείρωνος. τό τοι διαβεβλῆσθαι πρὸς χρήματα
ἐκεῖθεν τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ φοιτῆσαι· διεβέβλητο γὰρ οὕτω πρὸς αὐτά, ὡς ἐκ
τριῶν καὶ εἴκοσι πόλεων, ἃς αὐτὸς εἶλε, λαβεῖν μὲν πλεῖστα αἰχμάλωτα, 20
μηδενὸς δὲ αὐτῶν ἡττηθῆναι πλὴν κόρης, ἣν οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ δέδω-
κεν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ᾔτησεν· ἀδικίαν δὲ τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἐπικαλοῦντος
[201] *τοῦ Νέστορος εἰ μὴ τὰ πλείω Ἀχιλλεὺς λήψοιτο, «ἐμὸν ἔστω» ἔφη «τὸ*
6 *πλέον τῶν ἔργων, χρήμασι δὲ πλεονεκτείτω ὁ βουλόμενος.» ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνης*
τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ὦ ξένε, καὶ ἡ πρὸς τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ μῆνις 25
7 *ὑπὲρ τοῦ Παλαμήδους ἤρξατο. μνημονεύων γὰρ τῶν πόλεων ἃς ἄμφω*
ἐξεῖλον, «τοιαύτη μὲν» εἶπεν «ἡ τοῦ Παλαμήδους προδοσία, κἀμὲ δὲ
8 *κρινέτω ὁ βουλόμενος· ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν αὐτῶν ἥκω.» δεξαμένου δὲ εἰς αὐτὸν*
ταῦτα τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος καὶ λοιδορουμένου τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ, τοῦ τε Ὀδυσ-
σέως εἰπόντος ὡς εἴη προδοσία καὶ τὸ ὑπὲρ προδότου λέγειν, ἐκεῖνον μὲν 30

1 κατασκευάσθαι **VYO** κατεσκεύασται **ÅB** || 3 ὅσα **ΗΛΓΡΕΟ** ὥσπερ **K** | ἡ om. **FH^{i}Y** || 5 ᾧ ἀμπ. **χ** || 7 τυγχάνοντος **ΦΙ^{a}P** (τυχάν- **P**) || 8 φασιν **ϰ** | ὅπῃ] ὅποι **Vε** || 9 ὁ ἄνεμος **FY** || 12 ὁρῶσιν **ϰσ** (sed cf. 48.3 ἀσπαζόμενοι) | τότε αὐτὸν **AϰV** || 15 ὑποπλησθέντος **H^{s}K^{γρ}O** | ἐπὶ] ὑπὸ **H^{s}KΛO** || 16 λῆμμα **FAVΦ**[[**I**]] | φησι **FH^{s}ΛVY**: φασι **AH^{i}Κασ** (cf. 48.2) || 17 αὐτῶν **V** || 18 ἐξουσία **EO** || 21 αὐτῶν] αὐτὸν **FΛεS** || 21-22 δέδωκεν **F^{pc}αÅEζ**: δέδωκε **F^{ac}** ἔδωκεν **υB** || 22 ἐπεγκαλοῦντος **V** ἐγκαλοῦντος **P^{Σ}σ^{Σ}** || 23 φησὶ **F** || 24 πλεῖον **χ** || 25 τῷ om. **ϰ** || 28 αὐτὸν **A^{pc}H^{m}KV^{pc}I^{b} P^{pc}ÅOT**: ἑαυτὸν **ΛΓ** αὐτὸν **FA^{ac}HV^{ac}YI^{a}P^{ac}BES** αὐτὰ **Φ** || 29 λοιδορουμένῳ **ΦI**[[**P^{a}**]]

with a crown just like bridegrooms. Protesilaos says that the ar- 5
mor was fashioned without distinguishing marks and discreetly, and that a variety of material was blended together on it which changed sometimes into one sheen, sometimes into another, like a rainbow. For this reason, the armor is celebrated in song as seeming to be beyond the skill even of Hephaistos.

PH. Will you portray Achilles, vinedresser, and describe **48**
him from his appearance?

V. Why shouldn't I, since I have met you who are so fond 2
of listening? Protesilaos says that Achilles' hair is thick, lovelier than gold, and becoming no matter where and how either the wind or he himself may move it. His nose is not quite aquiline, but almost so; his brow is crescent-shaped. The spirit in his eyes, which are bluish-gray, casts off a certain eagerness even when he is still; when he is rushing on, they spring out along with his purpose, and then he seems more lovely than ever to those who cherish him. The Achaeans were affected by him as by strong li- 3
ons. For although we greet lions at rest, we are even more pleased with them whenever, after beginning to be filled with anger, they rush headlong at a boar, a bull, or one of the bellicose beasts. Pro- 4
tesilaos says Achilles' courage is evident even from his neck, since it is straight and erect.

By nature and through association with Kheirôn, he became 5
the most just of the heroes. I tell you, being filled with suspicion about possessions accompanied Achilles from then on. For he was so set against them that, from the twenty-three cities that he himself captured, although he took the most prisoners of war, he was able to resist all of them except for a maiden, whom he did not even give to himself, but asked the Achaeans for her. When Nestor charged the Achaeans with injustice unless Achilles should receive the most possessions, Achilles said, "Let the greater part of the deed be mine, and let whoever wishes be greedy for possessions."

At that assembly, my guest, Achilles' anger toward Aga- 6
memnon on behalf of Palamedes also began. When recalling the 7
cities that the two of them had captured, he said, "Such was the treason of Palamedes, and let whoever wishes condemn me as well since I have come from the same cities." Agamemnon took these 8
words to be directed against him, and he railed against Achilles. When Odysseus said that speaking on behalf of a traitor was

ἀπήλασε τῆς ἐκκλησίας οὐδὲ τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς φίλα εἰπόντα, καθικόμενος δὲ 1
τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος λοιδορίαις πλείοσιν ἔξω βελῶν διῃτήσατο μήτ᾽ ἔργον
τι πράττων ἐς τὸ κοινὸν φέρον μήτε φοιτῶν ἐς τὰ βουλεύματα, ὅτε δὴ
ἀφίκοντο αὐτῷ λιταὶ παρὰ τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος ἐν παντὶ ἤδη τῶν Ἀχαιῶν
9 ὄντων. ἐπρέσβευον δὲ αὐτὰς Αἴας τε καὶ Νέστωρ, ὁ μὲν διὰ τὸ ξυγγενές 5
τε καὶ τὸ διηλλάχθαι ἤδη σφίσι μηνίσας ἐφ᾽ οἷσπερ ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐμήνισεν,
10 ὁ δὲ σοφίας τε ἕνεκα καὶ ἡλικίας, ἣν ἐτίμων οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ πάντες. ἐπεὶ δὲ
τὸν γοῦν Πάτροκλον ξυμμαχῆσαι σφίσι παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ εὕραντο, ὁ μὲν δρά-
σας τε καὶ παθὼν ὁπόσα Ὅμηρός φησιν, ἀπέθανε μαχόμενος τῇ Τροίᾳ
ὑπὲρ τοῦ τείχους, ὁ δ᾽ ἔπραξε μὲν οὐδὲν ἀγεννὲς ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ οὐδὲ εἶπεν, 10
ἀπολοφυράμενος δὲ αὐτὸν ἐρρωμένως καὶ θάψας ὡς αὐτός τε ἐβούλετο
11 κἀκείνῳ χαριεῖσθαι ᾤετο, ἐχώρει ἐπὶ τὸν Ἕκτορα. τὰς μὲν δὴ ὑπερβολάς
αἷς κέχρηται Ὅμηρος περί τε τοὺς ἀπολλυμένους αὐτοῖς ἅρμασιν ὁπότε
Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐφάνη, περί τε τοὺς ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ σφαττομένους, τήν τε τοῦ
[202] ποταμοῦ κίνησιν ὅτ᾽ ἐπανίστη τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ κῦμα, ἐπαινεῖ μὲν 15
12 καὶ ὁ Πρωτεσίλεως ὡς ποιητικά, διαγράφει δὲ ὡς κεχαρισμένα· μήτε
γὰρ τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ τηλικούτῳ ὄντι ἄπορον ἂν γενέσθαι τὸν Σκάμανδρον
καὶ ταῦτα ἥττω ἢ οἱ μεγάλοι τῶν ποταμῶν ὄντα, μήτ᾽ ἂν τὸν Ἀχιλλέα ἐς
μάχην τῷ ποταμῷ ὁρμῆσαι· εἰ γὰρ καὶ σφόδρα ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐμόρμυρεν, ἤλυ-
13 ξεν ἂν ἐκκλίνων καὶ μὴ ὁμόσε χωρῶν τῷ ὕδατι. πιθανώτερα δὲ τούτων 20
ἐκεῖνα, οἶμαι, δίεισι· ξυνελαθῆναι μὲν ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν τοὺς Τρῶας καὶ
πλείους ἀπολέσθαι σφων ἢ ἐν ἅπαντι τῷ πολέμῳ ἀπώλοντο, οὐ μὴν μόνῳ
γε Ἀχιλλεῖ πεπρᾶχθαι ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ θαρσήσαντας ἤδη παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ τοὺς
14 Ἕλληνας ἐπικαταβαίνειν καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ σφάττειν. Ἀχιλλέα δὲ

3 εἰς^{1} **YεOS** | δὴ] δε **F** καὶ **Γ** || 4 ἀφίκοιν͂ **F** | παντὶ] πᾳ ●●● **F** βία **V** | ἤδη] εἴδει **ΥΓ**^{pc} ᾖδει **Γ**^{ac} δέει **F** || 6 οἷς **α** || 8 εὕραντο **Fυα**: εὕροντο **σ** || 11 ἀπολοφυρόμενος **H**^{s}**KO** (-ώ- **O**) || 13 ἅρμασιν] ἅρμασι Τρῶας **χ** Τρῶας **A** || 14 ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς **Aϰ** | τῷ ποταμῷ **χ** || 16 καὶ om. **KY**^{ac}**Φ**^{ac}**ΓÅB** || 19 γὰρ καὶ] γὰρ **YI**^{blit}**B** καὶ **Φ** δὲ καὶ **P**^{a} δὲ **T**^{Σ} δὴ **O**^{Σ}

treason, Achilles drove him out of the assembly because he said things that were not welcome even to the Achaeans. After attacking Agamemnon with greater insults, he led a life out of the reach of missiles of war, neither doing any deed for the common good nor visiting war counsels when supplications for him arrived from Agamemnon because the Achaeans were already in great distress. Both Ajax and Nestor acted as ambassadors,[168] the former be- 9
cause of their kinship and because he had already been reconciled with the Achaeans even though he had been angry for the same reasons that Achilles was angry; the latter on account of his sound judgment and age, which all the Achaeans honored. When they 10
discovered from him that Patroklos at least was allied with them, Patroklos, who both did and suffered as many things as Homer says, died fighting at Troy for the sake of the city wall. Achilles neither did anything ignoble toward him nor spoke against him. And after he bewailed him vigorously and buried him both as he himself wished and as he thought would also please Patroklos, he then advanced against Hektor.

Indeed, the hyperboles that Homer used about those who 11
perished with their chariots whenever Achilles appeared, about those who were slain in the river, and about the movement of the river, when its own wave rose up against Achilles[169]—these hyperboles even Protesilaos commends as poetic, but he excludes them as gratuitous. He says that neither against Achilles, although he 12
was so great, would the Scamander have been at a loss and weaker than the mighty rivers in this encounter, nor would Achilles have rushed headlong against the river. For even if it had roared violently against him, he would have avoided it by turning away and not moving close to the water. Protesilaos, I believe, re- 13
counts those events more plausibly than Homer. He says that the Trojans were driven together into the river, and more of them perished than had in the entire war; surely these deeds were not done by Achilles alone, but since the Hellenes had already been made confident by his presence, they went down against the Trojans and slaughtered them in the river.

He says that Achilles was heedless of these things, but con- 14

[168] This list differs somewhat from that in the *Iliad*, where Nestor proposed the embassy, but the ambassadors were Phoenix, Odysseus, and the greater Ajax (Homer *Il.* 9.89–713).

[169] Homer *Il.* 21.212–382.

τούτων μὲν ἀμελεῖν, ἀγωνίσασθαι δὲ ἀγῶνα τοιόνδε· ἦν ἀνὴρ ἐκ Παιο- 1
νίας ἥκων, οὗ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐπεμνήσθη· Ἀστεροπαῖον δὲ αὐτὸν καλεῖ
καὶ Ἀξίου τοῦ ποταμοῦ υἱωνὸν καὶ δεξιὸν ἄμφω τὼ χεῖρε, μέγιστον δ'
Ἀχαιῶν τε καὶ Τρώων ὄντα τὸν Παίονα καὶ θηρίου δίκην ὁμόσε χω-
15 *ροῦντα ταῖς αἰχμαῖς παρῆκεν Ὅμηρος τουτονὶ τοῦ λόγου. ἦγε δὲ καὶ* 5
ἀκραιφνῆ δύναμιν Παίονας ἱππέας ἄρτι ἐς Τροίαν ἥκων, οὓς ἐτρέψατο μὲν
ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐκπλήξας· δαίμονα γὰρ ἐμπεπτωκέναι σφίσιν ᾤοντο οὔπω
16 *ἀνδρὶ τοιῷδε ἐντετυχηκότες. ὑποστάντος δὲ Ἀστεροπαίου μόνου, πλείω*
περὶ ἑαυτοῦ ἔδεισεν ἢ ὁπότε τῷ Ἕκτορι ἐμάχετο, καὶ οὐδὲ ἄτρωτος εἶ-
17 *λε τὸν Παίονα· ὅθεν τῶν συμμάχων ἀπαγορευόντων αὐτῷ μὴ μάχεσθαι* 10
τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην τῷ Ἕκτορι, οὐκ ἠνέσχετο τῶν λόγων τούτων ἀλλὰ
εἰπὼν «ἰδέτω με κρείττω καὶ τραυμάτων», ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἕκτορα
18 *προτεταγμένον τοῦ τείχους. ἀποκτείνας δ' αὐτὸν γενόμενον οἷον ἐν τῷ*
[203] *περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγῳ εἴρηκα, περιεῖλξε τῷ τείχει βάρβαρον μέν τινα καὶ ἀηδῆ*
19 *τρόπον, ξυγγνωστὸν δέ, ἐπειδὴ τῷ Πατρόκλῳ ἐτιμώρει. δαιμονίᾳ γὰρ δή* 15
τινι τὸν Ἀχιλλέα φύσει χρώμενον ἀεί τι μέγα ὑπὲρ τῶν φίλων πράττειν,
ὅθεν μηνῖσαι μὲν ὑπὲρ Παλαμήδους ὁμοῦ πᾶσιν Ἕλλησι, τιμωρῆσαι δὲ
20 *Πατρόκλῳ τε καὶ Ἀντιλόχῳ. τά τοι πρὸς τὸν Τελαμῶνος Αἴαντα περὶ*
φίλων αὐτῷ εἰρῆσθαι λεγόμενα σφόδρα χρὴ γινώσκειν· ἐρομένου γὰρ
αὐτὸν μετὰ ταῦτα τοῦ Αἴαντος ποῖα τῶν ἔργων ἐπικινδυνότατα αὐτῷ 20
21 *γένοιτο, «τὰ ὑπὲρ τῶν φίλων» ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἔφη. πάλιν δὲ ἐπερομένου*
ποῖα ἡδίω τε καὶ ἀπονώτερα, ταὐτὸν ἀπεκρίνατο· θαυμάσαντος δὲ τοῦ
Αἴαντος πῶς ἂν ταὐτὸ ἔργον χαλεπόν τε γένοιτο καὶ ῥᾴδιον, «ὅτι» ἔφη
«τὰ ὑπὲρ τῶν φίλων κινδυνεύματα μεγάλα ὄντα προθύμως πράττων, τῆς
22 *ἐπ' αὐτοῖς λύπης παύομαι.»—«τραῦμα δέ, ὦ Ἀχιλλεῦ, ποῖον μάλιστά* 25
σε ἐλύπησεν;» ἦ δ' ὅς. «ὃ ἐτρώθην ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἕκτορος.»—«καὶ μὴν ὑπ'
αὐτοῦ γε οὐκ ἐτρώθης» ὁ Αἴας ἔφη. «νὴ Δία κεφαλὴν» ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς
εἶπε, «τάς τε χεῖρας· σὲ μὲν γὰρ κεφαλὴν ἐμαυτοῦ ἡγοῦμαι, Πάτροκλος
δέ μοι χεῖρες ἦν.»

49 *Τὸν δὲ Πάτροκλον ὁ Πρωτεσίλεως, ὦ ξένε, πρεσβύτερον μὲν τοῦ* 30

1 ἀνὴρ μὲν **Y** μὲν ἀνὴρ **I**^{b} || 2 Ἀστρο- **ΦΙ** || 3 Ἀξίου **FAH**^{γρ}**Λ**^{γρ}**V** **Y**[**Å**]**BEζ**: Ἀξιοῦ **Kα** Ἀξαοῦ **Λ** Ἀξᾳοῦ **H** | υἱὸν **ΑΦΙ**^{a}[[**P**^{a}]] || 6 ἄρτι] ἄρματι **ϰ** (sed ἄρτι **H**^{γρ}**K**^{γρ}) || 7 ὁ om. **χ** | γὰρ] δὲ **ΓΟ** || 8 τοιούτῳ **α** || 9 αὐτοῦ **AH**^{γρ}**KVO** || 17 ὁμοῦ om. **FΦΓΙP**^{a} (sed cf. 1.1, 6.3, 19.2) | δὲ] τε **Y** om. **F** || 22 τε om. **Fχ** | ταὐτὸν **FAH**^{i}**KΛVYI**^{b}: ταὐτὸ **H**^{s}**Λ**^{γρ}**ST** τὸ αὐτὸ **P**^{b} ε τὸ ταυτὸ **O** ταῦτα **ΦΓΙ**^{a}**P**^{a} || 23 ταὐτὸ **FΦΓΙ**^{a}**Pσ**: τὸ αὐτὸ **V** ταὐτὸν **AχI**^{b} | τε om. ε || 25 ὦ om. **α** | ὦ Ἀχιλλεῦ post σε transp. **Aχ** || 26 ἐτρώθη **Φ**^{a}**IP**^{a}**O** ἐτρω$^{\theta'}$ **F** || 26-27 οὐκ ἐτρ. γε ὑπ' αὐτοῦ **χ** || 27-28 εἶπεν ὁ Ἀχ. **ÅB** || 28 εἶπε] ἔφη **AVY** | μὲν γὰρ] γὰρ **AH**^{ac}**YΦIP** δὲ **Γ** | ἐμ. κεφ. **ϰ** || 30 tit. Πάτροκλος habet **F**^{m} | ὦ om. **ζ**

tended for a prize in the following contest. There was a man who had come from Paionia, whom Homer also remembered.[170] He calls him Asteropaios, a grandson of the river Axios, and ambidextrous. Although the Paionian was the mightiest of both the Achaeans and the Trojans and rushed into the spears like a wild beast, Homer disregarded this story. Having just arrived at 15
Troy, he led a fresh force, the Paionian horsemen, whom Achilles repulsed by frightening them; they thought that a daimon had fallen upon them because they had not yet encountered such a man. When Asteropaios alone stood his ground, Achilles feared 16
for himself more than when he fought with Hektor, and he did not go unwounded when he killed the Paionian. For this reason, 17
when the allies forbade him to fight with Hektor on that day, he did not endure these words, but as he said, "Let him see that I am even mightier than my wounds," he rushed headlong against Hektor who was stationed before the wall. After he killed him, who 18
was such as I described in the story about him, Achilles dragged him around the wall in a manner which, while barbarous and unpleasant, was pardonable, since he was avenging Patroklos. For 19
Achilles, while possessed with a certain supernatural nature, always did something great for his friends; for this reason he was angry together with all the Hellenes on account of Palamedes and avenged Patroklos and Antilokhos. It is especially necessary to 20
know what Achilles is reported to have said to Telamônian Ajax about his friends, for afterwards, when Ajax asked him what sort of deeds were most dangerous to him, Achilles said, "Those on behalf of friends." Again, when asked what sort were both sweeter 21
and less troublesome, he gave the same answer. When Ajax wondered how the same deed might be both difficult and easy, he said, "Because when on behalf of friends I readily take risks that are great, I cease from grieving for them." "But what sort of wound hurt you the most, Achilles?" Ajax asked. "The wound that I re- 22
ceived from Hektor." "And yet surely you were not wounded by him," said Ajax. "By Zeus, he wounded my head and my hands," said Achilles, "for I consider you my own head, and Patroklos was my hands."

My guest, Protesilaos says that Patroklos, although he was **49**
not much older than Achilles, was a divine and sensible man, the

[170] Homer *Il.* 21.136–208.

Ἀχιλλέως οὐ πολὺ γενέσθαι φησί, θεῖον δὲ ἄνδρα καὶ σώφρονα, τῷ 1
τε Ἀχιλλεῖ ἐπιτηδειότατον τῶν ἑταίρων· χαίρειν τε γὰρ ὁπότε καὶ ὁ
Ἀχιλλεὺς ἔχαιρε, λυπεῖσθαί τε τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ξυμβουλεύειν ἀεί
τι καὶ ἀκούειν ᾄδοντος, καὶ οἱ ἵπποι δὲ αὐτὸν ἔφερον χαίροντες ὥσπερ
2 *καὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα. ἦν δὲ καὶ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὴν ἀνδρείαν μεταξὺ τοῖν* 5
Αἰάντοιν· τοῦ μὲν γὰρ Τελαμωνίου πάντα ἐλείπετο, ἐκράτει δὲ ἄμφω
[204] 3 *τοῦ Λοκροῦ. καὶ μελίχλωρος ἦν ὁ Πάτροκλος καὶ τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ μέλας*
καὶ ἱκανῶς εὔοφρυς καὶ μέτρα ἐπαινῶν κόμης, ἡ κεφαλὴ δὲ ἐβεβήκει
ἐπ᾽ αὐχένος οἷον αἱ παλαῖστραι ἀσκοῦσιν, ἡ δὲ ῥὶς ὀρθή τε ἦν καὶ τοὺς
μυκτῆρας ἀνευρύνετο, καθάπερ οἱ πρόθυμοι τῶν ἵππων. 10

50 *Φ. Εἰς καλόν με τῶν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως ἵππων ἀνέμνησας, ὦ ἀμπε-*
λουργέ· σφόδρα γὰρ δέομαι μαθεῖν τί βελτίους ὄντες ἑτέρων ἵππων θεῖοι
ἐνομίσθησαν.

2 *Ἀ. Ἠρόμην κἀγώ, ξένε, τὸν ἥρω αὐτὸ τοῦτο καί φησι τὴν μὲν λε-*
γομένην ἀθανασίαν περὶ αὐτοὺς εἶναι μεμυθολογῆσθαι τῷ Ὁμήρῳ, τὴν 15
Θετταλίαν δέ, εὔιππόν τε οὖσαν καὶ ἀγαθήν, τότε δύ᾽ ἵππους, λευκόν
τε καὶ ξανθόν, δαιμονίους τὴν ταχυτῆτα καὶ τὸ ἦθος λαμπρούς, ἱππο-
3 *τροφῆσαι κατὰ θεὸν δή τινα, ὁπότε ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἤνθει· καὶ πάντων ὅσα*
θείως ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ ἐλέγετο πιστευομένων, ἤδη ἐδόκει καὶ τὸ τῶν
ἵππων θεῖόν τε εἶναι καὶ ἐπέκεινα τοῦ θνητοῦ φαίνεσθαι. 20

51 *Τελευτὴ δὲ τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ ἐγένετο ἣν καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐπιγινώσκει· φη-*
σὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκ Πάριδός τε καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ἀποθανεῖν, εἰδώς που τὰ
ἐν τῷ Θυμβραίῳ καὶ ὅπως πρὸς ἱεροῖς τε καὶ ὅρκοις, ὧν μάρτυρα τὸν
2 *Ἀπόλλω ἐποιεῖτο, δολοφονηθεὶς ἔπεσεν. ἡ θυσία δὲ τῆς Πολυξένης ἡ*
ἐπὶ τῷ σήματι καὶ ὅσα περὶ τοῦ ἔρωτος ἐκείνου ποιητῶν ἀκούεις, ὧδε 25

1 δὲ om. **κ** || 2 τε² om. **ΚΓ^{ac}O^{ac}** | καὶ om. **KV** | ὁ om. **ΛΥΦΓΙP^{a}** || 3 ἀεί] αὐτῷ **H^{γρ}K^{γρ}** || 4 οἱ om. [**Å**]**B** | ἔφερον χαίροντες **FAYa**: ἔχαιρον φέροντες **HΛVσ** ἔχαιροντες **K** || 5 ἀνδρίαν **FA** || 6 μὲν **FHa**: μὲν γὰρ **AKΛ VYσ** || 7 μελίχλωρος] μελάγχρους **κI^{blit}** (-χρος **H**) μελίχρωος **H^{γρ}K^{γρ}** | τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ **ΦΓI^{ac}** τῶ ὀφθαλμὼ **P** || 9 ἐπ᾽] ὑπ᾽ **ΦI** | οἷον **H^{pc}KΛaσ**: οἵου **F AVY** οἷον **H^{ac}**?**H^{m}** | δὲ om. ζ | ῖρις **EO^{γρ}** | ἦν om. **ÅB** || 11 με] μοι **a** | Ἀχιλλέων **F^{ac}** || 12 γὰρ om. **I^{a}P** γε **A** γὰρ δὴ **χI^{b}** | δέομαι] βούλομαι **σ** | ἐτ. ὄντες **υ**[**Å**]**Eζ** || 14 τὸν ἥρω ξένε **χ** || 15 περὶ] ἐς **σ** || 16 δέ] τε **ΦIP ε** | τότε om. **a** τούτω **VY** | δύ᾽ **FΦIPST**: δύο **υΓεO** || 16-17 ξανθόν τε καὶ λευκόν **σ** Λάμπον τε καὶ Ξάνθον **VχI^{bγρ}** (sed ξανθὸν καὶ λευκόν **H^{s}**) || 18 ὅσα] ὁπόσα **HΛVY** || 19 ante ἤδη distinguunt **Fυαε**, post ἤδη ζ || 21 γιγνώσκει malit Kay. || 22 τὰ **υ**[**Å**]**BEζ**: τὰς **FΦΓP** τὰ[[ς]] **I** || 23 ὧν] ὣν **κV** || 24 δολοφονηθεὶς δὲ **κV** | ἔπεσεν] ἀπέθανεν **H^{s}K^{γρ}Λσ^{Σ}** || 25 σώματι **H^{i}**

most suitable companion for Achilles. He said that Patroklos rejoiced whenever Achilles also rejoiced, was distressed in the same manner, was always giving some advice, and listened to Achilles when he sang. Protesilaos says that even his horses carried Patroklos safe and sound, just as they did Achilles. In size and 2
bravery he was between the two Ajaxes. He fell short of the son of Telamôn in all things, but he surpassed both the size and bravery of the son of Locris. Patroklos had an olive complexion, black 3
eyes, and sufficiently fine eyebrows, and he commended moderately long hair. His head stood upon his neck as the wrestling schools cultivate. His nose was straight, and he flared his nostrils as eager horses do.

PH. It is good that you have reminded me of Achilles' **50**
horses, vinedresser, because I really need to know why, even if they were better than other horses, they were deemed divine.

V. I have asked the hero this very question, my guest, and 2
he says that their so-called immortality is a fiction told by Homer.[171] He reports, however, that when Achilles was in the bloom of youth, Thessaly, because it was both famed for its horses and noble, with some divine help nurtured two horses, one white and one chestnut, marvelous in their speed and magnificent in their disposition. And because everyone believed what was spoken by 3
divine providence about Achilles, it immediately seemed that the nature of the horses was divine and appeared to surpass the mortal.

Achilles' life came to an end, which Homer also knows. He **51**
says that Achilles died at the hands of both Paris and Apollo,[172] knowing, I suppose, what happened in Thymbraion, and how Achilles fell, murdered treacherously while engaged in sacrifices and sacred oaths, of which he made Apollo a witness.[173] The 2
sacrifice of Polyxena on his tomb and Achilles' passion for her, which you hear from the poets, happened like this: Achilles loved 3
Polyxena and was negotiating this marriage for himself with the

[171] Homer *Il.* 16.145–54; see also the Glossary on Balios and Xanthos.

[172] Homer *Il.* 22.358–60.

[173] Protesilaos's story of Achilles' death is similar to the story found in Hyginus *Fabulae* 110 (in contrast to Achilles' death in battle in the *Aithopis*.)

3 ἔχει· Πολυξένης ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἤρα καὶ τὸν γάμον τοῦτον ἑαυτῷ ἔπρατ- 1
τεν ἐπὶ τῷ τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἀναστῆσαι τοῦ Ἰλίου, ἤρα δὲ καὶ ἡ Πολυξένη
4 τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως. εἶδον δ' ἀλλήλους ἐν λύτροις Ἕκτορος· ὁ γὰρ Πρίαμος
ἤκων παρὰ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα χειραγωγὸν ἑαυτοῦ τὴν παῖδα ἐποιεῖτο νεω-
τάτην οὖσαν ὧν ἡ Ἑκάβη αὐτῷ ἔτεκεν, ἐθεράπευον δὲ ἀεὶ τὸ βάδισμα 5
205] 5 τῶν πατέρων οἱ νεώτεροι τῶν παίδων. καὶ οὕτω δή τι ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐσω-
φρόνει ὑπὸ δικαιοσύνης καὶ τὰ ἐρωτικά, ὡς μήτε ἀφελέσθαι τὴν κόρην
ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ οὖσαν, γάμον τε αὐτῆς ὁμολογῆσαι τῷ Πριάμῳ, πιστεῦσαί τε
6 ἀναβαλλομένῳ τὸν γάμον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπέθανε γυμνὸς ἐν τοῖς περὶ τούτων
ὅρκοις, λέγεται ἡ Πολυξένη φευγουσῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῶν Τρωάδων καὶ 10
τῶν Τρώων ἐσκεδασμένων (οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸ πτῶμα τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως ἀδεῶς
ἤνεγκαν) αὐτομολίᾳ χρήσασθαι καὶ φυγεῖν ἐς τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, ἀναχθεῖσά
τε τῷ Ἀγαμέμνονι ζῆν μὲν ἐν κομιδῇ λαμπρᾷ τε καὶ σώφρονι καθά-
περ ἐν πατρὸς οἰκίᾳ, τριταίου δὲ ἤδη κειμένου τοῦ νεκροῦ δραμεῖν ἐπὶ
τὸ σῆμα ἐν νυκτὶ ξίφει τε αὐτὴν ἐπικλῖναι πολλὰ εἰποῦσαν ἐλεεινὰ καὶ 15
γαμικά, ὅτε δὴ καὶ δεῖσθαι τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως ἐραστήν τε μεῖναι καὶ ἀγα-
7 γέσθαι αὐτὴν μὴ ψευσάμενον τὸν γάμον. ἃ δὲ τῷ Ὁμήρῳ ἐν δευτέρᾳ
ψυχοστασίᾳ εἴρηται, εἰ δὴ Ὁμήρου ἐκεῖνα, ὡς ἀποθανόντα Ἀχιλλέα
Μοῦσαι μὲν ᾠδαῖς ἐθρήνησαν, Νηρηίδες δὲ πληγαῖς τῶν στέρνων, οὐ
παρὰ πολύ φησι κεκομπάσθαι· Μούσας μὲν γὰρ οὔτε ἀφικέσθαι οὔτε 20
ᾆσαι, οὐδὲ Νηρηίδων τινὰ ὀφθῆναι τῷ στρατῷ καίτοι γινωσκομένας
ὅτι ἥκουσι, θαυμαστὰ δὲ ξυμβῆναι ἕτερα καὶ οὐ πόρρω τῶν Ὁμήρῳ
8 εἰρημένων. ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ κόλπου τοῦ Μέλανος ἡ θάλασσα ἀνοιδήσασα
τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐμυκᾶτο, μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ ἀρθεῖσα λόφῳ μεγάλῳ ἴσῃ
ἐχώρει ἐς τὸ Ῥοίτειον, ἐκπεπληγμένων τῶν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ ἀπορούντων 25
9 ὅ τι αὐτοί τε καὶ ἡ γῆ πείσονται. ἐπεὶ δὲ πλησίον ἐγίνετο καὶ προσε-
κύμαινε τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, θρῆνον ἤχησεν ὀξύν τε καὶ ἀθρόον, καθάπερ

1 τοῦτον] πρῶτον **Φ**[[**I**^{a}]][[**P**^{a}]] || 2 ἀναστῆναι **κΦ** | δὲ om. **Aχ** | καὶ om. **ΦΓΙP**^{a} | ἡ om. **Vχ** || 3 δὲ **Fχ** || 4 ἐποιεῖτο τὴν π. **ÅE** || 6 νεώτατοι **Γ** | δή] δέ **κΓ** | τι] τοι **ΑΛΓ** || 6-7 ὑπὸ δ. ἐσωφρόνει **Vχ** || 10 ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ om. **ΦΓΙ**^{a}**P** | Τρωάδων — 53.23 πέπραται perierunt in **F** | Τρῳάδων **Å BST** || 13 μὲν om. **ε** | τε^{2} om. **V** || 15 σῶμα **V** | αὐτὴν **A**^{pc}**YPεS**: ἑαυτὴν **H**^{s}**O** αὐτὴν **A**^{ac}?**H**^{i}**KΛVΦΓIT** | ἐπικλῖναι **AΦI**^{a}**PÅBST**: ἐπικλεῖναι **Γ** ἐπικτεῖναι **H**^{i}**VYI**^{b} ἀποκτεῖναι **KΛ** ἀποκλῖναι **H**^{s}**EO** || 17 ψευσαμένην **AH**^{i}**Λ YI**^{b} (sed -ον **Λ**^{γρ}) ψευσά **P**^{a} || 18 τὸν Ἀχιλλέα **κ** || 19 Νηρεΐδες **AYΦΓI** Νηριΐδες **κ** | τῶν om. **V** || 21 αἰάσαι **A** | Νηρεΐδων **AYΦΓIP**^{a} Νηριΐδων **κ** | γιγνωσκομένας **AΦPÅEST** || 22 ὅτε **A** || 25 δὲ τῶν **χ** || 26 ἐπεὶ δὲ] ἐπειδὴ **χ** ἐπεὶ δὴ **P**^{pc} | ἐγίνετο **Vε**: ἐγένετο **χ** ἐγίγνετο **Aαζ**

understanding that he would make the Achaeans withdraw from Ilion. Polyxena also loved Achilles; they had seen one another during the ransom negotiations for Hektor. For when Priam came to Achilles, he made his own child lead him by the hand, since she was the youngest of those Hekabê had borne for him. (Younger children always used to assist their fathers' step.) And thus Achilles so displayed a certain self-control by his sense of justice, even in his amorous desires, that he did not abduct the girl, even though she was under his power, but promised Priam a marriage with her and trusted him when he delayed the wedding. After he died unarmed, uttering oaths about these matters, Polyxena is said to have deserted and fled to the Hellenic army, as the Trojan women were fleeing from the sanctuary and the Trojan men were scattered (they did not even carry away Achilles' corpse without fear). Polyxena was brought to Agamemnon to live in his excellent and discreet care, just as in the house of her father. But when Achilles' body had already been buried for three days, she ran to the tomb at night and leaned upon a sword while speaking many words of pity and marriage. At this time she also asked Achilles to remain her lover and to take her in marriage lest their marriage be proved false.

4 5 6

Protesilaos says that what is said by Homer in the second weighing of souls,[174] if indeed those verses are by Homer, that after Achilles died the Muses lamented him with songs and the Nereids by beating their breasts, is not too big a boast. Protesilaos says that the Muses neither arrived nor sang, nor did any Nereids appear to the army, although they were known to have come, but that other wondrous events took place and they were not very different from those reported by Homer. From the Black Bay the sea, swelling up, first of all bellowed, and after a short time, having risen up to a great crest, it advanced to Rhoiteion, while the Achaeans were amazed and perplexed by what both they themselves and the earth were about to suffer. When the sea came closer and dashed against the camp, a piercing and incessant lament resounded like that which a throng of women utter

7 8 9

[174] The first weighing of souls occurred when Achilles and Hektor were weighed in the scales of Zeus as they fought (Homer *Il.* 22.208–13). The "second weighing" must refer to a similar description of the outcome of Achilles and Paris's conflict. Aeschylus's tragedy *The Weighing of Souls* relates the fight between Achilles and Memnôn.

γυναικῶν ὅμιλος ὃν ἐς τὰ κήδη ἀναφθέγγονται. τούτου δὲ θείου τε καὶ δαιμονίου φανέντος, καὶ πάντων ὁμολογούντων ὅτι Νηρηίδας ἦγε τὸ κῦμα (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπέκλυσεν οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ πρᾷόν τε καὶ λεῖον τῇ γῇ προσενυάσθη), πολλῷ θειότερα τὰ ἐφεξῆς ἔδοξεν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ νὺξ ὑπέλαβεν, οἰμωγὴ τῆς Θέτιδος διεφοίτα τὸν στρατὸν ἀνευφημούσης τε καὶ τὸν υἱὸν βοώσης. ἐβόα δὲ τορόν {μέγα} τε καὶ ἔναυλον καθάπερ ἡ ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν ἠχώ, καὶ τότε μάλιστα οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ ξυνῆκαν ὅτι τέκοι τὸν Ἀχιλλέα ἡ Θέτις, οὐδὲ ἄλλως ἀπιστοῦντες. τὸν μὲν δὴ κολωνόν, ξένε, τοῦτον, ὃν ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου τῆς ἀκτῆς ὁρᾷς ἀνεστηκότα, ἤγειραν οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ ξυνελθόντες ὅτε τῷ Πατρόκλῳ ξυνεμίχθη ἐς τὸν τάφον, κάλλιστον ἐντάφιον ἑαυτῷ τε κἀκείνῳ διδούς· ὅθεν ᾄδουσιν αὐτὸν οἱ τὰ φιλικὰ ἐπαινοῦντες. ἐτάφη δὲ ἐκδηλότατα ἀνθρώπων πᾶσιν οἷς ἐπήνεγκεν αὐτῷ ἡ Ἑλλάς, οὐδὲ κομᾶν ἔτι μετὰ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα καλὸν ἡγούμενοι, χρυσόν τε καὶ ὅ τι ἕκαστος εἶχεν ἢ ἀπάγων ἐς Τροίαν ἢ ἐκ δασμοῦ λαβών, νήσαντες ἐς τὴν πυρὰν ἀθρόα, παραχρῆμά τε καὶ ὅτε Νεοπτόλεμος ἐς Τροίαν ἦλθε· λαμπρῶν γὰρ δὴ ἔτυχε πάλιν παρά τε τοῦ παιδὸς παρά τε τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἀντιχαρίζεσθαι αὐτῷ πειρωμένων, οἵ γε καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Τροίας ποιούμενοι πλοῦν περιέπιπτον τῷ τάφῳ καὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα ᾠόντο περιβάλλειν.

52 Φ. Τὸν Νεοπτόλεμον δέ, ὦ ἀμπελουργέ, ποῖόν τινα γενέσθαι φησί;

2 Ἀ. Γενναῖον, ξένε, καὶ τοῦ μὲν πατρὸς ἥττω, φαυλότερον δὲ οὐδὲν τοῦ Τελαμωνίου. ταὐτὸ δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ εἴδους φησί· καλὸν μὲν γὰρ εἶναι καὶ προσεοικότα τῷ πατρί, λείπεσθαι δ᾽ αὐτοῦ τοσοῦτον ὅσον τῶν ἀγαλ-
[207] 3 μάτων οἱ καλοὶ λείπονται. καὶ μὴν καὶ ὕμνων ἐκ Θετταλίας ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἔτυχεν, οὓς ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἐπὶ τὸ σῆμα φοιτῶντες ᾖδον ἐν νυκτί, τελετῆς τι ἐγκαταμιγνύντες τοῖς ἐναγίσμασιν, ὡς Λήμνιοί τε νομίζουσιν καὶ Πελοποννησίων οἱ ἀπὸ Σισύφου.

2 Νηρεΐδας **ΑΥΦΓΙΡ**[a] (-ΐδες **Φ**) Νηριΐδας **κ** || 3-4 προσηυνάσθη **A** || 5 ὑπέλαβεν **ΚΦΓΙ**[a]**ΡεST**: ἐπέλαβεν **ΑΗΛVΥΙ**[b]**O** || 6 τορὸν **χΙ**[b]: τὸ ἱερὸν **A** **VΦΓΙ**[a]**Pσ** | del. Reiske, Kay. || 7 καὶ τότε μάλιστα καὶ **χ** | οἱ om. **ΗΚΥ** | συνῆκαν **Η**[ac]**ασ** || 8 δὴ om. **κ** | ξένε τοῦτον **υσ**: τοῦτον ξένε **α** || 10 ὅτι **Ρ**[b]**ΒΕ** | ἐς τὸν τάφον] τῷ τάφῳ **V** || 11 τε om. **ΦΙΡ** | δούς **Aχ** || 12 ἐκδηλότατος **V** || 14 ἦγεν **χ** | ἐπάγων **B** ὑπάγων **Å** ἀγαγὼν Cobet (sed de hoc verbi ἀπάγειν usu cf. 33.25; Ap. 56.26; G. 264.5, 272.21; Im. 354.9, 368.11, 371.18) || 15 τε om. **κ** δὲ **VΥΦΓΙΡ**[a] | ὁ Νεοπτ. **AVO** || 16 γὰρ δὴ] δὴ **ΥΓ** δὲ **V** | πάλιν om. **κ** | τῶν ἐνταφίων παρά[1] **VχΙ**[b] || 17 ἀντιχ. αὐτῷ] ἀεί τι χ. αὐτῷ **κVΙ**[b] ἀεί τι αὐτῷ χ. **Y** || 18 περιβαλεῖν **Η**[i]**VY** || 19 tit. Νεοπτόλεμος habent **ΑΗ**[m]**ΚVΥΦΙΡ**[b]**εΟΟ**[m]**ST** Νεοπτόλεμον **Λ** | δέ om. **ΗΛVΥ** || 21 ὦ ξένε **κΓ** || 22 ταῦτα **Vχ** || 25 φ. ἐπὶ τὸ σῆμα **χ**

in mourning. Because this event seemed godlike and supernatu- 10
ral, and because all agreed that the wave carried the Nereids (for it did not flood the land, but came to rest upon the earth gently and smoothly), the subsequent events seemed far more divine. For 11
when darkness followed next, Thetis's lamentation went through the army, as she shrieked and cried aloud for her son. She made a {greatly} piercing and ringing shout exactly like an echo in the mountains, and then the Achaeans especially understood that Thetis bore Achilles, although they did not believe otherwise.

This hill, my guest, which you see standing in line with the 12
headland,[175] the Achaeans erected when they came together at the time when Achilles was united with Patroklos in the tomb and bequeathed to himself and that man the loveliest shroud. For this reason they who praise the marks of friendship sing of him. He was buried most spectacularly of mortals with all that Hellas 13
offered to him. The Hellenes no longer considered it proper after Achilles' death to wear their hair long, and they piled up in mass on a funeral pyre their gold and whatever each of them had, whether he had brought it to Troy or had taken it as booty, both right then and when Neoptolemos came to Troy. For Achilles obtained glorious gifts again from both his child and the Achaeans, who were trying to show in return their gratitude to him, and even those who made the voyage from Troy fell upon the tomb and believed that they were embracing Achilles.

PH. Does he say, vinedresser, what sort of person Neop- **52**
tolemos was?

V. He was noble, my guest, and, although inferior to his 2
father, was in no way more ordinary than Telamônian Ajax. Protesilaos says the same thing about his appearance as well: he was good-looking and resembled his father, but was inferior to him in the same way that beautiful people are inferior to their statues.

The Cult of Achilles at Troy (52.3–54.1)

From Thessaly, of course, Achilles also received hymns, which 3
they sang at night when they visited his tomb every year, mixing something of an initiatory rite with their offerings to the dead, as

[175] Akhilleion, a small settlement near Sigeion and the site of the grave of Achilles and Patroklos (Strabo *Geography* 13.1.39, 46).

53 *Φ. Ἄλλος αὖ λόγος ἥκει, ἀμπελουργέ, οὗ μὰ τὸν Ἡρακλέα οὐκ* 1
ἂν μεθείμην, οὐδ' εἰ πάνθ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ παραπτῆναι αὐτὸν πράττοις.

2 *Ἀ. Ἀλλὰ τὰς ἐκβολὰς τῶν λόγων ἀδολεσχίας ἔνιοι, ξένε, ἡγοῦνται*
καὶ λῆρον πρὸς τοὺς μὴ σχολὴν ἄγοντας. σὲ δὲ ὁρῶ δοῦλον μὲν τῆς νεὼς
ἧς ἄρχεις, δοῦλον δὲ τῶν ἀνέμων, ὧν εἰ καὶ μικρὰ αὔρα κατὰ πρύμναν 5
σταίη, δεῖ τὰ ἱστία ἀνασείειν καὶ συνεξαίρεσθαι τῇ νηί, πάντα δεύτερα
ἡγουμένους τοῦ πλεῖν.

3 *Φ. Ἐρρώσθω λοιπὸν ἡ ναῦς καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ· τὰ γὰρ τῆς ψυχῆς*
ἀγώγιμα ἡδίω τέ μοι καὶ κερδαλεώτερα, τὰς δὲ ἐκβολὰς τῶν λόγων μὴ
λῆρον ἀλλ' ἐπικέρδειαν ἡγώμεθα τῆς ἐμπορίας ταύτης. 10

4 *Ἀ. Ὑγιαίνεις, ξένε, οὕτω γινώσκων, καὶ ἐπειδὴ βούλει, ἄκουε· τὰ*
μὲν γὰρ Κορινθίων ἐπὶ Μελικέρτῃ (τούτους γὰρ δὴ τοὺς ἀπὸ Σισύφου
εἶπον), καὶ ὁπόσα οἱ αὐτοὶ δρῶσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς τῆς Μηδείας παισίν, οὓς ὑπὲρ
τῆς Γλαύκης ἀπέκτειναν, θρήνῳ εἴκασται τελεστικῷ τε καὶ ἐνθέῳ· τοὺς
5 *μὲν γὰρ μειλίσσονται, τὸν δὲ ὑμνοῦσιν. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ ἔργῳ τῷ περὶ τοὺς* 15
ἄνδρας ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Λήμνῳ γυναικῶν ἐξ Ἀφροδίτης ποτὲ πραχθέντι καθ-
αίρεται μὲν ἡ Λῆμνος καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος καὶ σβέννυται τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ πῦρ ἐς
ἡμέρας ἐννέα, θεωρὶς δὲ ναῦς ἐκ Δήλου πυρφορεῖ, κἂν ἀφίκηται πρὸ τῶν

1 οὗ] οὑ **ϰV**(b)**ΦΙP**^{a} οὐ **Y** || 2 μὴ παραπτῆναι **ΑΦΓΙ**^{a}**[P**^{a}**]** μὴ παπτῆναι **YI**$^{b\gamma\rho}$ | πράττεις **KV** (-ειν **K**^{ac}) ἔπραττον **ΑΦΓΙ**^{a}**[P**^{a}**]** || 3 ἀδολεσχίαν **VP**^{b} **σ** || 6 ξυναίρεσθαι **V** || 7 ἡγούμενον **H**^{i}**Λ**^{i}**VY** ἡγούμενος **E** | τοῦ πλοῦ **B E** || 8 ἐρρέτω **VÅ**$^{\gamma\rho}$**B**$^{\gamma\rho}$**ζ**$^{\gamma\rho}$ ἐρρέσθω **E** || 10 ἐπικερδίαν **H**^{s}**KYO** ἐπικαιρίαν **H**^{i}**Λ** ἐπικαρδίαν **A** ἐπὶ καρδίαν **Γ** || 11 ὑγιαίνοις **ϰVΓΙÅ** | οὑτωσὶ **α** || 12 γὰρ^{1} om. **Vχ** δὴ **A** (cf. 56.1) | δὴ om. **ε** || 13 οἱ om. **ϰ** | Μειδίας **H**^{s}**OT** || 14 τῆς om. **Vχ** | ἀπέκτεινε **AH**^{i}**VY** || 15 γὰρ δὴ **A** || 17 καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος **H**^{s} (-ος supra lineam, καθέκαστον in margine) **KVσ** (cf. Lan., AC 42 (1973) 526–531): καὶ καθ' ἕνα τοῦ ἔτους **ΦΓΙP**^{a} καθ' ἕνα τοῦ ἔτους **A** καθ' ἓν τοῦ ἔτους **H**^{i}**ΛY** καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον τοῦ ἔτους **P**^{b} (καθαίρονται . . .) καὶ ⟨οἱ Λήμνιοι⟩ καθ' ἕνα κατ' ἔτος dubitanter Eitrem καθ' ἑνάτου ἔτους Wilhelm κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν Devreker και⟨ρὸν⟩ καθ' ἕνα τοῦ ἔτους Burkert | εἰς **ασ** om. **V**

both the Lemnians and the Peloponnesians descended from Sisyphus practice.

PH. Another subject has come up again, vinedresser, **53**
which, by Herakles, I would not let go, not even if you should do
everything to help it escape.

V. But some people, my guest, consider these digressions 2
to be idle talk and nonsense for those not at leisure. I see you, a
slave of the ship that you captain and a slave of the winds, of which
if even a slight breeze hits the stern, you must unfurl your sails
and be taken out to sea with your ship, since you think that everything takes second place to sailing.

PH. Farewell then to the ship and all that is on board! The 3
soul's cargo is sweeter to me and more profitable. Let's consider
these digressions not as nonsense, but as profit of this trade.

V. You are of sound mind, my guest, thinking in this way, 4
and since you wish, listen. The rites of the Corinthians for
Melikertês[176] (for these people are those whom I called the descendants of Sisyphus) and what the same people do for Medea's
children,[177] whom they killed for the sake of Glaukê, resemble a
lament that is both initiatory and inspired, for they propitiate the
children and sing hymns to Melikertês. And the island of Lemnos 5
is purified every year for the deed once done to the men on Lemnos by their wives at Aphrodite's instigation. The fire on Lemnos
is extinguished for nine days. A sacred ship from Delos, however,

[176] On the literary and archaeological evidence for rites of Melikertês at the Corinthian sanctuary at Isthmia and his association with the Isthmian games, see Helmut Koester, "Melikertes at Isthmia: A Roman Mystery Cult," in *Greeks, Romans, and Christians: Essays in Honor of Abraham J. Malherbe* (ed. David L. Balch, Everett Ferguson, and Wayne A. Meeks; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990), 355–66; and Corinne Bonnet, "Le culte de Leucothéa et Mélicerte en Grèce, au Proche-Oriente et en Italie," *Studi e Materiali di Storia della Religione* 10 (1986): 53–71. In the classical period, the use of wild celery in the victor crown for the Isthmian games indicates a cult for the dead. Further indications of a mystery cult associated with Melikertês are found in Pausanias (*Description of Greece* 2.2.1), Plutarch (*Theseus* 25), and Philostratus (*Imagines* 2.16).

[177] According to Euripides (*Medea* 1378–83), Medea established a cult at the temple of Hera on Acrocorinth to atone for the murder of her children. On the controversy concerning the myth of Medea and the cult in Corinth, see Emily A. McDermott, *Euripides' Medea: The Incarnation of Disorder* (University Park, Penn.: Pennsylvania University Press, 1989), 9–24.

[208] *ἐναγισμάτων, οὐδαμοῦ τῆς Λήμνου καθορμίζεται, μετέωρος δὲ ἐπισα-* 1
6 *λεύει τοῖς ἀκρωτηρίοις ἔστε ὅσιον τὸ εἰσπλεῦσαι γένηται. θεοὺς γὰρ*
χθονίους καὶ ἀπορρήτους καλοῦντες τότε, καθαρόν, οἶμαι, τὸ πῦρ τὸ ἐν
7 *τῇ θαλάττῃ φυλάττουσιν. ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἡ θεωρὶς ἐσπλεύσῃ καὶ νείμωνται*
τὸ πῦρ ἔς τε τὴν ἄλλην δίαιταν ἔς τε τὰς ἐμπύρους τῶν τεχνῶν, καινοῦ 5
8 *τὸ ἐντεῦθεν βίου ἄρχεσθαι. τὰ δὲ Θετταλικὰ ἐναγίσματα φοιτῶντα τῷ*
Ἀχιλλεῖ ἐκ Θετταλίας ἐχρήσθη Θετταλοῖς ἐκ Δωδώνης· ἐκέλευσε γὰρ
δὴ τὸ μαντεῖον Θετταλοὺς ἐς Τροίαν πλέοντας θύειν ὅσα ἔτη τῷ Ἀχιλ-
9 *λεῖ καὶ σφάττειν τὰ μὲν ὡς θεῷ, τὰ δὲ ὡς ἐν μοίρᾳ τῶν κειμένων. κατ'*
ἀρχὰς μὲν δὴ τοιάδε ἐγίνετο· ναῦς ἐκ Θετταλίας μέλανα ἱστία ἡρμένη 10
ἐς Τροίαν ἔπλει, θεωροὺς μὲν δὶς ἑπτὰ ἀπάγουσα, ταύρους δὲ λευκόν
τε καὶ μέλανα, χειροήθεις ἄμφω, καὶ ὕλην ἐκ Πηλίου, ὡς μηδὲν τῆς
πόλεως δέοιντο· καὶ πῦρ ἐκ Θετταλίας ἦγον καὶ σπονδὰς καὶ ὕδωρ τοῦ
Σπερχειοῦ ἀρυσάμενοι· ὅθεν καὶ στεφάνους ἀμαραντίνους ἐς τὰ κήδη
πρῶτοι Θετταλοὶ ἐνόμισαν, ἵνα, κἂν ἄνεμοι τὴν ναῦν ἀπολάβωσι, μὴ 15
10 *σαπροὺς ἐπιφέρωσι μηδὲ ἐξώρους. νυκτὸς μὲν δὴ καθορμίζεσθαι ἔδει*
καὶ πρὶν ἅψασθαι τῆς γῆς ὕμνον ἀπὸ τῆς νεὼς ᾄδειν ἐς τὴν Θέτιν ὧδε
ξυγκείμενον·

Θέτι κυανέα, Θέτι Πηλεία, ∪∪– ∪∪– ∪∪– – –
τὸν μέγαν ἃ τέκες υἱὸν Ἀχιλλέα, τοῦ –∪∪ –∪∪ –∪∪ –∪∪ – 20
θνατὰ μὲν ὅσον φύσις ἤνεγκε, – – ∪∪– ∪∪– – ⏑
Τροία λάχε· σᾶς δ' ὅσον ἀθανάτου – – ∪∪– ∪∪– ∪∪–
γενεᾶς πάις ἔσπασε, Πόντος ἔχει. ∪∪– ∪∪– ∪∪– ∪∪–
βαῖνε πρὸς αἰπὺν τόνδε κολωνὸν –∪∪ – – –∪∪ – ⏑

1 προσορμίζεται **V** || 2 ἔστ' ἂν **Vχ** | αἴσιον **Vχ** | ἐκπλεῦσαι **V** **ΦΓΙP**^{a}? πλεῦσαι **ΑΛ** | γένοιτο **H**^{i}**ΚΛΓ** (sed -ηται **K**^{γρ}**Λ**^{γρ}) | γὰρ] δὲ **V** || 3-5 τὸ ἐν τῇ — πῦρ om. **ΦΙ**^{a}**P**^{a} || 4 ἐκπλεύση **AV** || 5 κενοῦ **H**^{i}**ΚΛ** (sed -αι- **K**^{γρ}) || 6 τὸ] τε **ΥΦ**^{b} | ἄρχεσθαι **ΦΓΙσ**: φασὶν ἄρχεσθαι **υ** ἄρχονται **P**^{blit} (cf. quae ad 33.22 Ἀχιλλεῖ φησι adnotavimus) | φοιτᾶν **V** || 9 μὲν τὰ μὲν **ΓΙ**^{a} | δ' **Vχ** || 10 δὴ om. **χ** | ἐγίνετο **χ**: ἐγένετο **V** ἐγίγνετο **A** **ασ** || 11 θεωρὶς **Φ**^{a}⟦**Ι**^{a}⟧?⟦**P**^{a}⟧? | ἐπάγουσα **ΓΙ**^{a}**ΑΒ** || 12 τοῦ Πηλίου **A** || 17 ἀπὸ] ἐκ **V** || 19 tit. ὕμνος εἰς Θέτιν habet **Γ**^{m} | κυάναια **ΚΛ** κυάναία **H** | Πηλεία **ΑΚΛΥ**: Πηλία **HVασ** Πηλεῖ ἃ Visconti || 20 τὸν μέγαν ἃ τέκες Wilamowitz (ap. Huhn-Bethe, 621, adn. 1): τὸν μέγαν ἔτεκες codd. μέγαν ἃ τέκες Raabe (dimetrum anapaesticum efficiens: De metrorum anapaest. ap. poetas Gr. usu atque conformatione quaest. selectae, Diss. Argentorati 1912, 46, adn. 15), Radermacher (RhM 71 (1916) 151–153) σὺ μέγαν τέκες Bergk (PLG^{4} III 687s.) ἃ τὸν μέγαν τέκες Kay. τὸν μέγαν τέκες Boiss. | Ἀχιλλῆα **A** | τοῦ del. Bergk || 21 θνητὰ **Y**^{s}**ΑΕ** θνητὴ **VS**^{Σ} θνατοῦ **I**^{blit} | ὅσων **κ** | ἤνεγκέ τοι **A** ἤνεγκεν **Y**^{ac} || 22 ἔλαχε **Y** λάχεν Boiss. || 23 παῖς **H**^{i}**Y** | ἴσχει **VΓ**^{pc} ἔσχει **Γ**^{ac} || 24 βαῖνε πρὸς αἰπὺν τόνδε **VχI**^{bγρ} (sed ἐπ' αὐτὸν κολωνὸν **H**^{m}): βαῖν' ἐπ' αὐτὸν **ΦΓΙ**^{a}**Pσ** βαῖνε πρὸς αὐτὸν **A**

carries the fire, and if it arrives before the offerings for the dead, it puts in nowhere on Lemnos, but rides at anchor off the headlands out at sea until sailing into the harbor is permitted by divine law. For then, while invoking chthonian and ineffable gods, they keep 6
pure, I think, the fire that is out on the sea. Whenever the sacred 7
ship sails in and they distribute the fire both to its new abode and to the forges of the artisans, from that source is the beginning of new life.[178]

The Thessalian offerings which came regularly to Achilles 8
from Thessaly were decreed for the Thessalians by the oracle at Dodona.[179] For indeed the oracle commanded the Thessalians to sail to Troy each year to sacrifice to Achilles and to slaughter some sacrificial victims as to a god, but to slaughter others as for the dead. At first the following happened: a ship sailed from Thessaly 9
to Troy with black sails raised, bringing twice seven sacred ambassadors, one white bull and one black bull, both tame, and wood from Mount Pelion, so that they would need nothing from the city. They also brought fire from Thessaly, after they had drawn both libations and water from the river Sperkheios. For this reason, the Thessalians first customarily used unfading crowns for mourning, in order that, even if the wind delayed the ship, they would not wear crowns that were wilted or past their season. It 10
was indeed necessary to put into the harbor at night, and before touching land, to sing Thetis a hymn from the ship, a hymn composed as follows:

> Dark Thetis, Pelian Thetis,
> you who bore the great son Achilles:
> Troy gained a share of him
> to the extent that his mortal nature held sway,
> but to the extent that the child derives from your immortal
> lineage,
> the Pontus possesses him.
> Come to this lofty hill

[178] On this rite, see Burkert, "Jason, Hypsipyle, and New Fire," 1–16.

[179] For a discussion of these rituals, see Radet, "Notes sur l'histoire d'Alexandre," 81–96.

μετ᾽ Ἀχιλλέως ἔμπυρα, ∪∪– – – ∪⏑ 1
βαῖν᾽ ἀδάκρυτος μετὰ Θεσσαλίας, –∪∪ – – ∪∪– ∪∪–
Θέτι κυανέα, Θέτι Πηλεία. ∪∪– ∪∪– ∪∪– – –

[209] 11 *προσελθόντων δὲ τῷ σήματι μετὰ τὸν ὕμνον ἀσπὶς μὲν ὥσπερ ἐν πο-*
λέμῳ ἐδουπεῖτο, δρόμοις δὲ ἐρρυθμισμένοις συνηλάλαζον ἀνακαλοῦντες 5
τὸν Ἀχιλλέα, στεφανώσαντες δὲ τὴν κορυφὴν τοῦ κολωνοῦ καὶ βόθρους
12 *ἐπ᾽ αὐτῇ ὀρύξαντες τὸν ταῦρον τὸν μέλανα ὡς τεθνεῶτι ἔσφαττον. ἐκά-*
λουν δὲ καὶ τὸν Πάτροκλον ἐπὶ τὴν δαῖτα, ὡς καὶ τοῦτο ἐς χάριν τῷ
13 *Ἀχιλλεῖ πράττοντες. ἐντεμόντες δὲ καὶ ἐναγίσαντες κατέβαινον ἐπὶ τὴν*
ναῦν ἤδη, καὶ θύσαντες ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ταύρων Ἀχιλλεῖ 10
πάλιν, κανοῦ τε ἐναρξάμενοι καὶ σπλάγχνων ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνῃ τῇ θυσίᾳ (ἔθνον
γὰρ τὴν θυσίαν ταύτην ὡς θεῷ), περὶ ὄρθρον ἀπέπλεον ἀπάγοντες τὸ
14 *ἱερεῖον, ὡς μὴ ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ εὐωχοῖντο. ταῦτα, ξένε, τὰ οὕτω σεμνὰ καὶ*
ἀρχαῖα καταλυθῆναι μὲν καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν τυράννων φασὶν οἳ λέγονται μετὰ
τοὺς Αἰακίδας ἄρξαι Θετταλῶν, ἀμεληθῆναι δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς Θετταλίας· 15
αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἔπεμπον τῶν πόλεων, αἱ δ᾽ οὐκ ἠξίουν, αἱ δ᾽ εἰς νέωτα πέμψειν
15 *ἔφασαν, αἱ δὲ κατέβαλον τὸ πρᾶγμα. αὐχμῷ δὲ τῆς γῆς πιεσθείσης καὶ*
κελευούσης τῆς μαντείας τιμᾶν τὸν Ἀχιλλέα ὡς θέμις, ἃ μὲν ὡς θεῷ ἐν-
όμιζον ἀφεῖλον τῶν δρωμένων, ἐξηγούμενοι ταύτῃ τὸ ὡς θέμις, ἐνήγιζον
δὲ ὡς τεθνεῶτι καὶ ἐνέτεμνον τὰ ἐπιτυχόντα, ἔστε ἡ Ξέρξου ἔλασις ἐπὶ 20

1 μετὰ **H**^{m} | Ἀχιλλέα **Y**^{s} Ἀχιλλέος Wilamowitz | ἐν πυρᾶ **A** ἔμπυρα ⟨βαῖνε θεά,⟩ Kay. (dimetrum anapaesticum efficiens) ἔμπυρα ⟨βαῖνε·⟩ Bergk (sed Philostratus hic fort. idem colon usurpavit atque in Achillis carmine in Echo, v. 6 (55.3)) || 2 βαῖνε **Γ** | εὐδάκρυτος **A** ἄδακρυς Münscher (cum Wilamowitzio dimetrum μετ᾽ — ἄδ. + monometrum praeoptans: Hermes 54 (1919) 22, adn. 2) | Θετταλίας **χΓ** θυηλάς **A** || 3 κυάναια **ΚΛ** κυάναία **H** κυαναία **ΥΦ** | Πηλεία **ΑΚΛΥ**: Πηλία **HVασ** || 4 τὸν om. **A** || 5 περιεδουπεῖτο **H**^{s}**K**^{γρ}**Λ** περιεδούπει **H**^{i}**KVY** || 6 δὲ om. **ΥΦΓΙP**^{a} | βόθρον **V** || 8 δαῖταν **ΑΦΓΟ** | ἐς om. **ȦE**^{ac} || 10 τὸν αἰγιαλὸν **ϰ** || 11 ἀρξάμενοι **ϰΦ**^{ac} || 14 καὶ om. **A** **χȦB** (sed cf. Denniston, Gr. Particles^{2} 306) || 16 αἱ μὲν — ἠξίουν **Vχ**^{b}: om. **ΑΦΓΙ**^{a}**Pσ** | ἐς **VY** | νεώτατα **ϰE** || 17 αἱ] αἰεὶ **A** | κατέβαλλον **ΑΛΓ** | πιεσθείσης τῆς γῆς **ϰ** || 18-19 ἃ μὲν — θέμις om. **ΑΛ** || 20 καὶ om. **ΦΙ**^{a}**P** | ἀνέτεμνον **A** ἐνέτεμον **H**^{γρ}[**Ȧ**]**B** ἐνετίμων **ϰ** (sed ἐνέτεμνον **K**^{γρ}) | ἔλευσις **H**^{i} **ΚΛ** (sed -α- **K**^{γρ})

in quest of the burnt offerings with Achilles.
Come without tears, come with Thessaly:
Dark Thetis, Pelian Thetis.

When they approached the tomb after this hymn, a shield 11
was struck heavily as in battle, and together they cried aloud with rhythmic rapid delivery, calling repeatedly upon Achilles. When they had wreathed the summit of the hill and dug offering pits on
it, they slaughtered the black bull as to one who is dead. They also 12
summoned Patroklos to the feast, in the belief that they were doing this to please Achilles. After they slit the victim's throat[180] 13
and made this sacrifice, they immediately went down to the ship, and after sacrificing the other bull on the beach again to Achilles and having begun the offering by taking from the basket[181] and by partaking of the entrails for that sacrifice (for they made this sacrifice as to a god),[182] they sailed away toward dawn, taking the sacrificed animal so as not to feast in the enemy's country.

My guest, these rites, so holy and ancient, they say were 14
both abolished by the tyrants, who are said to have ruled the Thessalians after the Aiakidai, and were neglected by Thessaly. Some cities sent their offerings, others did not consider them worthwhile, others said they would send them next year, and still others rejected the matter. When the land was hard pressed 15
by drought and the oracle gave the order to honor Achilles "as was meet and right,"[183] they removed from the rites what they customarily observed for a god, interpreting "as was meet and right" in this way. They used to sacrifice to him as to one who is dead, and they would cut up as a sacrifice the first animals they

[180] ἐντέμνω designates the act of slitting the victim's throat in the sacrifice; see P. Stengel, *Opferbräuche der Griechen* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1910), 103.

[181] The basket contained grains or cakes of barley for the sacrifice, along with the sacrificial knife, hidden under the cakes. At the beginning of the sacrifice, the barley was customarily thrown on the altar and the sacrificial victim, after which the knife was taken from the basket. After the victim is slaughtered, its entrails (heart and liver) were roasted on the fire. See Burkert, *Greek Religion*, 56–57.

[182] The terminology here for the beginning acts of a sacrifice and the participants' tasting of the raw entrails marks this sacrifice as one "to a god" in distinction to a holocaust offering appropriate for "one who is dead" (Burkert, *Greek Religion*, 56–57, 63, 199–200).

[183] A formulaic reference to behavior that is expected by virtue of the established custom of a city.

τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐγένετο, ἐν ᾗ Θετταλοὶ μηδίσαντες ἐξέλιπον πάλιν τὰ ἐς τὸν
Ἀχιλλέα νόμιμα, ἐπειδὴ ναῦς ἐς Σαλαμῖνα ἐξ Αἰγίνης ἔπλευσεν ἄγουσα
16 ἐπὶ ξυμμαχίᾳ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ τὸν τῶν Αἰακιδῶν οἶκον. ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀλέξαν-
δρος ὁ Φιλίππου χρόνοις ὕστερον τὴν μὲν ἄλλην Θετταλίαν ἐδουλώσατο,
τὴν δὲ Φθίαν τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ ἀνῆκεν, ἐπί τε Δαρεῖον στρατεύων ξύμμα-
[210] χον τὸν Ἀχιλλέα ἐν Τροίᾳ ἐποιήσατο, ἐπεστράφησαν οἱ Θετταλοὶ τοῦ
Ἀχιλλέως καὶ ἵππον τε, ὁπόσην Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκ Θετταλίας ἦγε, πε-
ριήλασαν τῷ τάφῳ, ξυνέπεσόν τε ἀλλήλοις ὥσπερ ἱππομαχοῦντες, καὶ
ἀπῆλθον εὐξάμενοί τε καὶ θύσαντες, ἐκάλουν δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ Δαρεῖον αὐτῷ
17 Βαλίῳ τε καὶ Ξάνθῳ, βοῶντες ταῦτα ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων. ἐπεὶ δὲ Δαρεῖος
ἥλω καὶ πρὸς τοῖς Ἰνδικοῖς Ἀλέξανδρος ἦν, ξυνέστειλαν οἱ Θετταλοὶ τὰ
ἐναγίσματα καὶ ἔπεμπον ἄρνα μέλανα. τῶν δὲ ἐναγιζόντων οὔτε ἀφικνου-
μένων ἐς Τροίαν, εἴ τε ἀφίκοιντο μεθ' ἡμέραν ἕκαστα καὶ οὐκ ἐν κόσμῳ
πραττόντων, ἐμήνισεν ὁ Ἀχιλλεύς, καὶ ὁπόσα τῇ Θετταλίᾳ ἐνέσκηψεν εἰ
18 διεξίοιμι, ἀδολεσχίας πλέως ὁ λόγος ἔσται. πρὸ ἐτῶν δέ που τεττάρων
ἐντυχὼν ἐνταῦθά μοι ὁ Πρωτεσίλεως ἐκ Πόντου μὲν ἥκειν ἔφη· νεὼς
γὰρ ἐπιτυχὼν πλεῦσαι παρὰ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα ξένῳ εἰκασθείς, τουτὶ δὲ θα-
19 μὰ πράττειν. ἐμοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος, ὡς φιλέταιρός τε καὶ χρηστὸς εἴη φιλῶν
τὸν Ἀχιλλέα, «ἀλλὰ νῦν» ἔφη «διενεχθεὶς αὐτῷ ἥκω. Θετταλοῖς γὰρ
ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐναγισμάτων μηνίοντα αἰσθόμενος, ‘ἐμοί’ ἔφην, ‘ὦ Ἀχιλλεῦ,
πάρες τοῦτο’. ὁ δ' οὐ πείθεται, φησὶ δ' αὐτοῖς κακόν τι ἐκ θαλάττης
δώσειν. καὶ δέδια μὴ παρὰ τῆς Θέτιδος εὕρηταί τι αὐτοῖς ὁ δεινὸς ἐκεῖ-
20 νος καὶ ἀμείλικτος.» κἀγὼ μέν, ξένε, ταῦτα ἀκούσας τοῦ Πρωτεσίλεω,

2 ἐς] εἰς **αBO** || 4 χρόνω **A** || 6 ἐν Τροίᾳ om. **B^{ac}E** | ἐστράφησαν **Φ^{a}I^{a}P^{a}** || 11 ἑάλω **V^{i}** | οἱ om. **χ** || 12 ἐναγιούντων **H^{i}VY** ἐναγούντων **A** || 13 εἴ τε] εἰ δὲ καὶ **V** | ἡμέρας **EO** || 14 ὁ om. **V** || 15 διέξειμι **Φ I[P^{a}]ȦB** διεξίειμι **Λ^{i}Γ** διεξίημι **Y^{i}** διεξίεις **Y^{s}** | τεσσάρων **V** || 16 ἐνταυθοῖ **α** || 20 ὑπὲρ] ὑπὸ **ΦΓI^{a}P^{a}** | ἔφη **YεO^{ac}** || 21 οὐ πείθετο **H^{s}**ζ οὐκ ἐπίθετο **K** || 23 ὦ ξένε **ϰO**

encountered. Thus it was until Xerxes' expedition into Greece occurred. During this expedition, the Thessalians, who sided with the Medes,[184] once again abandoned the prescribed customs for Achilles, seeing that a ship sailed to Salamis from Aegina carrying the house of the Aiakidai to support the Hellenic alliance.[185] When in later times Alexander, the son of Philip, subjugated 16
the other part of Thessaly and dedicated Phthia to Achilles, he made Achilles his ally in Troy while marching against Darius. The Thessalians returned to Achilles and, in addition, they rode the cavalry, which Alexander brought from Thessaly, around his tomb and fell upon one another as though they were fighting on horseback. And after praying and sacrificing they departed; they invoked Achilles against Darius, and along with him Balios and Xanthos, as they shouted these prayers from their horses. But 17
after Darius was captured and Alexander was in India, the Thessalians reduced the sacrifices and sent black lambs. Because the sacrifices did not even reach Troy, and if each arrived in broad daylight, they were not done in proper order, Achilles became angry. And if I should relate how much harm he hurled upon Thessaly, the tale would be tedious. Protesilaos said that he had 18
come from the Pontus about four years before meeting me here. When he had procured a ship, he sailed like a guest-friend to Achilles, and this he did often. When I said that he was devoted 19
and gracious in his friendship for Achilles, he said, "But now, because I have quarreled with him, I have come here. When I perceived that he was angry with the Thessalians over the offerings to the dead, I said, 'For my sake, Achilles, disregard this.' But he was not persuaded and said that he would give them some misfortune from the sea. I certainly feared that this dread and cruel hero would find something from Thetis to use against them." As 20

[184] The Alôadai, the ruling family of Thessaly in Larissa, supported the Persians when they invaded Greece, although a minority of the Thessalian states opposed this policy.

[185] Herodotus (*Hist.* 8.64) records that during the discussion whether to defend Salamis or retreat to the Peloponnesus, the Greeks called upon Aiakos (Achilles' grandfather) and his descendants to fight against the Persians with them. A ship was sent to Aegina and as Herodotus says, "Aiakos himself and his other sons," were brought to Salamis. It is not clear if Herodotus is referring to their cult statues or their bones.

ἐρυσίβας τε ᾤμην καὶ ὁμίχλας προσβεβλήσεσθαι τοῖς Θετταλῶν ληίοις ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως ἐπὶ φθορᾷ τοῦ καρποῦ· ταυτὶ γὰρ τὰ πάθη δοκεῖ πως ἐκ θαλάττης ἐπὶ τὰς εὐκάρπους τῶν ἠπείρων ἰζάνειν. ᾤμην δὲ καὶ ἐπικλυσθήσεσθαί τινας τῶν ἐν Θετταλίᾳ πόλεων, οἷα Βοῦρά τε καὶ Ἑλίκη καὶ ἡ περὶ Λοκροὺς Ἀταλάντη ἔπαθε· τὴν μὲν γὰρ καταδῦναί φασι, [211] τὴν δ' αὖ ῥαγῆναι. ἐδόκει δ' ἄλλα τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ καὶ τῇ Θέτιδι, ὑφ' ὧν ἀπολώλασι Θετταλοί· μεγάλων γὰρ δὴ ἐπιτιμίων ὄντων ἐπὶ τῇ κόχλῳ παρ' ἧς οἱ ἄνθρωποι σοφίζονται τὴν πορφύραν, αἰτίαν ἔσχον οἱ Θετταλοὶ παρανομῆσαί τι ἐς τὴν βαφὴν ταύτην. εἰ μὲν ἀληθῆ, οὐκ οἶδα· λίθοι ⟨δ'⟩ οὖν ἐπικρέμανταί σφισιν, ὑφ' ὧν ἀποδίδονται μὲν τοὺς ἀγρούς, ἀποδίδονται δὲ τὰς οἰκίας· τῶν δὲ ἀνδραπόδων τὰ μὲν ἀποδέδρακέ σφας, τὰ δὲ πέπραται, καὶ οὐδὲ τοῖς γονεῦσιν οἱ πολλοὶ ἐναγίζουσιν· ἀπέδοντο γὰρ καὶ τοὺς τάφους. ὥστε τὸ κακόν, ὃ ἠπείλει τοῖς Θετταλοῖς ἐκ θαλάττης ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς δώσειν, ξένε, τοῦτο ἡγώμεθα.

54 Φ. Οὐλομένην, ἀμπελουργέ, μῆνιν λέγεις καὶ δυσίατον. ἀλλά μοι εἰπὲ τί περὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ νήσου θαυμάσιον ὁ Πρωτεσίλεως οἶδεν· ἐκεῖ γάρ που αὐτῷ ξυγγίνεται.

1 ὀμίχλας **HVÅB^{pc}E^{ac}** | Θετταλικοῖς **H^{i}Y** || 3 καὶ om. **AχΦΓΙP^{a}** || 4 τε] γε **HY** (sed τε **H^{γρ}**) || 5-6 τὴν μὲν . . . τὰς δ' αὖ Westerm. τὰς μὲν . . . τὴν δ' αὖ Ol. (variatis scriptorum de Burae, Helices, Atalantae interitu testimoniis, Philostratus neque τὴν μὲν neque τὴν δ' αὖ ad certam urbem referre vid. sed generatim tantum ambas calamitates indicare e quibus unaquaeque urbs unam utique accepit) || 5 γὰρ om. ζ | φησι χ || 7 ἀπολώλασιν οἱ χ (**V^{a}** non liquet) | κόλχῳ **κ[[I^{a}]]O^{ac}** (sed -χλ- **H^{m}**) || 8 πορίζονται **V** || 9 τι om. **V** | εἰ — οἶδα **VχI^{b}** : om. **AΦΓI^{a}Pσ** | add. Headlam (cf. 15.9, Ap. 196.15) || 12 a verbis καὶ οὐδὲ denuo incipit **F** || 13 τοὺς om. **κ** || 17 ξυγγίγνεται **F ΦP**

for me, my guest, after I heard these things from Protesilaos, I believed that red blights and fogs had been hurled by Achilles upon the grainfields of Thessaly for destruction of their agricultural produce, since these misfortunes from the sea seemed somehow to settle upon their fruitful lands. I also thought that some of the 21
cities in Thessaly would be flooded, in the way that Boura and Helikê, as well as Atalantê near Locris, had suffered; they say that the former two sank, and the latter one broke apart.

Other actions seemed good instead to Achilles and Thetis, 22
by whom the Thessalians were destroyed. Because the prices for the shellfish from which people skillfully extract the purple dye[186] were quite great, the Thessalians were somewhat guilty of transgressing the law in order to obtain this dye. If these things are 23
true, I do not know. Stones then hung over them,[187] because of which some people gave up their fields and others their homes. Some of their slaves ran away from them, others were sold. And the common folk did not even offer sacrifice to their ancestors, for they even sold the tombs. And so this we believe, my guest, was the evil that Achilles had threatened to give to the Thessalians from the sea.

PH. You speak of an anger that is "ruinous"[188] and implacable, vinedresser. But tell me what marvel Protesilaos knows 54

[186] Latin *murex*, a source of purple dye in the ancient world.

[187] Perhaps an allusion to one of the punishments of Tantalos, over whom Zeus suspended a huge stone that constantly threatened him. The vinedresser may be suggesting that the constant fear that their crime would be discovered and punished hung over them. See, however, the discussion in Paul Huvelin's appendix "ΛΙΘΟΙ ΕΠΙΚΡΕΜΑΝΤΑΙ," in Radet, "Notes sur l'histoire d'Alexandre," 94–96. Radet argues that the Thessalians engaged in the purple trade illegally, namely, by not paying taxes to Rome on their profits and that the punishment may consist of a lien imposed on their real estate, creating severe economic hardship and a general panic. According to Huvelin, moreover, the phrase "the stones hung over them" refers either to the practice of σκοπελισμόν whereby boundary stones were set up to prevent a farmer tilling the land or to the interdit marked by the rite of *jactus lapilli* ("the throwing of a stone"); both of these practices are attested in the legal works of Ulpian who was active in the Severan period, 202–223 C.E. Huvelin suggests that the phrase is more likely to be reference to the practice of *jactus lapilli*, since σκοπελισμόν is only known as an Arabian rite.

[188] Homer *Il.* 1.2.

2 Ἀ. Ἐκεῖ, ξένε, καὶ λέγει περὶ αὐτῆς τοιαῦτα· ὡς νῆσος μὲν εἴη μία 1
τῶν ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ πρὸς τῇ ἀξένῳ πλευρᾷ μᾶλλον, ἣν τίθενται ἀριστερὰν
οἱ τὸ στόμα τοῦ Πόντου ἐσπλέοντες, ἐπέχοι δὲ στάδια μῆκος μὲν τριά-
κοντα, εὖρος δὲ οὐ πλείω τεττάρων, δένδρα τε ἐν αὐτῇ πεφύκοι λεῦκαί
τε καὶ πτελέαι, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὡς ἔτυχε, τὰ δὲ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐν κόσμῳ ἤδη. 5
3 τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν ἵδρυται μὲν πρὸς τῇ Μαιώτιδι (ἡ δὲ ἴση τῷ Πόντῳ ἐς αὐτὸν
βάλλει), τὰ δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ ἀγάλματα Ἀχιλλεύς τε καὶ Ἑλένη ὑπὸ Μοιρῶν
4 ξυναρμοσθέντες. κειμένου γὰρ δὴ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς τοῦ ἐρᾶν καὶ ποιητῶν
τὸν ἔρωτα ἀπὸ τούτου ᾀδόντων, πρῶτοι Ἀχιλλεύς τε καὶ Ἑλένη, μη-
δὲ ὀφθέντες ἀλλήλοις ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν κατ' Αἴγυπτον, ὁ δὲ ἐν Ἰλίῳ ὄντες, 10
5 ἐρᾶν ἀλλήλων ὥρμησαν γένεσιν ἱμέρου σώματος ὦτα εὑρόντες. πεπρω-
[212] μένης δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐς τὸ ἀθάνατον τῆς διαίτης οὐδεμιᾶς γῆς τῶν ὑπὸ ἡλίῳ,
Ἐχινάδων τῶν κατ' Οἰνιάδας καὶ Ἀκαρνανίαν ἤδη μεμιασμένων ὅτε δὴ
Ἀλκμαίων ἀποκτείνας τὴν μητέρα τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Ἀχελῴου ᾤκησεν
ἐν γῇ νεωτέρᾳ τοῦ ἔργου, ἱκετεύει τὸν Ποσειδῶνα ἡ Θέτις ἀναδοῦναί 15
6 τινα ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης νῆσον ἐν ᾗ οἰκήσουσιν· ὁ δὲ ἐνθυμηθεὶς τὸ μῆκος
τοῦ Πόντου καὶ ὅτι νήσου οὐδεμιᾶς ἐν αὐτῷ κειμένης ἀοίκητος πλεῖται,
τὴν Λευκὴν νῆσον, ὁπόσην εἶπον, ἀνέφηνεν Ἀχιλλεῖ μὲν καὶ Ἑλένῃ οἰ-
7 κεῖν, ναύταις δὲ ἵστασθαι καὶ τῷ πελάγει ἐγκαθορμίζεσθαι. ξυμπάσης
δὴ ἄρχων ὁπόση ὑγρὰ οὐσία καὶ τοὺς ποταμοὺς ἐννοήσας τὸν Θερμώδον- 20
τα καὶ τὸν Βορυσθένην καὶ τὸν Ἴστρον, ὡς ἀμηχάνοις τε καὶ ἀεννάοις
ῥεύμασιν ἐς τὸν Πόντον ἐκφέρονται, προὔχωσε τὴν ἰλὺν τῶν ποταμῶν ἣν

2 τῶν om. **υσ** | ἀξείνῳ **ΚΛ** | ἀριστερὰ **ΑB** || 3 εἰσπλέοντες **FS**? | ἐπέχει **FυΦΓP^{b}ΑB** || 4 τεσσάρων **F** | τε] δὲ **ΑΓΑB** | πεφύκει **F^{ac}Vχα O** || 6 τῷ om. **Α^{ac}BE** || 7 ἐμβάλλει **ΗΛ** ἐκβάλλει **Η^{γρ}ΚΛ^{γρ}ΥΙ^{b}** | τε om. **ΓΙ** || 8 συναρμ. **F** || 9 πρῶτον **A** πρώτη **Φ[[Ι^{a}]]P^{a}** || 9-10 οὐδὲ dubitanter Kay. (sed cf. Schmid, Attic. IV 93) || 11 σώματος del. Kay. || 12 αὐτῆς **V^{ac}εT** | τῆς om. **H^{ac}V** | γῆς Kay. (tum οὐδεμιᾶς γῆς, non τῆς διαίτης, cum participio πεπρωμένης iunxit Preller): τῆς **FVΥΦΓΙ** [[τῇς]] **P** οὔσης **κP^{Σ}σ** (tum νήσου tamquam glossam supra lineam add. **Α**?**BEST**, νήσα **O**) om. **A** | ἡλίῳ **AK** (coniecerat Reiske): Ἰλίῳ **FΗΛVΥΦPσ** τῷ Ἰλίῳ **ΓΙ** | post ἡλίῳ (Ἰλίῳ), ἀρεσκούσης καὶ aut simile quid excidisse coni. Kay. (1844), καθαρᾶς οὔσης excidisse coni. Papavasilios || 13 Ἐχινάδων τε **υ** | Οἰνιάδα **A** | Ἀκαρνίαν **Η^{γρ}ζ** Ἀρκανίαν **Y** || 14 Ἀλκμαίων **Φ^{a}[[Ι^{a}]]P^{a}Α** Ἀλκαίων **B** | Ἀχελλώου **F** | ᾤκισεν **Λ** || 15 γῇ] τῇ **Γ** | Ποσειδῶ **υ** (-ὼ **Λ**) || 17 μηδεμιᾶς **VχΙ^{blit}** | ἀήττητος **A** || 19 συμπάσης **σ** || 20 δὴ **FAκΦΓΙ^{a}P^{a}**?: γὰρ δὴ **VΥΙ^{b}** δὲ **P^{b}σ** || 21 Βορυσθένη **κV** | ἀεννάοις **FVχΦΓΙ**: ἀεν[[ν]]άοις **P** ἀενάοις **A**[**Α**]**BE**ζ || 22 εἰσφέρονται Eitrem εἰσβάλλουσι **Η^{γρ}K** (ἐσ- **K**)

about the island in the Pontus, since it was there, I suppose, that he was with Achilles.

On Leukê (54.2–57.17) —

The Songs of Achilles and Helen (54.2–55.6)

V. It was there, my guest, and he tells the following sorts 2
of stories about it. He says that it is one of the islands in the Pontus more toward its inhospitable side, which those sailing into the mouth of the Pontus put on their left. It is about thirty stades long, but not more than four stades wide; the trees growing on it are poplars and elms, some stand without order, but others already stand in good order around the sanctuary. The sanc- 3
tuary is situated near the Sea of Maiôtis (which, equal in size to the Pontus, flows into it), and the statues in it, fashioned by the Fates, are Achilles and Helen. Indeed, although the act of 4
desire lies in the eyes and poets in song celebrate desire as originating from this, Achilles and Helen, because they had not even been seen by one another, since she was in Egypt and he in Ilion, were the first who started to desire one another by finding their ears to be the origin of their longing for the body. Because 5
no land under the sun had been fated for them as an abode for the immortal part of their life—although the Ekhinades downstream from Oiniadai and Acarnania were immediately defiled at the very time when Alkmaiôn killed his mother, he settled at the estuary of the Akhelôos on land formed more recently than his deed—Thetis beseeched Poseidon to send up from the sea an island where they could dwell. After Poseidon had pondered 6
the length of the Pontus and that, because no island lay in it, it was sailed uninhabited,[189] he made Leukê appear, of the size I have described, for Achilles and Helen to inhabit, but also for sailors to stay and set their anchor in the sea. As ruler over 7
everything that is by nature wet, after he also conceived of the rivers Thermôdôn, Borysthênes, and Istros so that they were carried off into the Pontus by irresistible and continually flowing currents, Poseidon heaped together the sediment from the rivers, which they sweep into the sea starting at their sources in

[189] In other words, without encountering any settlement.

ἀπὸ Σκυθῶν ἀρξάμενοι σύρουσιν ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, νῆσόν τε ὁπόσην εἶπον 1
8 ἀπετόρνευσε, συστησάμενος αὐτὴν ἐν τῷ πυθμένι τοῦ Πόντου. ἐνταῦθα
εἶδόν τε πρῶτον καὶ περιέβαλον ἀλλήλους Ἀχιλλεύς τε καὶ Ἑλένη, καὶ
γάμον ἐδαίσαντό σφων Ποσειδῶν τε αὐτὸς καὶ Ἀμφιτρίτη, Νηρηίδες τε
ξύμπασαι καὶ ὁπόσοι ποταμοὶ καὶ δαίμονες ⟨ἐσ⟩έρχονται τὴν Μαιῶτίν 5
9 τε καὶ τὸν Πόντον. οἰκεῖν μὲν δὴ λευκοὺς ὄρνιθας ἐν αὐτῇ φασιν, εἶναι
δὲ τούτους ὑγρούς τε καὶ τῆς θαλάττης ἀπόζοντας, οὓς τὸν Ἀχιλλέα
θεράποντας αὐτοῦ πεποιῆσθαι κοσμοῦντας αὐτῷ τὸ ἄλσος τῷ τε ἀνέμῳ
τῶν πτερῶν καὶ ταῖς ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν ῥανίσι· πράττειν δὲ τοῦτο χαμαὶ πετο-
10 μένους καὶ μικρὸν τῆς γῆς ὑπεραίροντας. ἀνθρώποις δὲ πλέουσι μὲν τὸ 10
τοῦ πελάγους χάσμα ὁσία ἡ νῆσος ἐσβαίνειν, κεῖται γὰρ ὥσπερ εὔξεινος
[213] νεῶν ἑστία· οἶκον δὲ μὴ ποιεῖσθαι αὐτὴν πᾶσί τε ἀπείρηται τοῖς πλέουσι
11 καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὸν Πόντον Ἕλλησί τε καὶ βαρβάροις. δεῖ γὰρ προσορμι-
σαμένους τε καὶ θύσαντας ἡλίου δυομένου ἐσβαίνειν μὴ ἐννυχεύοντας τῇ
γῇ, κἂν μὲν τὸ πνεῦμα ἕπηται, πλεῖν, εἰ δὲ μή, ἀναψαμένους τὸ πλοῖον ἐν 15
12 κοίλῳ ἀναπαύεσθαι. ξυμπίνειν γὰρ δὴ λέγονται τότε ὁ Ἀχιλλεύς τε καὶ
ἡ Ἑλένη καὶ ἐν ᾠδαῖς εἶναι, τὸν ἔρωτά τε τὸν ἀλλήλων ᾄδειν καὶ Ὁμήρου
τὰ ἔπη τὰ ἐπὶ τῇ Τροίᾳ καὶ τὸν Ὅμηρον αὐτόν. τὸ γὰρ τῆς ποιητικῆς
δῶρον, ὃ παρὰ τῆς Καλλιόπης τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ ἐφοίτησεν, ἐπαινεῖ ὁ Ἀχιλ-
13 λεὺς ἔτι καὶ σπουδάζει μᾶλλον, ἐπειδὴ πέπαυται τῶν πολεμικῶν. τὸ γοῦν 20
ᾆσμα τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ Ὁμήρῳ θείως αὐτῷ, ξένε, καὶ ποιητικῶς ξύγκειται·
καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνο γινώσκει τε καὶ ᾄδει ὁ Πρωτεσίλεως.

55 Φ. Ἐμοὶ δ᾽ ἂν γένοιτο, ἀμπελουργέ, ἀκοῦσαι τοῦ ᾄσματος, ἢ οὐ
θέμις ἐκφέρειν αὐτό;

2 Ἀ. Καὶ μήν, ξένε, πολλοὶ τῶν προσελθόντων τῇ νήσῳ καὶ ἄλλα 25
τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως ᾄδοντος ἀκούειν φασί, τουτὶ δὲ πέρυσιν, οἶμαι, τὸ ᾆσμα
3 ἡρμόσατο χαριέστατα τῆς γνώμης καὶ τῶν διανοιῶν ἔχον. ξύγκειται δὲ
ὧδε·

1 τε] δὲ **V**χ | ὁπόσην εἶπον del. Kay. ob lin. 54.6 (at repetitio fort. eo excusatur quod §7 nihil aliud est nisi verborum τὴν Λευκὴν — ἀνέφηνεν explanatio) || 3 περιέβαλλον $\mathbf{K^{ac}}$**ΛΦ**[[$\mathbf{I^a}$]]**P** | ἀλλήλοις $\mathbf{H^s}$**KΛ** || 4 Νηρεΐδες **ΑΦΓ** Νηριΐδες **ϰ** || 5 add. Radermacher, Eitrem || 7 παρὰ τῆς **FHVYΦI**[[**P**]] ($\mathbf{H^{γρ}}$ non item) (cf. 3.3, 10.2, Im. 317.20) | θαλάσσης $\mathbf{FΓ^i}$ | ἀποζῶντας **HYI**$^{\mathbf{b}}$ (sed -οντας $\mathbf{H^{γρ}}$) || 8 θεραπεύοντας (?) [[$\mathbf{Φ^a}$]][[$\mathbf{I^a}$]] | αὐτοῦ $\mathbf{I^b}ζ^{Σ}$: ἑαυτοῦ **V**χ αὐτοῦ **FAΦΓI**$^{\mathbf{a}}$**PÅB** αὐτούς **Eζ** | αὐτὸ **BEOS** || 9 ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶν $\mathbf{H^s}Λ^{γρ}\mathbf{I^b O}$ ἁπάσαις **Φ** **Γ**[[$\mathbf{I^a}$]][[$\mathbf{P^a}$]] | δὲ] τε **σ** || 11 εὔξενος **F** || 12 πᾶσί τε] πᾶσιν **σ** || 16 λέγεται **α** | ὁ om. **ΓIσ** || 17 ἡ om. **σ** | τὸν^2 om. **ϰσ** [[τὸν]] **P** τῶν $\mathbf{V^{ac}Y}$ | ᾄδοντας Reiske || 18 τὸν om. $\mathbf{ΦΓIP^a}$ || 21 τῷ om. **σ** | αὐτοῖς **χI**$^{\mathbf{b}}$ (sed -ῷ $\mathbf{H^{γρ}K^{γρ}}$) || 22 γιγνώσκει **FAΦP** || 25 πολλοὶ ξένε **AY** πολλοὶ μὲν ξένε **HKΛ**^{γρ} πολλοί γε ξένε **Λ** | πολλοί τε **V**

Scythia. He then neatly fashioned an island of just the size I men-
tioned and set its foundation on the bottom of the Pontus. There 8
Achilles and Helen first saw and embraced one another, and Po-
seidon himself and Amphitritê hosted their wedding feast, along
with all the Nereids and as many rivers and water-spirits as flow
into the Sea of Maiôtis and the Pontus.

They say that white birds live on the island and that these 9
marine birds smell of the sea. Achilles made them his servants,
since they furnish the grove for him with the breeze and rain
drops from their wings. They do this by fluttering on the ground
and lifting themselves off a little bit above the earth. For mortals 10
who sail the broad expanse of the sea, it is permitted by divine
law to enter the island, for it is situated like a welcoming hearth
for ships. But it is forbidden to all those who sail the sea and for
the Hellenes and barbarians from around the Pontus to make it a
place of habitation. Those who anchor near the island and sacri- 11
fice must go onboard when the sun sets, so that they do not sleep
on its land. If the wind should follow them, they must sail, and if
it does not, they must wait in the bay after mooring their ship.

Then Achilles and Helen are said to drink together and to 12
be engaged in singing. They celebrate in song their desire for one
another, Homer's epics on the Trojan war, and Homer himself.
Achilles still praises the gift of poetry which came to him from
Calliope, and he pursues it more seriously, since he has ceased
from military activities. At any rate, my guest, his song about Ho- 13
mer was composed with divine inspiration and the art of poetry.
Indeed, Protesilaos knows and sings that song.

PH. May I hear the song vinedresser, or is it not proper to **55**
disclose it?

V. Why, of course you may, my guest! Many of those 2
who approach the island say that they hear Achilles singing other
things as well, but only last year, I believe, did he compose this
song, which is most graceful in thought and intentions. It goes 3
like this:

Ἀχώ, περὶ μυρίον ὕδωρ	– – ∪∪– ∪∪– –	1
μεγάλου ναίοισα πέρα Πόντου,	∪∪– – – ∪∪– – –	
ψάλλει σε λύρα διὰ χειρὸς ἐμᾶς·	– – ∪∪– ∪∪– ∪∪–	
σὺ δὲ θεῖον Ὅμηρον ἄειδέ μοι,	∪∪– ∪∪– ∪∪– ∪–	
κλέος ἀνέρων,	∪∪– ∪–	5
κλέος ἀμετέρων πόνων,	∪∪– ∪∪– ∪–	
δι᾽ ὃν οὐ θάνον,	∪∪– ∪⏑	
δι᾽ ὃν ἔστι μοι	∪∪– ∪–	
Πάτροκλος, δι᾽ ὃν ἀθανάτοις ἴσος	∪∪– ∪∪– ∪∪– ∪⏑	
Αἴας ἐμός,	– – ∪⏑	10
δι᾽ ὃν ἁ δορίληπτος ἀειδομένα σοφοῖς	∪∪– ∪∪– ∪∪– ∪∪– ∪–	
κλέος ἤρατο κοὐ πέσε Τροία.	∪∪– ∪∪– ∪∪– –	

[214] 4 *Φ. Δαιμονίως γε ὁ Ἀχιλλεύς, ἀμπελουργέ, καὶ ἐπαξίως ἑαυτοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ Ὁμήρου. καὶ ἄλλως σοφὸν ἐν τοῖς λυρικοῖς ᾄσμασι τὸ μὴ ἀποτείνειν αὐτά, μηδὲ σχοινοτενῆ ἐργάζεσθαι. καὶ ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἄρα εὐ-* 15 *δόκιμόν τε καὶ σοφὸν ἦν ἡ ποίησις.*

5 *Ἀ. Ἐκ παλαιοῦ, ξένε. καὶ γὰρ τὸν Ἡρακλέα φασὶν ἀνασταυρώσαντα τὸ Ἀσβόλου τοῦ κενταύρου σῶμα, ἐπιγράψαι αὐτῷ τόδε τὸ ἐπίγραμμα·*

1 tit. ᾆσμα τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως habent **H^{m}K^{m}** Ἀχιλλέως ᾠδή **Y^{m}** | ἠχώ **Y^{s}B^{s}** ἀλλὰ **Γ** | περὶ **FAH^{i}VYΦΓIP^{a}** : παρὰ **H^{s}KΛP^{b}**[Å]**BEζ** || 2 ναίοισα **FVY**: νάοισα **Γ** νέοισα **H^{i}K^{pc}ΛΦIP^{a}** ναίουσα **A^{lit}** νέουσα **H^{s}K^{ac}** οὖσα **P^{b}σ** | πέρα Radermacher (dimetrum anapaesticum efficiens: Schneidewin-Nauck, Sophokles erklärt VI^{7}, Berlin 1914, 178): πλευρὰ **FκVΦ^{a}ΓI^{i}ÅBT** πλευρᾶ **AI^{s}PEOS** πλευρᾷ **Y** πλευρὰν **Φ^{b}** πέραν Bergk (PLG^{4} III 687s.) πέλας dubitanter Wilamowitz (ap. Huhn-Bethe, 621s., adn. 1) || 4 ἄοιδε **ΓI^{a}** | ἐμοί Morel με **ΛV^{b}** || 5 ἀνδρῶν Morel || 6 κλέος ⟨ἄφθιτον⟩ Bergk (dimetrum catalecticum efficiens) | ἀμέτρων **E** || 7 οὐκ ἔθανον Morel || 9 ἴσος **FAHK^{pc}ΛV** || 10 ἐμοί **ΓI^{a}** || 11 ἁ δορίληπτος **FHKΦ^{pc}ΓP^{ec}ÅEST** (δορύ- **ΦΓP**): ἀδορίληπτος **AΛVYΦ^{ac}IBO** (-δορύ- **ΛΦI**) | ἀειδομένη **Y^{s}** | ⟨μέλεσιν⟩ σοφοῖς Bergk (dimetrum + monometrum catalecticum efficiens); σοφοῖς deleverit Kay. (dimetrum efficiens) || 12 ἤρατο om. **A** | κοὐ] καὶ **H^{s}K^{γρ}Λ^{γρ}σ** κεἰ dubitanter Bergk || 13 γε om. **κÅEO** || 15 ἀποκτείνειν **AH^{ac}**⟦**Φ^{a}**⟧⟦**I^{a}**⟧ | σχοινοτελῆ **Eζ** (sed -τενῆ **S^{γρ}**) | ἔκπαλαι **κ** || 18 τὸ^{1}] τοῦ **ΦI** τὸ τοῦ **A**

Echo, dwelling round about the vast waters
beyond great Pontus,
my lyre serenades you by my hand.
And you, sing to me divine Homer,
glory of men,
glory of our labors,
through whom I did not die,
through whom Patroklos is mine,
through whom my Ajax is
equal to the immortals,
through whom Troy, celebrated by the skilled as won
by the spear,
gained glory and did not fall.

PH. Vinedresser, Achilles sings at any rate by divine in- 4
spiration and in a manner worthy of both himself and Homer. Besides, it is sensible not to lengthen these matters in lyric songs or to perform them in an extended fashion. From of old, poetry was thus both esteemed and cleverly devised.

V. It has been practiced thus from of old, my guest, for 5
they say that after Herakles impaled the body of Asbolos the centaur, he inscribed the following epigram for him:

Ἄσβολος οὔτε θεῶν τρομέων ὄπιν οὔτ᾽ ἀνθρώπων, 1
ὀξυκόμοιο κρεμαστὸς ἀπ᾽ εὐλιπέος κατὰ πεύκης
ἄγκειμαι μέγα δεῖπνον ἀμετροβίοις κοράκεσσιν.

6 *Φ. Ἀθλητής γε καὶ τούτων ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ἐγένετο, μεγαληγορίαν*
ἐπαινῶν, ἀμπελουργέ, παρ᾽ ἧς δεῖ δήπου τὸν ποιητὴν φθέγγεσθαι. ἀλλ᾽ 5
ἐπανίωμεν ἐπὶ τὴν νῆσον· ῥεῦμα γὰρ δὴ ὑπολαβὸν ἡμᾶς, οἷα πολλὰ περὶ
τὸν Πόντον εἵλεῖται, παρέπλαγξε τοῦ λόγου.

56 *Ἀ. Ἐπανίωμεν, ὦ ξένε. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄσματα τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ τοιαῦτα,*
καὶ ἡ φωνὴ δὲ ἣν ᾄδουσι θεῖά τε ἠχεῖ καὶ λαμπρά· διήκει γοῦν τοσαύτη
2 *ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, ὡς φρίκην ἀνίστασθαι τοῖς ναύταις ὑπὸ ἐκπλήξεως. φασὶ* 10
δ᾽ οἱ προσορμισάμενοι καὶ κτύπου ἀκούειν ἵππων καὶ ἤχου ὅπλων καὶ
3 *βοῆς οἷον ἐν πολέμῳ ἀναφθέγγονται. εἰ δ᾽ ὁρμισαμένων ἐς τὰ βόρεια*
ἢ τὰ νότια τῆς νήσου μέλλοι τις ἄνεμος ἐναντίος τῷ ὅρμῳ πνεῖν, κη-
ρύττει ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς κατὰ πρύμναν τοῦτο καὶ κελεύει μεθορμισαμένους
4 *ἐκστῆναι τῷ ἀνέμῳ. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐκπλεόντων τοῦ Πόντου προσ-* 15
πλέουσί τέ μοι καὶ ἀπαγγέλλουσι ταῦτα, καὶ νὴ Δί᾽ ὡς, ἐπειδὰν προΐδωσι
τὴν νῆσον, ἅτε ἐν ἀπείρῳ πελάγει ἐμφερόμενοι, περιβάλλουσί τε ἀλλή-
λους καὶ ἐς δάκρυα ὑφ᾽ ἡδονῆς ἔρχονται, καταπλεύσαντες δὲ καὶ τὴν γῆν
[215] *ἀσπασάμενοι βαδίζουσιν ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν προσευξόμενοί τε τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ καὶ*
θύσοντες. τὸ δὲ ἱερεῖον αὐτόματον τῷ βωμῷ προσέστηκε κατὰ τὴν ναῦν 20
5 *τε καὶ τοὺς ἐμπλέοντας. τὸ μὲν δὴ περὶ τὴν κάλπιν τὴν χρυσῆν τὴν ἐν*
Χίῳ ποτὲ φανεῖσαν τῇ νήσῳ εἴρηται, ξένε, σοφοῖς ἀνδράσι, καὶ τί ἄν
6 *τις ἀριζήλως εἰρημένων αὖθις ἅπτοιτο; ἐμπόρῳ δὲ λέγεται θαμίζοντί*

1 tit. Ἡρακλέος στίχη habet **Y**^{m} | Ἄσβολος δ᾽ Io. Tzetzes (Epist. 1, p. 3 Leone) || 2 ὑψικόμοιο Tzetzes (Hist. V 135–137 et Epist.) | ἀπ᾽ εὐλιπέος κατὰ] ἐπ᾽ εὐλιπέος μάλα Hamaker ὅδ᾽ εὐλιπέος κατὰ dubitanter Kay. || 3 ἄγκειμαι **FAHKΦ**^{a}**Γ**[**I**^{a}]**EOS**: ἔγκειμαι **ΛV**^{ac}**YI**^{b}**PÅBT** ἔγκειται **V**^{pc} ἄγκειται **Φ**^{b} et Tzetzes (Exeg. Il. 24.26–28 Hermann = 759.28–30 Bachmann, et Hist.) ἄγκειτο Tzetzes (Epist.) | ἀμετροβίοις **FυΦIP**[**Å**]**BEST** et Tzetzes: -βόοις **Γ** **Å**^{γρ}**E**^{γρ}**O** (et item **O**^{γρ}) -βόαις **T**^{γρ} μακροβίοις **B**^{γρ}**E**^{Σ}**O**^{Σ}**T**^{Σ} (**S**^{Σ} non liquet) | κοράκεσιν **FΦI**^{a}**Eζ** || 4 ἐγένετο om. [**Å**]**B** || 5 δεῖ δήπου Kay.: δήλη που **A** **κΦΓP**^{a}**σ** δῆ δήπου **F** δεῖ λοιπὸν **VYI**^{blit} δεῖ ἀεί που dubitanter Boiss. δῆλόν που **P**^{b} || 6 δὴ om. **κ** || 8 ἐν] τὰ ἐν **εST** || 9 δὲ om. **ÅB** | ἣν] ἧ Reiske | θεία **F**^{ac}**AHY**^{ac}**P**^{b}**εOT** | γοῦν] γὰρ **ε** || 11 δ᾽ οἱ] δὴ **Kσ** δὲ **HΛ** | καὶ^{1} om. **κσ** | κτύπον **ε** | ἦχον **ε** || 12 οἷαν **V**^{pc} | εἰς **Fκ** || 13 ἢ ἐς **κσ** | μέλλει **κΓσ** | ἐκπνεῖν **AY** || 15 τῶν ἐκπλ.] ἐκ τῶν πλ. **κO** || 17 τῇ νήσῳ **κσ** || 17-18 ἀλλήλοις **KV** || 18 εἰς **κασ** || 19 προσευξάμενοι **H**^{s}**ΛEO** || 20 θύσαντες **H**^{s}**Λ** | προσέστηκε Kay.: -εστήκει codd. (nisi -οι **Y**) | ⟨*⟩ κατὰ dubitanter Kay. κατα⟨λιπὸν⟩ Eitrem (sed cf. Grentrup 55; de praep. κατὰ cf. imprimis 8.1) || 21 πλέοντας **κO** | κάλπην **AVΦIP**^{a}**ζ** || 22 τῇ νήσῳ φανεῖσαν **AY** || 23 ἀριδήλως **AYI**^{blit} | αὖθις om. **κσ** αὖ᾽ **F** || 23-86.1 ποτε θαμίζοντι **AVY**

I, Asbolos, trembling at the vengeance of neither gods nor
mortals,
as I hang from a prickly, resin-filled pine tree,
I am offered as a great feast for the immensely long-lived
ravens.

PH. Herakles, it seems, became a champion even of these 6
skills when he commends elevated speech, vinedresser, with which the poet doubtless must speak. But let us return to the island, since the stream that moves greatly to and fro about the Pontus has seized us and is leading us astray from the story.

On Leukê (54.2–57.17) —

The Vengeance of Achilles (56.1–57.17)

V. Yes, my guest, let us return. There are such songs on the **56**
island, and the voice with which they sing sounds both divine and excellent. At any rate, such a great voice reaches to the high seas
that a chill comes over sailors because of their terror. Those who 2
have cast their anchor there say that they hear both the trampling of horses and the clash of weapons, as well as a shout like men call out in battle. If, after they have anchored at the north or south 3
end of the island, a wind is about to blow against their anchorage, Achilles announces this at their stern and orders them to stay out of the wind by shifting their anchor. Many of those who also 4
travel out of the Pontus sail to me and report these matters. By Zeus, they tell me that when they have caught sight of the island, I suppose since they are being carried on the boundless sea, they embrace one another and come to tears because of their delight. After they have put into harbor and welcomed the land, they go to the sanctuary to pray to Achilles and offer sacrifices. The sacred victim of its own will stands near the altar opposite the ship and the sailors.

My guest, the story concerning the golden pitcher that once 5
appeared in the island of Chios has been told by skilled men, and what might someone grasp anew of tales told plainly?

ποτε ἐς τὴν νῆσον φαίνεσθαι μὲν ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς αὐτός, διηγεῖσθαι δὲ τὰ ἐν τῇ Τροίᾳ, ξενίσαι δ' αὐτὸν καὶ ποτῷ, κελεῦσαί τε ἐκπλεύσαντα ἐς Ἴλιον ἀναγαγεῖν οἱ κόρην Τρωάδα, τὴν δεῖνα εἰπὼν δουλεύουσαν τῷ δεῖνι ἐν Ἰλίῳ. θαυμάσαντος δὲ τοῦ ξένου τὸν λόγον καὶ διὰ τὸ θαρσεῖν ἤδη ἐρομένου αὐτὸν τί δέοιτο δούλης Ἰλιάδος, «ὅτι» ἔφη, «ξένε, γέγονεν ὅθενπερ ὁ Ἕκτωρ καὶ οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἄνω, λοιπὴ δ' ἐστὶ τοῦ Πριαμιδῶν τε καὶ Δαρδανιδῶν αἵματος». ὁ μὲν δὴ ἔμπορος ἐρᾶν τὸν Ἀχιλλέα ᾤετο καὶ πριάμενος τὴν κόρην ἐς τὴν νῆσον ἀνέπλευσεν, ὁ δὲ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐπαινέσας αὐτὸν ἥκοντα τὴν μὲν προσέταξε φυλάττειν ἑαυτῷ ἐν τῇ νηὶ δι' οἶμαι τὸ μὴ ἐσβατὸν εἶναι γυναιξὶ τὴν νῆσον, αὐτὸν δὲ ἑσπέρας ἥκειν ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ εὐωχεῖσθαι μεθ' αὐτοῦ τε καὶ Ἑλένης· ἀφικομένῳ δὲ πολλὰ μὲν χρήματα ἔδωκεν, ὧν ἥττους ἔμποροι, ξένον δ' αὐτὸν ποιεῖσθαι ἔφη διδόναι τέ οἱ τὴν ἐμπορίαν ἐνεργὸν καὶ τὴν ναῦν εὐπλοεῖν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, «σὺ μὲν πλεῖ» ἔφη «ταῦτ' ἔχων, τὴν κόρην δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ λίπε μοι». οὔπω στάδιον ἀπεῖχον τῆς γῆς καὶ οἰμωγὴ προσέβαλεν αὐτοῖς τῆς κόρης, διασπωμένου αὐτὴν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως καὶ μελιστὶ ξαίνοντος. Ἀμαζόνας δέ, ἃς ἔνιοι τῶν ποιητῶν φασιν ἐλθεῖν ἐς Τροίαν Ἀχιλλεῖ μαχουμένας, οὐκ ἀπέκτεινεν ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐν Τροίᾳ· πιθανὸν γὰρ οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως Πριάμου πολεμήσαντος αὐταῖς ὑπὲρ Φρυγῶν κατὰ Μυγδόνα, ξυμμάχους Ἀμαζόνας ὕστερον ἐλθεῖν Ἰλίῳ, ἀλλ' οἶμαι κατὰ τὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα ἣν τὸ πρῶτον ἐνίκα στάδιον Λεωνίδας ὁ Ῥόδιος, ἀπώλεσεν αὐτῶν ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς τὸ μαχιμώτατον ἐν αὐτῇ, φασί, τῇ νήσῳ.

57 Φ. Μεγάλου, ἀμπελουργέ, ἥψω λόγου, καὶ τὰ ὦτά μοι ἤγειρας καὶ ἄλλως ἑστηκότα πρὸς τοὺς σοὺς λόγους· ἥκειν δέ σοι καὶ ταῦτα εἰκὸς παρὰ τοῦ Πρωτεσίλεω.

1 ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς αὐτὸς **χσ**: τὸν -έα αὐτόν **V** ὁ -εὺς αὐτῷ **FAα** | δὲ] δὲ αὐτῷ **κσ** || 2 τῇ om. **AκΓ** | αὐτῷ **κσ** | εἰς **Eζ** || 3 Τρῳάδα **BST** Τροιάδα **Γ** | δουλεύσουσαν **ȦB** || 4 θαρρεῖν **FΓ** θαρσὺν **εST** θρασὺν **κO** θαρσὸν $\mathbf{Y}^{s}$ || 5 δέοιτο] δέ σοι δεῖ **κVP**^{blit}**σ** || 6 ὁ om. **υσ** | τοῦ] τῶν **κσ** (sed τοῦ $\mathbf{K}^{\gamma\rho}$) || 7 τε om. **κΦΓΙ** || 9 -έταξεν ἑ. φ. **AY** (αὐτῷ **A**) || 9-10 δι' οἶμαι **F** **Φ**[[$\mathbf{I}^{a}$]][[$\mathbf{P}^{a}$]]: δεῖ οἶμαι $\mathbf{A}^{ac}$ δεῖ γὰρ οἶμαι $\mathbf{A}^{pc}$ οἶμαι διὰ **VYI**^{b} διὰ **ΓȦ**^{Σ}**B**^{Σ} om. **κP**^{b} **σ** || 10 ἐσβατὴν **VP**^{b} || 11 in ἱερὸν desinit codicis **E** pars genuina | αὐτὸν ("ipsum") . . . μεθ' αὐτοῦ Lan.: αὐτὸν . . . μετ' αὐτοῦ codd. αὐτὸν . . . μετ' αὐτοῦ Kay. | ἀφικομένου **υσ** || 13 ἔφην **ζ** || 14 δὲ κόρην **F** || 15 λεῖπε **κσ** || 15-16 προσέβαλλεν **F** || 16 αὐτοὺς **Y** (coniecerat Kay., sed. cf. Theophr. HP 9.7.1; Diod. Sic. 2.19.3) | μελιστὶ **FVΦIP**: μελέστὶ **Y** μελεστὶ **Γ** μελεϊστὶ **AκȦBOS** μελειστὶ **T** || 17 ἐλθεῖν φασιν **χσ** || 18 μαχουμένας **FYΦΓ**^{pc}**IP** (-ους **Γ**): μαχομένας **AκVΓ**^{ac}**σ** | ὁ om. **κO** || 19 ὑπὲρ Φρυγῶν om. **V** | ὑπὲρ] ὑπὸ **Yσ** || 20 ἐν Ἰλίῳ **IȦB** ἐν Τροίᾳ **HK** || 22 αὐτὸν **κO** | ὁ om. **ΛȦB** | τὸ] τὸν **κȦBT** || 23 ὦ ἀμπ. **F**

Achilles himself is said to have appeared to a merchant who 6
once visited the island often, related what took place in Troy, entertained him with drink as well, and ordered him after sailing to Ilion to bring him a Trojan maiden, saying that this particular woman was a slave to a certain man in Ilion. When the guest was 7
astonished at the command and because of his new-found boldness asked Achilles why he needed a Trojan slave, Achilles said, "Because, my guest, she was born of the lineage from which Hektor and those living before him came and is what remains of the blood of the descendants of Priam and Dardanos." Of course, the 8
merchant thought that Achilles was in love, and after he bought the maiden, he sailed back to the island. When he came, Achilles praised the merchant and ordered him to guard the maiden for him on the ship, because, I suppose, the island was inaccessible for women. He ordered the merchant to come to the sanctuary at evening and to be entertained sumptuously with him and Helen. When he arrived Achilles gave him many things that merchants 9
are unable to resist; he said that he considered him a guest-friend and granted him lucrative trade and safe passage for his ship. When day came, he said, "Sail away with these things, but leave 10
the girl on the shore for me." They had not yet gone a stade away from the land when the girl's wailing struck them, because Achilles was pulling her apart and tearing her limb from limb.

In Troy, however, Achilles did not kill the Amazons, whom 11
some of the poets say came to Troy to fight Achilles.[190] I do not know how it is plausible that, after Priam had fought against them on the side of the Phrygians during the reign of Mugdôn,[191] the Amazons later would have come to Ilion as allies. But I think that at the time of the Olympic games in which Leonidas of Rhodes first won the *stadion*,[192] Achilles destroyed the most warlike group of them, they say, on the island itself.

PH. You have touched upon a great story, vinedresser, and **57**
aroused my ears, which otherwise were attentive to your words. It is likely that these matters have come to you as well from Protesilaos.

[190] According to the *Aithiopis*, the Amazons came to Priam's aid after Hektor's death.

[191] Homer *Il.* 3.184–89.

[192] The *stadion* was a short race in which the competitors sprinted down the straight length of the stadium, about 200 yards.

2 Ἀ. Παρὰ τούτου, ξένε, τοῦ χρηστοῦ διδασκάλου· πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ 1
3 τῶν ἐς τὸν Πόντον ἐσπεπλευκότων δῆλα δὴ ταῦτα. κατὰ γὰρ τὴν ἄξενον
τοῦ Πόντου πλευράν, ᾗ τὰ ὄρη τὰ Ταυρικὰ τέταται, λέγονταί τινες οἰκεῖν
Ἀμαζόνες ἣν Θερμώδων τε καὶ Φᾶσις ἐξερχόμενοι τῶν ὀρῶν περιβάλ-
λουσιν ἤπειρον, ἃς ὁ πατήρ τε καὶ φυτουργὸς αὐτῶν Ἄρης ἐπαίδευσεν 5
ἐν ὁμιλίᾳ τῶν πολεμικῶν εἶναι καὶ ζῆν ἔνοπλόν τε καὶ ἔφιππον βίον·
βουκολεῖσθαι δὲ αὐταῖς ἵππον ἐν τοῖς ἕλεσιν ἀποχρῶσαν τῷ στρατῷ.
4 ἀνδράσι μὲν δὴ ἐνομιλεῖν οὐ παρέχειν σφας τὴν ἑαυτῶν χώραν, αὐτὰς
δ', ἐπειδὰν δέωνται τέκνων, κατιούσας ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Ἅλυν ἀγοράζειν τε
καὶ ξυγγίνεσθαι τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἔνθα ἔτυχεν, ἀπελθούσας τε ἐς ἤθη καὶ 10
οἴκους, ἃ μὲν ἂν τέκωσιν ἄρρενα, φέρειν ἐπὶ τὰ ὅρια τῆς χώρας ὅπως
ἀνέλοιντο αὐτὰ οἱ φύσαντες, τοὺς δὲ ἀναιρεῖσθαί τε ὧν ἕκαστος ἔτυχε,
5 καὶ ποιεῖσθαι δούλους· ἃ δ' ἂν ἀποτέκωσι θήλεα, φιλεῖν τε ἤδη λέγονται
καὶ ὁμόφυλα ἡγεῖσθαι, θεραπεύειν τε ᾗ φύσις μητέρων, πλὴν τοῦ ἐπι-
σχεῖν γάλα· τουτὶ δὲ πράττουσι διὰ τὰς μάχας, ὡς μήτε αὐτὰ θηλύνοιντο 15
6 μήτε τοὺς μαζοὺς ἀποκρεμῷντο. τὸ μὲν δὴ ὄνομα ταῖς Ἀμαζόσιν ἐκ τοῦ
[217] μὴ μαζῷ τρέφεσθαι κεῖσθαι ἡγώμεθα· τρέφουσι δὲ τὰ βρέφη γάλακτί
τε φορβάδων ἵππων καὶ δρόσου κηρίοις, ἢ μέλιτος δίκην ἐπὶ τοὺς δό-
7 νακας τῶν ποταμῶν ἰζάνει. τὰ δὲ ποιηταῖς τε καὶ μυθολόγοις περὶ τῶν
Ἀμαζόνων τούτων εἰρημένα παραιτησώμεθα τοῦ λόγου· πρόσφορα γὰρ 20
οὐκ ἂν τῇ παρούσῃ σπουδῇ γένοιτο· τὸ δὲ περὶ τὴν νῆσον ἔργον, ὁποῖόν
τι αὐταῖς ἐπράχθη καὶ ἐς ὅ τι ἐτελεύτησε, λεγέσθω μᾶλλον ἐπειδὴ τῶν
8 τοῦ Πρωτεσίλεω λόγων ἐστί. ναῦται γὰρ ἐπὶ νεῶν ποτε πλειόνων καὶ
ναυπηγοὶ τῶν ἐς Ἑλλήσποντον ἀπαγόντων ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ὤνια κατ-
ηνέχθησαν ἐς τὴν ἀριστερὰν τοῦ πελάγους ὄχθην, περὶ ἣν αἱ γυναῖκες 25

2 τὸν om. **AV** | κατὰ] καὶ **ϰ** | ἔξενον **ST** || 5 τε om. **VY** || 7 ἔλλεσιν **F**⟦**I**^{a}⟧⟦**P**^{a}⟧ || 9 τὸν ποταμὸν **ΚΛÅB** | Ἅλυν **ΓΑΛΦΓΡ**^{a}**B** || 10 ἔτυχον **ϰ** | ἐπελθούσας **ÅB** | τε] δὲ **ÅB** || 10-11 καὶ οἴκους] ἐγκύους Valckenaer, adsentiente Cobet (sed cf. Hes. Op. 525) || 11 τὰ om. **Å**^{ac}**B** || 12 ἀνέλοιντο **υΓσ**: ἀνέλοιεν **ΦΙΡ** ἀνέλοιαν **F** || 14 ᾗ] ὡς **ϰ** || 14-15 ἐπεισχεῖν **AB**^{pc} ἐπιχεῖν **Å** ἐπι⟦σ⟧χεῖν **P** || 15 τοῦτο **VY** | αὐτὰς **ΓB** | θηλύνοιτο **ϰ** **σ** θηλάζοιντο **YI**$^{b\gamma\rho}$ || 16 ἀποκρεμῶντο **FΦ**⟦**I**^{a}⟧?**P** (-μμ- **F**): * μῶντο **Γ** ἀποκρεμῷτο **ϰ** ἀποκρεμοῖντο **Aσ** ἀποκρέμαιντο **VYI**^{b} || 17 ἡγούμεθα **ÅBOST**^{i} | δὲ] τε **ÅB** || 18 τε om. **ϰO** | φορβάδην **ST** | δρόσῳ **V** | κηρίων **ϰV** || 19 τε om. **χO** | τῶν^{2} om. **F** || 20 πρόσφορον [**Å**]**B** || 22 τι^{1}] τε **HKY** **I**^{b} (coniecerat Reiske, sed cf. Schmid, Attic. IV 72s. 611) | in ἐπράχθη desinit codicis **T** pars genuina || 23 ἐστί· ναῦται γὰρ **FP**^{b}: ἐστίν· αὖται γὰρ **VYΦΓΙ** **P**^{a} ἐστίν· * **ÅB** ἐστίν· **Aϰζ** | ἐπὶ πλειόνων νεῶν ποτε **ϰσ** ἀνέμου ποτὲ σφοδροῦ πνεύσαντος dubitanter Eitrem || 23-24 καὶ ναυπηγοὶ Boiss.: καὶ ναυπηγῶν **F** **Vα** ναυπηγοὶ **Aϰσ** καὶ γὰρ ναυπηγοὶ **Y** || 24 ἐς om. **Å**^{ac}**B**

V. From this gracious teacher they have come, my guest, 2
but these things are also evident to many of those who sail into the
Pontus. Near the inhospitable side of the Pontus, along which the 3
Taurus Mountains extend, there, on the firm land around which
the rivers Thermôdôn and Phasis flow as they come out of the
mountains, are said to dwell some Amazons, whom both their fa-
ther and nurturer, Ares, taught to be engaged in affairs of war and
to live a life armed and on horseback. For them a troop of horses
enough for the army is tended in marshy meadows. They do not 4
permit men to live in their own country, but, whenever they need
children, they go down to the river Halys to do business in the
marketplace and to have intercourse with men in any old place.
After they return to their haunts and homes, they carry to the bor-
ders of the country whatever male children they bear so that those
who have begotten them can claim them; those men claim what-
ever child each happens to find and make them slaves. But the 5
females to whom they give birth they are said to love immediately,
to regard as belonging to their own race, and to care for them as is
the nature of mothers, except for withholding their milk. They do
this because of their battles, so that the children do not become ef-
feminate and their breasts do not hang down. Let us believe that 6
the Amazons' name comes from not being reared at the breast.[193]
They nurse the infants with the milk of grazing horses and with
honeycombs full of the dew that settles on the reeds of the river
like honey.

Let us leave out of our account the things said by both poets 7
and compilers of myths about these Amazons, since they would
not be profitable for the present endeavor. Rather, let their deed
concerning the island be told, what sort of thing was done by
them, and to what end it was accomplished, since this is part
of Protesilaos's accounts. When ships were once more numer- 8
ous, some sailors and shipbuilders, from among those people who
brought merchandise to the Hellespont from the Pontus, were
carried off course down toward the left shore of the sea, round

[193] The name "Amazon" was understood as formed from ἀ privative ("not") + μαζός ("breast"). The vinedresser offers one interpretation of the etymology; see also "Amazons" in the Glossary.

9 *οἰκεῖν λέγονται. ληφθέντες δὲ ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν χρόνον μέν τινα ἐδέδεντο σιτού-* 1
μενοι πρὸς φάτναις, ἵν᾽ ἀποδῶνταί σφας ὑπὲρ τὸν ποταμὸν ἄγουσαι τοῖς
10 *ἀνδροφάγοις Σκύθαις. ἐπεὶ δὲ μειράκιον σὺν αὐτοῖς ληφθὲν μία τῶν Ἀμ-*
αζόνων ἐπὶ τῇ ὥρᾳ ἠλέησε καί τις ἔρως ἐκ τούτου ἐγένετο, παραιτεῖται
11 *τὴν δυναστεύουσαν ἀδελφὴν οὖσαν μὴ ἀποδόσθαι τοὺς ξένους· λυθέντες* 5
δὲ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὰς συγκραθέντες ἐφθέγγοντο ἤδη τὸν ἐκείνων τρόπον,
τόν τε χειμῶνα καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ διηγούμενοι παρῆλθον ἐς μνήμην
τοῦ ἱεροῦ προσπεπλευκότες οὐ πάλαι τῇ νήσῳ, καὶ διήεσαν τὸν ἐν αὐτῷ
12 *πλοῦτον. αἱ δ᾽ εὕρημα ποιησάμεναι τοὺς ξένους, ἐπειδὴ ναῦταί τε ἦσαν*
καὶ νεῶν τέκτονες, οὔσης καὶ ἄλλως ναυπηγησίμου σφίσι τῆς χώρας, 10
ποιοῦνται ναῦς τὸν ἱππαγωγῶν τρόπον ὡς τὸν Ἀχιλλέα σχήσουσαι ταῖς
ἵπποις· καταβᾶσαι γὰρ ἵππων Ἀμαζόνες θῆλύ τέ εἰσι γένος καὶ ἀτεχνῶς
13 *γυναῖκες. εἰρεσίας μὲν δὴ πρῶτον ἥψαντο καὶ πλεῖν ἐμελέτησαν, ὡς δ᾽*
[218] *ἐπιστήμην τοῦ πλεῖν ξυνελέξαντο, ἄρασαι περὶ ἔαρ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκβολῶν τοῦ*
Θερμώδοντος ἀφῆκαν ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν σταδίους μάλιστα δισχιλίους ἐπὶ νεῶν, 15
οἶμαι, πεντήκοντα, καὶ προσορμισάμεναι τῇ νήσῳ πρῶτον μὲν ἐκέλευσαν
τοὺς Ἑλλησποντίους ξένους ἐκκόπτειν τὰ δένδρα, οἷς κεκόσμηται κύκλῳ
14 *τὸ ἱερόν· ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ πελέκεις ἐς αὐτοὺς ἀνακοπέντες τοῖς μὲν ἐς κεφαλὴν*
ἐχώρησαν, τοῖς δὲ ἐς αὐχένα, πάντες δὲ πρὸς τοῖς δένδρεσιν ἔπεσον, ἐπ-
εχύθησαν αἱ Ἀμαζόνες τῷ ἱερῷ βοῶσαί τε καὶ τὰς ἵππους ἐλαύνουσαι. 20
15 *ὁ δὲ θερμόν τε καὶ δεινὸν ἐς αὐτὰς ἰδὼν καὶ πηδήσας οἷον ἐπὶ Σκα-*
μάνδρῳ τε καὶ Ἰλίῳ πτοίαν μὲν χαλινοῦ κρείττω ταῖς ἵπποις ἐνέβαλεν,
ὑφ᾽ ἧς ἀνεσκίρτησαν ἀλλότριόν τε καὶ περιττὸν ἄχθος ἡγούμεναι τὰς
γυναῖκας, ἐς δὲ θηρίων ἤθη μετέστησαν καὶ κειμέναις ἐμπεσοῦσαι ταῖς
Ἀμαζόσι τάς τε ὁπλὰς ἐνήρειδον καὶ τὰς χαίτας ἔφριττον καὶ τὰ ὦτα 25
ἐπ᾽ αὐτὰς ἵστασαν καθάπερ τῶν λεόντων οἱ ὠμοί, κειμένων τε γυμνὰς
ὠλένας ἤσθιον καὶ τὰ στέρνα ῥηγνῦσαι προσέκειντο τοῖς σπλάγχνοις καὶ
ἐλάφυσσον, ἐμφορηθεῖσαι δὲ ἀνθρωπείου βρώσεως ἐκρόαινον περὶ τὴν
νῆσον καὶ ἐμαίνοντο μεσταὶ λύθρου, στᾶσαι δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀκρωτηρίων καὶ
τὰ νῶτα τοῦ πελάγους ἰδοῦσαι πεδίῳ τε ᾤοντο ἐντετυχηκέναι καὶ κατὰ 30

1 δ᾽ **V**χσ || 3 αὐταῖς **AH**^{ac}[Φ]**ΓΙ**[**P**] || 5 τοῖς ξένοις **F**^{i}**V**Φ^{a}**ΓΙ** || 6 ἐκείνου **O**[**T**] || 7 παρῆλθε **O**^{lit}**S**[**T**] | δὲ ἐς **ϰσ** καὶ ἐς **V**^{pc} || 8 προπεπλευκότες ζ | αὐτῇ **ϰ** || 9 πλοῦν **ΦΓ**[**I**^{a}]**PÅ** | ἦσαν om. **ϰ** || 11 ἱππαγωγῶν Reiske, Kay.: ἱππαγωγὸν codd. (nisi ὑπ- **Φ**^{a}**I**^{a}, ἐπ- **V**) | ταῖς **A V**: τοῖς **Fχασ** cf. feminine participles in 57.15, cet.) || 14 συνελέξαντο **AVY** ξυνεξελέξαντο **S** συνεξελέξαντο **ϰO** || 19 δὲ^{2} **FAYα**: τε **ϰVσ** || 20 τὰς] τοὺς **F A** || 22 τοῖς **ϰΦΓΙ**^{a}**P** | ἐνέβαλεν **FP**: ἐνέβαλ/εν **ΦΙ** ἐνέβαλλεν **Γ** προσέβαλεν **A KVYσ** προσέβαλλεν **HΛ** || 23 ἡγούμενοι **FΦΓΙ**^{a}**P** || 24 ἤδη **Φ**^{a}**Γ**[**I**^{a}] || 26 κειμένην **ϰζ** | τε καὶ γυμνὰς **Aϰσ** || 28 ἀνθρωπείας **YI**^{blit} * **F** | βρώματος **V** αἵματος **ϰ** (sed βρώσεως **ϰ**^{γρ}) | περὶ] παρὰ **F**

about which the women are said to live. After they were captured 9
by the women, for a period of time they were kept locked up, being
fed at mangers, so that the women, taking them across the river,
could sell them to the Scythian cannibals. But when one of the 10
Amazons took pity on a lad who had been captured along with
them because of his youth, and when some erotic attraction re-
sulted, she asked the chief Amazon, who was her sister, not to sell
the strangers. After the men were released and had formed close 11
friendships with the women, they now began to speak in their id-
iom. While they were recounting their tale about the winter storm
and their experiences on the sea, they passed on to their recollec-
tion of the sanctuary, since they had sailed to the island not long
before, and they told about the wealth in it.

Since the strangers were both sailors and shipbuilders, and 12
since that area was also suitable to them for shipbuilding, the
Amazons who had come upon them had them make a ship for
transporting horses in the hope that they would possess Achilles
along with his mares (for once the Amazons dismount from their
horses, they are female in gender and women in every respect).
Indeed, first the Amazons engaged in rowing and practiced sail- 13
ing, and so they gathered knowledge of sailing. Getting underway
from the outlets of the Thermôdôn at about springtime, they went
forth on fifty ships, I think, to the sanctuary, about two thousand
stades away. When they anchored at the island, they first ordered
their Hellespontian guests to cut down the trees with which the
sanctuary was adorned round about. But when their axes, driven 14
back against them, went into the head of some, into the neck of
others, and all fell near the trees, the Amazons streamed to the
sanctuary, crying aloud and driving on their mares.

And Achilles, on seeing the heat and terror in them and leap- 15
ing as he had at the Scamander and in Ilion, inflicted on their
mares a terror mightier than a bit, at which they reared up, re-
garding the women as an unnatural and superfluous burden. The
horses took on the habits of wild beasts, and as they fell upon the
Amazons, who lay on the ground, the horses thrust their hooves,
bristled their manes, and pricked up their ears against them, just
like savage lions. They ate the naked forearms of the supine
women, and after they had broken open their chests, they devoted
themselves to the entrails and gulped them down. Stuffed with
human flesh, they stamped around the island and raged, sated

16 τῆς θαλάττης ἑαυτὰς ἦκαν. ἀπώλοντο δὲ καὶ αἱ νῆες τῶν Ἀμαζόνων 1
ἀνέμου σφοδροῦ ἐς αὐτὰς πνεύσαντος· ἅτε γὰρ κεναὶ καὶ οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ
ὡρμισμέναι προσέπιπτον ἀλλήλαις καὶ ξυνηράττοντο, ναῦς τε ὥσπερ ἐν
ναυμαχίᾳ κατέδυε ναῦν καὶ ἀνερρήγνυ, καὶ ὁπόσας ἐγκαρσίους τε καὶ
ἀντιπρῴρους ἐμβολὰς ποιοῦνται κυβερνῆται ναυμάχοι, πᾶσαι ξυνέπεσον 5
17 ἐν ναυσὶ κεναῖς καὶ οὐκ ἐκ προνοίας πλεούσαις. πολλῶν δὲ ναναγίων
[219] τῷ ἱερῷ προσενεχθέντων καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἐν αὐτῷ κειμένων ἐμπνεόντων
ἔτι καὶ ἡμιβρώτων, μελῶν τε ἀνθρωπείων ἐσπαρμένων καὶ σαρκῶν ἃς
διέπτυσαν αἱ ἵπποι, κάθαρσιν ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς ποιεῖται τῆς νήσου ῥᾳδίαν·
κορυφὴν γὰρ τοῦ πόντου ἐπισπασάμενος ἀπένιψέ τε καὶ ἀπέκλυσε ταῦτα. 10

58 Φ. Ὅστις, ἀμπελουργέ, μὴ θεοφιλῆ σε ἡγεῖται σφόδρα, αὐτὸς
ἀπήχθηται τοῖς θεοῖς· τὸ γὰρ τοιούτους τε καὶ θείους λόγους εἰδέναι
οὕτω, παρ᾽ ἐκείνων οἶμαί σοι ἥκειν, οἳ καὶ τῷ Πρωτεσίλεῳ φίλον τέ
2 σε καὶ ἐπιτήδειον ἐποίησαν. ἀλλ᾽ ἐπεὶ τῶν ἡρωικῶν ἡμᾶς λόγων ἐμ-
πέπληκας, τὸ μὲν ὅπως αὐτὸς ἀναβεβίωκεν, οὐκέτ᾽ ἂν ἐροίμην, ἐπειδὴ 15
3 ἀβεβήλῳ τε καὶ ἀπορρήτῳ φῂς αὐτὸν χρῆσθαι τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ· τοὺς δὲ
Κωκυτούς τε καὶ Πυριφλεγέθοντας καὶ τὴν Ἀχερουσιάδα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦ-
τα τῶν ποταμῶν τε καὶ τῶν λιμνῶν ὀνόματα καὶ νὴ Δία τοὺς Αἰακοὺς
καὶ τὰ τούτων δικαστήρια καὶ δικαιωτήρια αὐτός τε ἴσως ἀπαγγελεῖς
καὶ ξυγχωρεῖ διηγεῖσθαι. 20

1 θαλάσσης **FB** | καὶ **υΦ^{b}Γσ**: om. **FΦ^{a}IP** || 3 ὡρμισάμενοι **ϰO** ὡραισμέναι **A**[**T**]? || 4 κατέδυ **ϰO** || 5 ναυμάχοι **FAΦΓOS**: ναύμαχοι **VχIPÅ** **B**[**T**] || 6 καὶ om. **α** || 7-8 ἐμπν. ἔτι καὶ ἡμιβρ. **FAΦΓP** (ἔτι] ἤδη **ΦΓP**): ἡμιβρ. τε καὶ ἐμπν. ἔτι **VχI^{blit}σ** (τε om. **ϰO** || 7 ἐκπνεόντων **VYI^{blit}** || 8 ἔτι om. **V** ἤδη **YI^{blit}**) | ἐσπαρμένων **Fα**: διεσπαρμένων **ΑΛVYσ** διεσπαραγμένων **HK** || 9 αἱ] οἱ **χI^{a}B^{ac}O** | τῆς νήσου ποιεῖται **F** | τῇ νήσῳ **ϰ** || 10 τε om. **ϰO** || 11 αὐτὸς] οὗτος Reiske || 12-13 οὕτω λόγους εἰδέναι **VY** || 13 σοι om. **B** σε **ϰÅ** || 14 ἡμῖν λόγων **O**[**T**] (**S^{a}** non liquet) λόγων ἡμῖν **ϰ** || 15 τὸ] ἐγὼ **VY** || 16 ἀβεβήλῳ τε καὶ om. **V** | ἀβεβήλῳ **F^{s}ΓP^{pc}S**(b)^{γρ} (coniecerat Valesius): βεβήλῳ **F^{i}AχΦIP^{ac}ÅBOS**(b)[**T**] || 17 τε] τοὺς **S^{a}**[**T**] | καὶ τὴν Ἀχερουσιάδα om. **ϰ** || 18 τῶν^{2} om. **ΛV**(b)**PS**(b) || 19 τε^{1} om. **AϰÅBO** | τε καὶ δικαιωτήρια om. **S^{a}**?[**T**] | ἀπαγγελεῖ **B** ἀπαγγέλλει σοι Reiske || 20 καὶ ξυγχωρεῖ] ξυγχωρεῖ δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνος **V**

with gore. Then, standing on the promontories and seeing the wide surface of the sea, they thought that they had encountered a wide plain and hurled themselves down toward the sea. The 16
Amazons' ships also perished, when a violent wind blew upon them; because they lay at anchor empty and in disarray, they struck against one another and were dashed into pieces, I suppose. Ship sank ship and broke up just as in a naval battle, and just as many rammings of ship against ship, both athwart and prow-to-prow, as helmsmen make while fighting at sea, these all fell upon the ships, which were empty and floating without direction. Because many pieces of wreckage were carried back to the 17
sanctuary and because humans were lying in it still breathing and half-eaten—both scattered human limbs and the pieces of flesh that the mares had spat upon—Achilles easily purified the island, for by drawing in a wave of the sea he both washed these things clean and rinsed them.

VII. EVENING FALLS (58.1–6)

PH. Vinedresser, whoever does not consider you exceed- **58**
ingly beloved of the gods is himself hated by the gods. I think that the knowledge of such divine stories has thus come to you from those who have also made you an intimate and a close friend of Protesilaos. But after you have filled us with heroic stories, I 2
would no longer ask how he himself returned to life, since you say that he treats that story as inviolable and secret.[194] On those 3
who dwell by the Kôkytos and the Pyriphlegethôn, and about the Akherousias, and such names of rivers and seas, and, by Zeus, the Aiakidai and their courts of justice and places of punishments, you yourself will perhaps report and he will agree to set forth the details.

[194] From the beginning of the dialogue, according to the vinedresser, Protesilaos refuses to speak of his death and return to life (see 3.13–20), despite the Phoenician's skepticism about Protesilaos's return to life (see 3.21–22; 5.17).

4 Ἀ. Ξυγχωρεῖ μέν, ἑσπέρα δὲ ἤδη καὶ βοῦς πρὸς ἀναπαύλῃ· τὰ 1
γοῦν ζευγάρια ὁρᾷς ὡς ἐκ βουλυτοῦ ἥκει καὶ χρή με αὐτὰ ὑποδέξασθαι
5 καὶ ὁ λόγος πλείων τοῦ καιροῦ. νῦν μὲν δὴ ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν χαίρων ἴθι,
πάντα ἔχων ὁπόσα ὁ κῆπος φέρει, κἂν μὲν τὸ πνεῦμα ὑμέτερον, πλεῖ,
ξένε, σπείσας ἀπὸ τῆς νεὼς τῷ Πρωτεσίλεῳ· τουτὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἐνθένδε 5
λύοντας νενόμισται πράττειν· εἰ δ' ἐναντίον εἴη τὸ πνεῦμα, χώρει δεῦρο
ἅμα ἡλίῳ ἀνίσχοντι καὶ τεύξῃ οὗ βούλει.

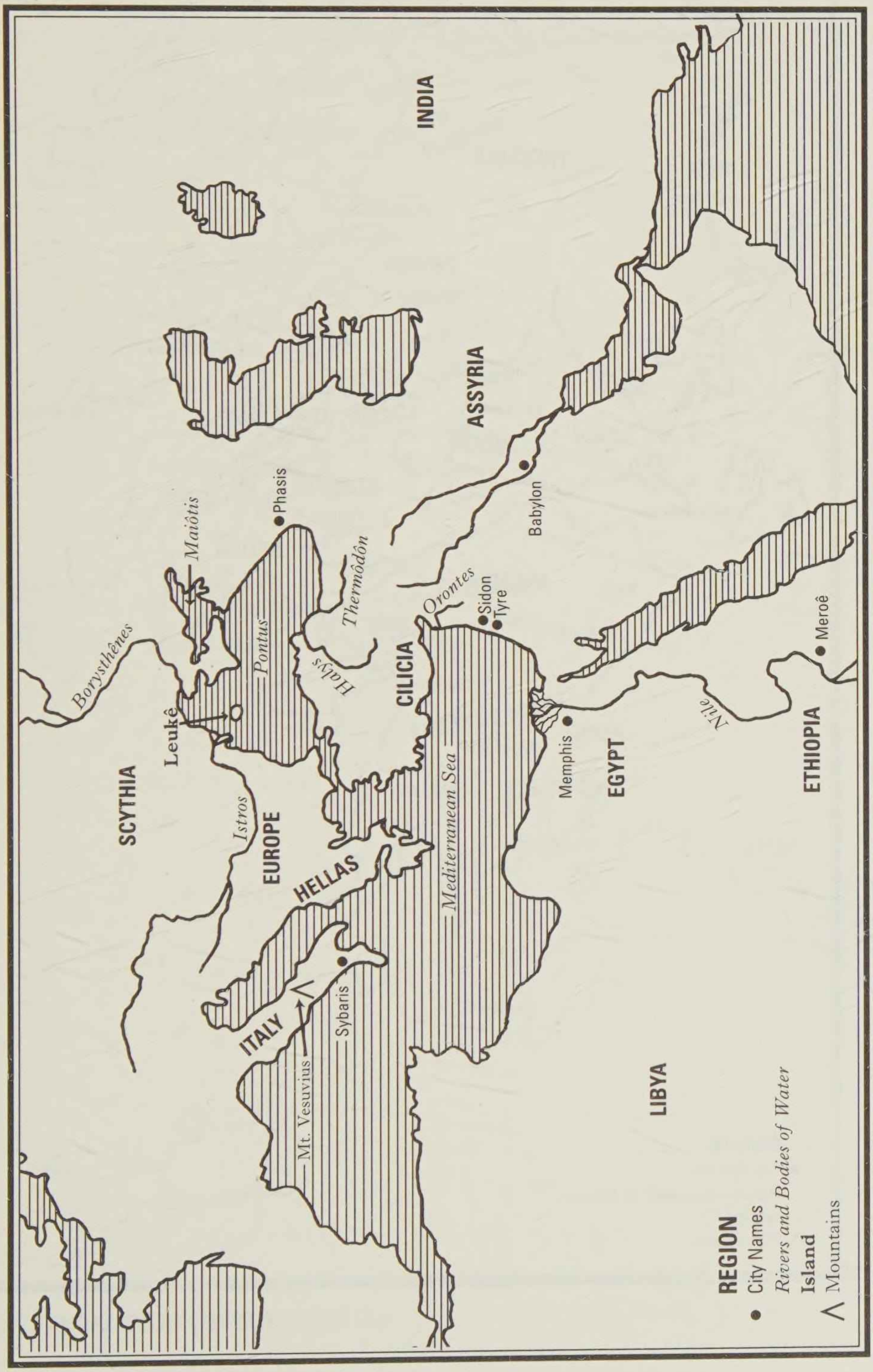
6 Φ. Πείθομαί σοι, ἀμπελουργέ, καὶ οὕτως ἔσται· πλεύσαιμι δὲ
μήπω, Πόσειδον, πρὶν ἢ καὶ τοῦδε ἀκροάσασθαι τοῦ λόγου.

1 ἑσπέρας **FΦIPS**(b) || 2 γοῦν] μὲν **ΦI^{a}P** μὲν οὖν **I^{b}** γὰρ **AκO** | ὡς ὁρᾶς **V** ὡς ὁρᾷς ὡς **Y** || 4 ὅσα **κaS^{b}** | ὑμέτερον **FAHKI$^{b\,γρ}$ÅBOS^{a}**?**S**(b)^{γρ}[**T**]: ἡμέτερον **Λ** ἥμερον **ΦΓ** ὑμέτερον ᾖ **VY** ἥμερον ᾖ **I^{blit}PS**(b) || 5 ἐνθάδε **κO** || 7 τεύξει **ΦΓI** | οὗ **FVYa**: ὧν **AκÅBOS**(b)[**T**] || 9 subscr. τέλος τοῦ Ἡρωϊκοῦ **F** τέλος τῶν Ἡρωϊκῶν τοῦ Φιλοστράτου **H** τέλος τῶν Ἡρωϊκῶν τοῦ Φιλοστράτου· τὰ πάντα $\overline{κβ}$ **OS**(b)[**T**] τέλος **Γ** τέλος· γέγραφε Φράγκισ̈ Βέρναρ̈. **Y** Ἴων ἢ ἀμπελουργός **A** δόξα σοι ὁ θεός **V**; nulla subscr. **KΛΦIPÅB**

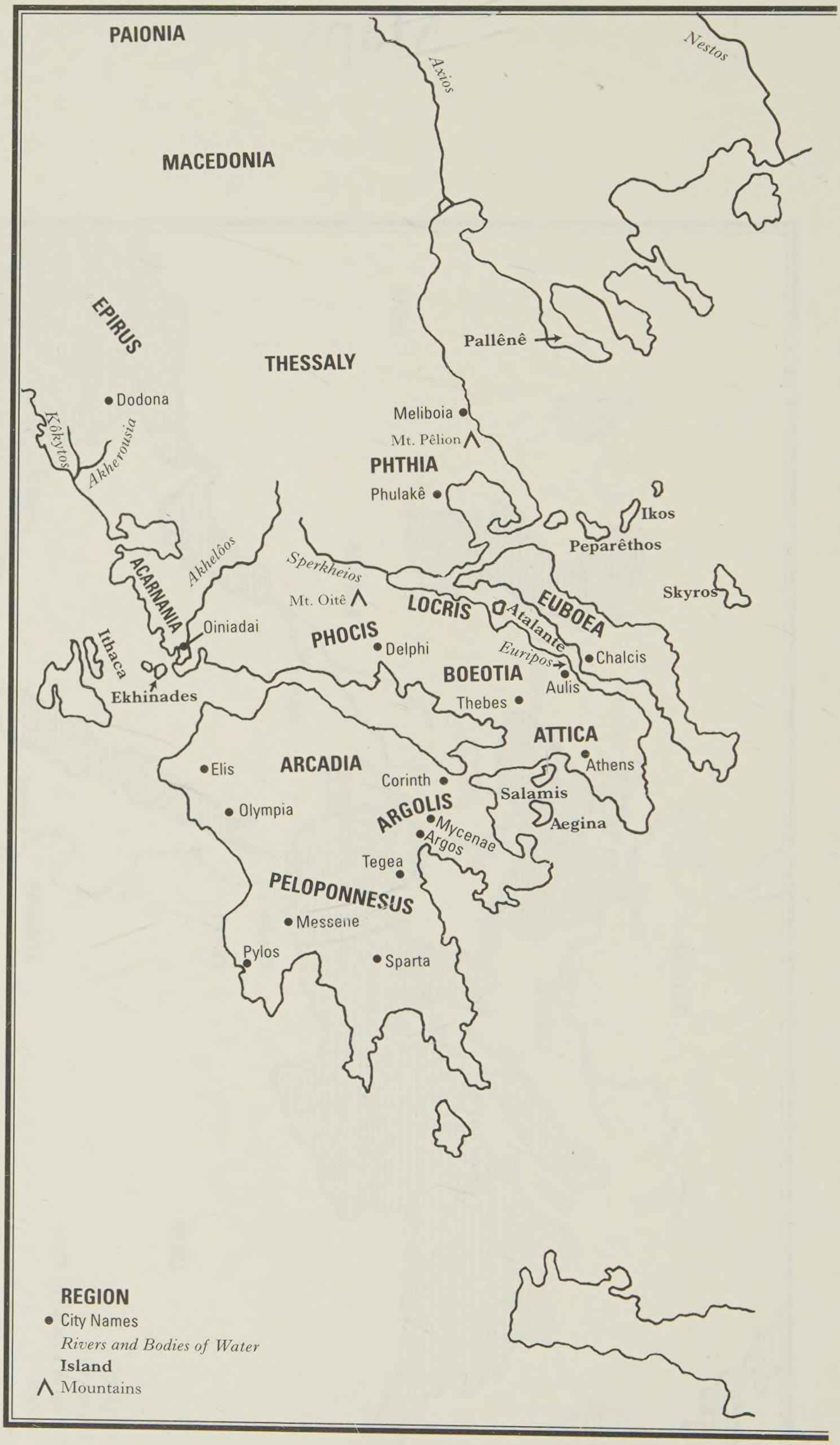
V. He agrees, but it is already evening and the herds must 4
go to their rest. You see, at any rate, the small teams of oxen
because the time for unyoking them has come. I must attend to
them, and the story is longer than time allows. Now, go to your 5
ship rejoicing with all that the garden bears, and, my guest, if the
wind is yours, set sail once you have poured a libation to Protesil-
aos from the ship. It is customary for those leaving here to do so.
If the wind should be against you, come here at sunrise and you
will obtain what you wish.

PH. I am persuaded by you, vinedresser, and so shall it be. 6
May I not sail, by Poseidon, before I listen to this story as well.

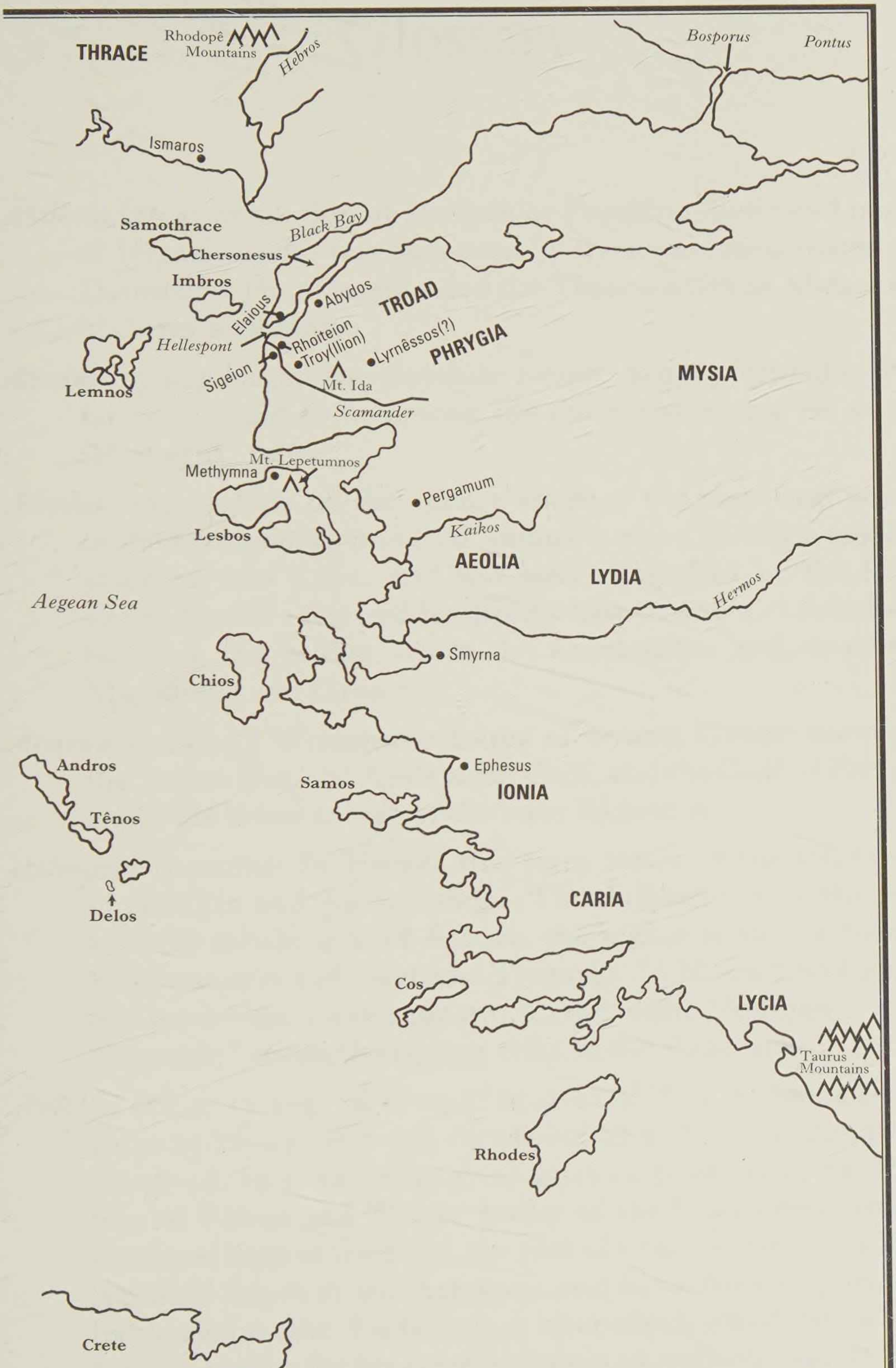
Maps



GENERAL VIEW OF THE MEDITERRANEAN



GREECE, THE AEGEAN,



AND WESTERN ASIA MINOR

Glossary

Abdêros (26.4; 45.6): Son of Hermes or Poseidon, lover and page of Herakles, who was devoured by the man-eating mares of Diomedes. Herakles founded the Thracian city of Abdera in his lover's memory.

Abians (23.10): Legendary Scythian people, usually located in the far north, said to be among the most just people on earth (Homer *Il.* 13.6).

Abydos (33.23): City on the eastern shore of the narrowest point of the Dardanelles (modern Avido), it was a Milesian colony since ca. 600 B.C.E. and was later controlled by the Persians. Xerxes reviewed his troops here in 480 B.C.E. before building the bridge across the Dardanelles and invading Macedonia and Greece.

Acarnania (54.5): Westernmost area of central Greece between the Ionian Sea, the Ambracian Gulf, and the Gulf of Patras, along the lower course of the river Akhelôos.

Achaeans (passim): In Homer this term refers to the followers of Achilles and Agamemnon. The Achaeans were the paleolithic inhabitants of Achaea, the region in the northeast Peloponnesus and southeast Thessaly. In Hittite and Egyptian texts from 1400–1200 B.C.E., the terms "Aḫḫijawa" and "Ekwesh," respectively, may refer to the Achaeans.

Achilles (12.2; 13.3–4; 14.2; 19.5; 21.9–22.3; 23.4, 16–20, 24–25; 24.2; 25.16–17; 26.7–11, 15, 18–19; 27.4, 8, 12; 32.2; 33.13; 33.20–48; 35.5, 14; 36.4; 37.2; 42.4; 44.5–56.11; 57.12, 17): Son of Peleus and Thetis, leader of the Myrmidons and a principal hero of the *Iliad*, the plot of which revolves around Achilles' anger at the Achaeans and his refusal to join the battle against the Trojans until after the death of Patroklos. He was known for his episodes of uncontrollable rage as, for example, when he dragged Hektor's corpse around the walls of Troy to avenge Patroklos's death. Achilles' death at the hands of Paris and Apollo is foretold in the *Iliad* (22.358–60); according to the lost *Aithiopis*, Achilles died in battle

attempting to avenge the death of Antilokhos at the hands of Memnôn. He was educated by Kheirôn on Mount Pelion and is usually depicted in art as a young man, often beardless. Various traditions exist about his love for Patroklos and Trôilos, as well as about his marriage to Polyxena and to Helen. His cult was strong in the region of the Black Sea, particularly in association with the White Island (Leukê; see also Pausanias *Description of Greece* 3.19.13), and to a lesser extent in Asia Minor, Epirus, Thessaly, and Elis. According to Strabo (*Geography* 13.1.32), there was a sanctuary of Achilles in Sigeion on the Troad.

Admêtos (11.8): King of Pherai in Thessaly and one of the Argonauts. He was offered the gift of immortality if another human being would die in his stead. When even his aged parents refused to die for him, his wife Alcestis offered herself (Homer *Il.* 2.713–15; see also Euripides *Alcestis*).

Adonis (45.6): Greek hero of Syrian origin. Known for his great beauty, he was fought over by Aphrodite and Persephone. The dispute between the goddesses was settled by Calliope on Zeus's behalf: Adonis was to spend one-third of each year with each goddess and the remaining third wherever he chose. He always chose to be with Aphrodite. Adonis was killed at an early age by a wild boar.

Aegean (1.2): The sea between Greece and Asia Minor.

Aegina (53.15): Island in the Saronic Gulf located about 20 km south of Salamis. A prominent naval power throughout the archaic period, Aegina was often at war with Samos. Extended hostilities with Athens began in 506 B.C.E., but at the battle of Salamis, Aegina sided with Greece against the Persians. War erupted between Athens and Aegina in 459; Aegina was defeated and forced to join the Delian League, but later helped to provoke the Peloponnesian War. The Athenians thereupon expelled the inhabitants of Aegina from the island; it was occupied by Athens until 405 when it came under Spartan governance. Associated with Aiakos and his descendants, the island contains a *heroon*, that is, a shrine or temple dedicated to a hero, associated with the hero's grave, to Aiakos, and its inhabitants celebrated a festival in his honor.

Aeneas (27.5; 33.12; 38.1–39.1): Son of Anchises and Aphrodite, Trojan hero, whose descendants founded Rome. His escape from Troy and his journey to Italy are the subject of Virgil's *Aeneid*.

Aeolia (8.6; 28.10; 33.28, 48): According to ancient geography, the west coast of Asia Minor between Lekton and the river Hermos. Later it also included the region of Troy.

Agamemnon (23.15; 23.30; 26.9; 27.6–8; 29.1–31.7; 33.13, 17, 24–33; 48.6–9; 51.6): One of the sons of Atreus, grandson of Pelops, and king of Mycenae. Homer characterized Agamemnon as "ruler of men" (ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν), "shepherd of the people" (ποιμὴν λαῶν), and of divine descent (δῖος) (see, e.g., *Il.* 1.30, 79, 186, 278; 2.8, 82, 100, 108, 197, 477, 569, 576, 610). The abduction of his brother Menelaos's wife Helen is the occasion for the Trojan war, and Agamemnon became the supreme commander of the Achaeans in this war against Troy. Agamemnon antagonized Achilles by taking his war prize Briseis. Homer's *Iliad* describes the conflict between Agamemnon and Achilles, Achilles' withdrawal from fighting, and Agamemnon's attempts at appeasement. Both Homer and Aeschylus recount Agamemnon's death after his return from the war: According to Aeschylus, Agamemnon was murdered by his wife Clytemnestra; in Homer the murder is performed by her lover, Aigisthos.

Aiaia (34.5): Island of Circe, the divine enchantress, under whose spell Odysseus's companions were changed into pigs (Homer *Od.* 9.32; 10.135; 11.70; 12.268, 273).

Aiakidai (12.2; 23.13; 33.30; 39.3; 53.14–16; 58.3): Literally the descendants of Aiakos, but the term generally refers to Achilles and the greater Ajax (Homer *Il.* 16.15; 18.433; 21.189).

Aiakos (12.2; 39.3): The son of Zeus, father of Peleus and Telamôn, and grandfather of Achilles. Celebrated for his piety, Aiakos became a judge of the dead (Plato *Apology* 41a; *Gorgias* 523e).

Aidôneus (25.9): See Hades.

Ajax the Greater (8.1; 12.2; 18.3–5; 19.5; 19.8–20.2; 23.19–22; 27.8; 30.3; 31.6–32.2; 33.33–48; 35.1–15; 43.7; 45.8;

48.9, 20–49.2; 55.3): Ajax the son of Telamôn was from Salamis and, next to Achilles, the mightiest in battle among the Achaeans (Homer *Il.* 2.768; 7.199). Achilles' weapons, after his death, were destined by his mother Thetis for the one who had inspired most fear in the Trojans. The Trojan prisoners were questioned, and they named Odysseus, rather than Ajax. During the night Ajax went mad and slaughtered flocks of sheep, whom he mistook for his enemies; he killed himself when he realized the state of madness into which he had fallen (*Little Iliad*). Ajax was not cremated but placed in a coffin and buried (see *Little Iliad* 4, whose story denies Ajax the customary burial for a hero). Ajax refused to speak with Odysseus in the underworld because of their previous rivalry (Homer *Od.* 11.543–64). Sophocles expanded the story of his demise in his tragedy *Ajax*, but gave Ajax an honorable burial. For an alternative tradition about Ajax's death, see Pindar *Isthmian* 6.

Ajax the Lesser (12.2; 31.1–9; 33.30; 43.7; 49.2): Son of the Locrian king Oileus (Homer *Il.* 13.712). He dragged Cassandra away from Athena's statue after the fall of Troy and was thus persecuted by Athena on his return journey. When he found safety on a rocky outcrop in the sea (the Gyrian rock), he blasphemed the gods; he was then killed by Poseidon, who split the rock so that he drowned (Homer *Od.* 4.499–511).

Akesa (28.6): According to Philostratus, the name given by Philoktêtês to a portion of Lemnos. Akesa is derived from the Greek word ἡ ἄκεσις, which means "healing" or "cure."

Akhelôos (15.5; 54.5): The longest Greek river, which originates in central Epirus, runs for 150 miles and empties into the Corinthian Gulf. The Aetolian river god Akhelô[i]os then became the representation of all rivers and flowing waters; he was held to be the father of the nymphs and received cultic veneration in many places. He is mentioned twice in Homer (*Il.* 21.194; 24.616, though this latter reference is to a river in Phrygia).

Akherousias (58.3): More commonly known as Akheron, a river of Thesprôtia in southern Epirus, which breaks through a gorge into the plain of Akheron where a lake lay in ancient

times. The entrance to Hades was reputed to be at the junction of Akheron with the Kôkytos and the Pyriphlegethôn (Homer *Od.* 10.513–14). The setting of Odysseus's evocation of the dead in the *Odyssey* draws on the scenery of the plain of Akheron. The name became applied to the lower world in general.

Aktaios (23.14): See Heloros and Aktaios

Alcestis (11.8): Wife of Admêtos and the most beautiful and pious of women (Homer *Il.* 2.715). According to Euripides' *Alcestis*, her marriage to Admêtos was a model of connubial devotion to the extent that Alcestis agreed to die in her husband's place. After her death, Herakles descended into Hades and brought her back to earth, more beautiful and younger than ever.

Alexander the Great (53.16–17): (356–323 B.C.E.) Son of Philip II and Olympias, and king of Macedon (336–323 B.C.E.). Alexander and his armies crossed the Hellespont in 334 B.C.E. in order to "liberate" the Greek cities in Asia Minor from Persian control. According to Arrian (*Anabasis* 1.12.1–2), Alexander placed a wreath on Achilles' tomb. Plutarch (*Alexander* 15.4–5 [Perrin, LCL]) records that Alexander sacrificed to heroes at Troy and honored Achilles' grave by anointing the grave stone with oil, running a race naked with his companions around the grave, and "pronouncing the hero happy in having, while he lived, a faithful friend, and after death, a great herald of his fame."

Alexandros (40.1–2): Another name for Paris (see entry), used more frequently in the *Iliad*.

Alkmaiôn (54.5): Argive hero, son of Amphiaraos and Eriphylê, and one of the Epigonoi. Alkmaiôn killed his mother, who had been bribed to convince her husband to join the expedition against Thebes in return for Harmonia's necklace (Pausanias *Description of Greece* 9.41.2; Aristotle *Poetics* 1453b). In some versions, this heinous murder was commanded by Alkmaiôn's father, in others by the oracle of Apollo (cf. Apollodorus *Library* 3.6.2 and 3.7.5). Pursued by a Fury and driven insane, Alkmaiôn was released from his madness only after receiving purification for the murder and, according to Pausanias, settling on the "youngest of countries,"

that is, the alluvial deposits at the mouth of the Akhelôos river (Apollodorus *Library* 3.7.5; Pausanias *Description of Greece* 8.24.7–10; Thucydides *Peloponnesian War* 2.102.5).

Alkmênê (7.5; 28.1): Daughter of Êlektruôn, king of Mycenae (or Tiryns). Loved by Zeus and in the same night by her husband Amphitryon, she bore twins, the divine Herakles and the human Iphiklês. Her husband accused her of adultery and sentenced her to be burned alive, but a heavy rain extinguished the flames (Euripides *Heraclidae*). Persecuted later by Eurystheus of Tiryns, she was protected by the Athenians, and then moved to Thebes, where she died. Hermes brought her to the fields of the blessed dead where she was married to Rhadamanthys (Homer *Il.* 14.323; 19.99, 119).

Alkyoneus (8.15): Perhaps originally the legendary hero of the Argolid and the Isthmus, then one of the giants. He was killed by Herakles, who buried him under a huge rock, which in antiquity was believed to be on the Thracian isthmus. On the Great Altar of Pergamum, Athena drags the winged Alkyoneus by his hair. Alkyoneus cannot be killed as long as he stands on the soil of his own country. See Pindar *Isthmian* 6.31–35; *Nemean* 4.25–30; Apollodorus *Library* 1.6.1.

Alôadai (8.14): Ôtos and Ephialtês, mythological sons of Iphidameia and her lover Poseidon (Iphidameia's husband was Alôeus). At the age of nine, they reached a height of nine fathoms and a width of nine cubits. After various misdeeds—they bound Ares for thirteen months, tried to marry Hera and Artemis, and threatened the Olympian gods—they were killed by Apollo (Homer *Od.* 11.305–20). In some local traditions they appear as founders of cities. Some accounts claim that their tombs were on Crete, but according to others (*IG* 12.5.56; Diodorus Siculus *Library* 5.51.1–3) they were buried on Naxos, where they had a hero cult. Philostratus (*Her.* 8.14) says that they were buried in Thessaly.

Amaltheia (7.7): She-goat nurse of Zeus whose horn flowed with nectar and ambrosia or, alternatively, a nymph who received the goat's horn from Zeus. Colloquially, the "horn of Amaltheia" (κέρας Ἀμαλθείας) is the horn of plenty or cornucopia.

Amazons (23.26; 56.11–57.17): A mythical race of female warriors thought to inhabit the region near the Thermôdôn river (Diodorus Siculus *Library* 2.45; cf. 3.53–54) and who claimed Ares as their ancestor; they lived apart from men, and their sons were either killed, made lame, or returned to their fathers. On the basis of the presumed etymology "without breast," many ancient writers believed that they had only a single breast, which allowed them to throw the javelin and draw the bow better (Apollodorus *Library* 2.5.9; Strabo *Geography* 11.5.1); the vinedresser offers an alternative etymology focusing on the Amazons' refusal to breast-feed their female children. In sculpture they are usually depicted with two breasts. The Amazons were said to have frequently encountered male warriors (the Phrygians, the Achaean forces at Troy, Herakles, Theseus), by whom the women are defeated; the epic *Aithiopis* features Achilles' simultaneous slaying and falling in love with the Amazon queen Penthesileia.

Amphiaraos (17.1): Son of Oiklês and Hypermnêstra, a seer, who took part in the expedition of the seven princes against Thebes (see entry); he was spared from death by Zeus, who opened up the ground beneath him before he was struck by a spear. In the classical period, a large sanctuary in Ôrôpos (north of Athens), replete with temple, stoas, and theater, made him famous as a healing deity. Other shrines of Amphiaraos were located at Sparta, Corinth, and Mallos in Cilicia (Pausanias *Description of Greece* 1.34.2).

Amphilokhos (17.1): Son of Amphiaraos and Eriphylê, a seer like his father, joined the subsequent attack on Thebes; he also appeared among the heroes before they set forth for Troy (Apollodorus *Library* 3.10.8). With the seer Mopsos he went to Cilicia, where together they founded Mallos. He was also the founder of Amphilokhian Argos in Acarnania and its famous oracle. There were cults of Amphilokhos in Ôrôpos, Athens, Sparta, and Aetolia.

Amphitritê (54.8): Goddess of the sea, married to Poseidon and mother of the Nereids. She was worshipped together with Poseidon, especially on the Cyclades.

Anchises (45.3): Trojan prince, cousin of Priam, king of Dardanos on Mount Ida. He fell in love with Aphrodite, who bore him a son, Aeneas. Because he did not keep this love affair a secret, Zeus made him lame. Aeneas carried his father out of the burning Troy and took him on his journey west. He died on Sicily and was honored with funeral games and a *heroon*, that is, a sanctuary dedicated to him as a hero (Homer *Il.* 2. 819; 5.247, 313; 13.428; 20.239; 23.296; *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*; Virgil *Aeneid* 3–6).

Andros (31.7): Northernmost and second-largest island of the Cyclades.

Anthestêrion (35.9): The "month of the flowers" in Athens (February/March). Tradition maintains that the month was so named because young children were crowned with flowers. The eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth days of this month were dedicated to the festival of Dionysos Limnaios, which culminated in the festive entry of the god on a boat-shaped chariot and his sacred marriage with the wife of the royal archon.

Antilokhos (22.3; 26.7–12, 14–19; 33.39; 48.20): Son of Nestor, king of Pylos, and a good friend of Achilles (Homer *Il.* 23.556). His close association with Achilles and Patroklos in death and cult is a theme of the *Heroikos* (cf. Homer *Od.* 11.466–70; and the *Aithiopis*).

Antiphatês (34.4): King of the mythical Laestrygonians (Homer *Od.* 10.107).

Aphrodite (45.3; 53.5): Goddess of love, beauty, and fertility; daughter of Zeus and Diônê; lover of the Trojan Anchises by whom she bore Aeneas. She was the protector and advocate for Helen and fought on the side of the Trojans. According to Homer (*Il.* 5.334–54) she was wounded by Diomedes when she tried to participate in the battle. Hesiod makes the suggestion (*Theogony* 188–206) that her name comes from ἀφρός ("foam"), that is, from the white foam produced when Kronos castrated his father Ouranos and threw his genitals into the sea.

Apollo (8.6; 25.9; 33.14; 35.12; 39.2; 42.3; 43.5–6; 51.1–2): God of music, archery, prophecy, and medicine, with particular care for flocks and herds. Born with his twin sister

Artemis on Delos, he was son of Zeus and Leto, and was worshipped at Troy as guardian of the Trojans. Often portrayed as the ideal of young manly beauty, usually without a beard. His oracles at Delphi, Klaros, and Branchidae were considered especially authoritative. Λύκιος (generally meaning "Lycian") and Λύκειος (probably meaning "wolf-killer" or "belonging to the wolf") are used as epithets for Apollo, apparently interchangeably. Here Λύκιος still indicates a connection with wolves and with Apollo's role as the guardian of the herds. The epithet Phyxios, "putting to flight," is usually associated with Zeus, but here is linked to Apollo's skill in medicine for averting plagues.

Arcadia (23.14–16; 26.15): The central mountainous area of the Peloponnesus (Homer *Il.* 2.603–11).

Ares (23.13; 23.20; 25.9; 57.3): God of war, son of Zeus and Hera, and the lover of Aphrodite; he fought on the Trojan side in the Trojan War. He was the father of Penthesileia, the queen of the Amazons; together with Artemis he was said to be worshipped by the Amazons. His cult was especially prominent in Thebes and to a lesser extent in Aetolia and Thessaly.

Argos (29.4): City on the Inakhos river in the Argolid on the Peloponnesus. In the *Iliad*, the city belongs to the realm of Diomedes (2.559; 4.52; 14.119) but also appears as a designation of Agamemnon's kingdom (2.108, 115) or of the realm of Achilles (2.681; 6.456). In other instances "Argos" is used as a name for all of Greece (see, e.g., 12.70). The term "Argive" is used in Homer to designate both Helen and the followers of Agamemnon and Menelaos. Homer also refers (*Il.* 4.8; 5.908) to "Argive Hera," and there was an important sanctuary (the Argive Heraion) dedicated to Hera outside Argos and shared with Mycenae from the seventh century B.C.E.

Aryadês (8.5): One of the race of giants.

Asbolos (55.5): One of the Centaurs' leaders in their battle against the Lapiths. According to the *Shield of Herakles*, possibly composed by Hesiod, Asbolos was a diviner, and the Centaurs fought the Lapiths using gold pine trees for weapons (188–89; see also Ovid *Metamorphoses* 12.308).

Asclepiades (28.3): Literally, the sons of Asclepius, the term refers to Podaleirios and Makhaôn (Homer *Il.* 4.204; 11.614; 14.2). In the plural, it also designates a guild of physicians.

Asclepius (32.1; 33.2): The Greek god of healing, son of Apollo and Korônis. He is said to have been killed by the thunderbolt of Zeus when he tried to make human beings immortal. His oldest sanctuaries are Trikka in Thessaly and Epidaurus on the Peloponnesus. Later Cos and Pergamum were important sites of Asclepius sanctuaries.

Assyria (8.5; 19.5–9): An ancient kingdom centered on the upper Tigris valley that at its height of power (911–612 B.C.E.) extended as far north as the Caucasus Mountains and as far west as the Mediterranean Sea. During the eighth century B.C.E., Assyria conquered numerous cities of Syria (Damascus in 732 B.C.E.), Phoenicia (Byblos, Tyre, and Gaza in 734 B.C.E.), and Palestine (Samaria in 722/721 B.C.E.). Assyria may also have been the name of a short-lived province formed by Trajan from the kingdom of Adiabene, but later made independent by Hadrian (Millar, *The Roman Near East*, 100–101).

Asteropaios (48.14–16): Comrade of Sarpêdon, involved in the battle over the body of Patroklos (Homer *Il.* 17.35–741) and in the battle of Achilles with the Scamander River (*Il.* 21.200–341). Asteropaios was the son of Periboia, the eldest daughter of Akessamenos, and Pêlegôn, son of the wide-flowing Axios. In Homer's account of his fight with Achilles, he holds two spears and hits Achilles' shield with one, wounding Achilles' right forearm with the other. His sword and bracelet are among the prizes at the funeral games for Patroklos.

Atalantê (53.21): An island off the coast of Opuntian Locris. In 431 B.C.E., during the Peloponnesian War, the Athenians established a fortification on this previously uninhabited island. In 426 B.C.E. an earthquake and the resulting tidal wave washed away part of the Athenian fort on Atalantê, and one of the two Athenian ships there was destroyed (Thucydides *Peloponnesian War* 2.32; 3.89.3).

Athena (3.1; 6.2; 10.2; 25.9, 13; 31.4–5; 34.2; 45.7): Goddess of wisdom, skill, and stagecraft, she was the daughter of

Zeus. According to Hesiod (*Theogony* 886), her mother was Mêtis, but other versions of her origin, including Pindar *Olympian* 7.35, say that she was born fully adult from Zeus's forehead. A virgin goddess, she is described as expert in battles and often depicted with the aegis and helmet. In the *Iliad*, Athena is protector of the Achaeans, particularly Achilles, Diomedes, and Odysseus. She oversees Odysseus's homecoming, according to the *Odyssey*. Her most prominent cult was on the Acropolis at Athens, where she was regarded as the guardian and patron of the city. She nurtured both Erekhtheus and Erikhthonios (who are sometimes identified with each other), first kings of Athens.

Athens (23.19; 29.4; 35.9–10, 13; 46.2): Chief city of Attica in mainland Greece, sacred to Athena; by legend it was founded by Theseus. In the archaic period, it was a monarchy, then an aristocracy, until after the reforms of Kleisthenes in the sixth century, when it became a democracy. Prominent at that time as a cultural center, it remained so in the Roman period, although its military strength was lost after it sided with Mithridates against Rome.

Atreidai (23.20; 31.1): Agamemnon and Menelaos, the sons of Atreus.

Aulis (7.2; 13.3; 23.3, 11, 19; 26.7; 30.1; 33.3–4; 46.5–6): Located on the coast of Boeotia, opposite Euboea. Here the Greeks assembled before sailing to Troy (Homer *Il.* 2.303).

Axios (48.14): Major river of Macedonia (modern Vardar), which flows into the Thermaic Gulf. It was known already to Homer and praised for its beauty (*Il.* 2.849–50; 21.141).

Babylon (28.10): City in southern Mesopotamia, located on the Euphrates river. After Nabopolassar's defeat of the Assyrian empire (626–606 B.C.E.), Babylon flourished as the capital of the neo-Babylonian empire (605–539 B.C.E.), which eventually extended from Palestine to modern Iran. The infamous neo-Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar II captured the city of Jerusalem in 587/586 B.C.E. and destroyed the temple erected by King Solomon. Babylon itself remained an important city for the Persian and Seleucid empires. For the military exploits of the Persian Empire, see the entry for Cyrus.

Bacchic (7.3): Relating to Dionysos and his cult; the term is derived from "Bacchus," a common cult name for Dionysos, e.g., in the *Bacchae* of Euripides.

Balios and Xanthos (53.16): Literally, "Dappled" and "Golden-haired," the horses of Achilles. According to Homer, they were the immortal offspring of one of the Harpies and the West Wind and possessed great speed (*Il.* 16.145–54). As Achilles rode into battle to avenge Patroklos, Hera gave speech to Xanthos, who predicted Achilles' death at the hands of a god and a mortal (*Il.* 19.404–17).

Black Bay (51.8): The modern Saronic Gulf, that is, the bay between the Thracian Chersonesus and the Greek mainland (Herodotus *Hist.* 6.41; Strabo *Geography* 2.5.21).

Boeotia (28.8): A region in central Greece, bordering on Attica in the south. Its heartland consisted of the plains of Orkhomenos and Thebes. Boeotia possessed many famous oracles, including an oracle of the nymphs in Plataia, a polylingual oracle of Apollo near Akraiphnion, and the oracle of Trophônios in Lebadeia (Pausanias *Description of Greece* 9.11.1; 9.37.4–6; 9.39.4–40.2).

Borysthênes (54.7): A river located in Scythia (the modern Dnieper). Only the Nile and Istros were larger, according to Herodotus (*Hist.* 4.53). The Borysthênes was the chief Greek trade route into Scythia.

Boura (53.21): An Achaean city on the Corinthian gulf, destroyed by the same earthquake that devastated Helikê in 373 B.C.E. According to Pausanias (*Description of Greece* 7.25.8–9), Boura was not inundated with water as was Helikê.

C: see also K

Calliope (43.6; 45.7; 54.12): One of the nine Muses and mother of Orpheus. She was the Muse of epic poetry.

Calydonian affair (46.2): The hunt for the Calydonian boar, who ravaged Aetolia (located on mainland Greece) as punishment because the king, Oineus, neglected to sacrifice the first fruits to Athena. Many ancient heroes were said to have participated in the hunt.

Caria (28.6): A region in southwest Asia Minor.

Cassandra (31.4): Most beautiful daughter of Priam (Homer *Il.* 13.366; 24.699). While Homer does not tell of her mantic ability, later epic and tragedy report the story of the Locrian Ajax's sacrilege and how she was given to Agamemnon who took her back to Mycenae, where she was murdered by Clytemnestra (Aeschylus *Agamemnon*).

Chalcis (43.7–9): A city in Euboea where a poetic contest between Homer and Hesiod is said to have taken place (*Certamen* 315).

Chersonesus (4.2; 9.1; 33.34): The long and narrow peninsula of Thrace that runs along the western side of the Hellespont. At the southern end of the peninsula lay Elaious (see entry), the site of Protesilaos's sanctuary and the setting for this dialogue.

Chios (56.5): A long island in the Aegean lying off the Erythraean peninsula of Asia Minor. It was renowned for its wine, grain, and figs. In antiquity it had a distinguished literary tradition and claimed to be Homer's birthplace (*Certamen* 13–15).

Cilicia (14.4; 17.1): District of southern Asia Minor, settled by Greeks, possibly from the Troad. The seer Mopsos bested Kalkhas in a context (Apollodorus *Epitome* 6.2–4) and along with Amphilokhos founded the oracle at Mallos (Strabo *Geography* 14.5.16).

Circe (25.13): This daughter of Helios and Persêis (or, in some accounts, Hekatê) lived on the island of Aiaia. Odysseus arrived at Aiaia on his way home from Troy. After Circe had bewitched half of his forces, turning them into animals, Odysseus was able to remove the enchantment with the aid of Hermes. Afterwards Circe and Odysseus became lovers, and Odysseus remained with Circe for a year (Homer *Odyssey* 10).

Corinth (53.4): A city located on the isthmus between mainland Greece and the Peloponnesus.

Cos (8.14): One of the twelve islands of the Dodecanesus, it was famous as the birthplace of Hippocrates, among others. A sanctuary of Asclepius and a renowned medical school were located there.

Crete (8.12; 30.1–3): Large island south of the Aegean. It was the domain of King Idomeneus, a suitor of Helen and a commander at Troy.

Cyclopes (1.5; 25.13, 15; 35.8): One-eyed beings who, according to Homer, live in a remote part of the earth. They are without government or laws, and are savage, pastoral beings. The most famous Cyclops in Homer (*Odyssey* 9) is Polyphemos, the son of Poseidon, who traps Odysseus and his men in his cave with the intent of eating them. Odysseus outwits him by getting him drunk with the wine from Marôn and then blinds his single eye. A separate tradition about the Cyclops is known to Hesiod (*Theogony* 139–41), who says that there were three Cyclopes, named Brontês, Steropês, and Argês, all excellent craftsmen and the makers of the divine thunderbolts. According to Callimachus (*Hymn.* 3.46–97), they are associated with Hephaistos and are the builders of the ancient fortifications of Tiryns and other cities of the Argolid (hence "Cyclopean walls").

Cyrus (28.11–12): (d. 529 B.C.E.) King of the Persian Empire. Croesus of Lydia, Nabonidos of Babylon, and Amasis II of Egypt tried to build a strong alliance against him, but to no avail. He defeated and captured Croesus (546 B.C.E.), and Lydia became a satrapy under the Persian government. Cyrus demanded the surrender of the Greek cities under Lydian rule, and they also became satrapies of Persia. Cyrus never conquered Egypt, but the Chaldaean Empire of Babylon fell to him in 538 B.C.E.

Danaans (34.7): The subjects of Danaos, the mythological king of Argos. In the *Iliad* the name Danaans usually appears to be synonymous with Achaeans and Argives as a general designation of the Hellenic forces.

Dardanos (39.3; 56.8): This son of Zeus and Electra migrated from Samothrace to the coast of Asia, where King Teukros gave him part of his kingdom, together with his daughter Batieia. Dardanos built the city that carried his name, and on Teukros's death he called the whole country Dardania. Dardanos's son Erikhthonios was an ancestor of the Trojan kings, and thus in the *Iliad* (2.819) the term "Dardanians"

is used of the Trojans under Aeneas. The patronymic "Dardanides" appears in the *Heroikos*.

Darius (53.16–17): (ca. 380–330 B.C.E.) Darius III ascended to the Persian throne in 336 B.C.E. Darius was defeated by Alexander the Great and was captured in 330 B.C.E.

Dêidameia (46.4): Daughter of king Lykomêdês of Skyros. She was wife of Achilles and mother of their son Neoptolemos.

Deiphobos (26.17; 41.1; 43.3): Trojan hero, son of Priam and Hekabê (see, e.g., Homer *Il.* 12.94; 13.156, 527).

Delos (53.5): A small Aegean island sacred to Apollo.

Delphi (15.2): A sanctuary in Phocis that was the seat of the oracle of the Pythian Apollo and the site of the Pythian Games, athletic competitions similar to those held at Olympia.

Demeter (1.5): Goddess of the fruits of the earth, especially grain, and hence of the fertility of the earth; mother of Persephone (Korê) whose abduction by Hades and return to earth are told in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*. Demeter is worshipped in the Eleusinian mysteries. In art, she is depicted with a scepter, ears of grain, or torches.

Dêmodokos (25.13): The blind bard of King Alkinoos of the Phaeacians, to whom Odysseus tells all his adventures. Demodokos's songs treat the fight between Achilles and Odysseus, the adultery of Aphrodite and Ares, and the story of the wooden horse (Homer *Od.* 8.62–82, 266–369, 482–522).

Deucalion (7.6): Son of Prometheus. The great destruction that took place in his time was the flood that Zeus unleashed to destroy the entire world. Zeus's anger was instigated by the crimes of Lykaôn's sons, who killed their brother and served him to Zeus in a soup. Only Deucalion and his wife Pyrrha were spared from the flood, since they built the ark. After the waters receded, they repopulated the earth at Zeus's instruction by bringing rocks to life.

Diomedes (12.1; 17.3, 6; 23.13, 20, 23; 27.1–6, 8–13; 28.7; 31.1; 33.38): Son of Tydeus and leader of the men from Argos and Tiryns in the Trojan expedition. He was an impetuous and fiery captain. Many of his exploits are recounted by Homer (*Il.* 2.567; 4.406, 421; 5.15, 142, 412; etc.). Diomedes was also one of the Epigonoi, who successfully conquered

Thebes in retaliation for their fathers' earlier defeat (for more on the saga of the Seven Against Thebes, see the entry for Thebes).

Diomedes (45.6): Son of Ares and king of the Bistonians in Thrace, who fed his horses the flesh of strangers. Herakles threw Diomedes to his own horses and took the horses to Mycenae.

Dionysos (1.5; 35.10): According to Hesiod (*Theogony* 940–42), he was the son of Zeus and Semelê, daughter of Kadmos. By tradition, he came from Thrace. He can be characterized as the god of ecstatic religion, of wine and viticulture, and (in association with Apollo and the Muses) of poets and musicians. His cult was important particularly in Boeotia, Attica, and Thrace, and often associated with frenzied, ecstatic worship. His association with the theater derives from festivals in his honor at which poets and musicians competed. Among these festivals was the Greater Dionysia at Athens, which became the occasion for performances of tragic and comic drama.

Dodona (28.8; 53.8): Ancient and famous oracle of Zeus in Epirus, where Zeus was worshipped together with his consort Diônê. The oracle was given through a dove and an oak tree.

Echo (55.3): A nymph vainly loved by Pan; she drove the shepherds mad and they tore her to pieces. Earth hid the fragments, which continued to sing and imitate other sounds.

Egypt (6.3; 15.6–7; 25.10, 12; 26.16; 54.4): An ancient kingdom extending from the southeastern Mediterranean along the Nile valley; in the archaic and classical period it maintained trading relations with Greece. In the fifth century it came under Persian rule until 405 B.C.E., when it again became independent. Captured again by the Persians in 343, Egypt passed to Alexander the Great in 333. After Alexander's death, it became the center of Ptolemaic administration, until it came under Roman control in the second century B.C.E. Egypt was an imperial province, coming directly under the administration of the emperor rather than the Roman senate. In antiquity, Egypt had considerable wealth, derived from a strong agricultural economy and its export of grain and papyrus through the Mediterranean. Its chief cities

were Naukratis, Memphis, and the hellenistic city, Alexandria, founded by Alexander upon his conquest of Egypt.

Ekhinades (54.5): The islands in front of the coast of Acarnania and the estuary of the Akhelôos, today called the Dragonara Islands. It was already noted in antiquity that more and more of these islands were joined to the land because of the silt deposited by the Akhelôos (Herodotus *Hist.* 2.10).

Elaious (6.3): Port city at the southern end of the Thracian Chersonesus and site of the tomb and sanctuary of Protesilaos (Pausanias *Description of Greece* 1.34.2; Thucydides *Peloponnesian War* 8.102.3; Herodotus *Hist.* 7.33.1; Strabo *Geography* 7.frg. 51; 13.1.31). Lucian knows of the oracle of Protesilaos there (*Parliament of the Gods* 12).

Elis (15.9): City in the Peloponnesus that controlled the Olympian games.

Endymion (45.3): A beautiful young man, perhaps a king of Elis or a Carian. Selene, the moon, loved him. In one version, she bore him fifty daughters, supposedly symbolic of the fifty months of an Olympiad (Pausanias *Description of Greece* 5.1.3–5). He keeps his beauty in unceasing slumber (Apollodorus *Library* 1.7.5).

Enkelados (8.7): One of the giants, the sons of Earth, who were born where the blood of Ouranos's genitals fell on the ground, after they had been severed by Kronos. During the battle that the giants fought against the Olympian gods (the "Gigantomachy"), Enkelados fled, but Athena threw the island of Sicily at him and buried him under it; since this did not kill him, his fiery breath still issues forth from the volcano Etna.

Eos (45.3): The dawn goddess. She asked Zeus to make her mortal consort, Tithônos, immortal, but forgot to ask for his eternal youth as well (Homer *Od.* 5.1; *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*).

Epeios (25.13; 34.2): Son of Panopeus and builder of the Trojan horse (Homer *Il.* 23.665).

Erytheia (8.17): The island beyond the Mediterranean Sea in the far west where Geryon lived. Both Pausanias (*Description of*

Greece 1.35.8) and Strabo (*Geography* 3.5.3–4) identify Erytheia as Gades (modern Cadiz), located on the coast of Spain just outside of the Pillars of Herakles (modern Gibraltar).

Ethiopia (8.5; 26.16): This term was usually used to denote any distant, southern region, but since the time of Herodotus, the term referred to the area south of Egypt. Ethiopia was often confused with India, another region located, to the Greek mind, at the furthermost reaches of civilization. The Ethiopian city Meroê, located on the Nile, was influenced by hellenistic culture under the Ptolemies.

Euadnê (11.8): Devoted wife of Kapaneus, who threw herself on his funeral pyre.

Euanthês (17.2): Father of Marôn.

Euboea (29.6; 33.47): An island extending off the coast of Phocis, Boeotia, and Attica, from the Gulf of Pagasae to the island of Andros.

Eudaimôn (15.7): An otherwise unknown athlete, but Eudaimôn may be a pseudonym or nickname for Hermeias the Egyptian (see entry); see P. Lond. 3.1159.48, 82, which mentions "Eudaimôn who is also called Hermaios" and (perhaps his son) "Eudaimôn who is also called Phamon, the son of Hermaios."

Euneôs (28.6): One of the twin sons of Jason and Hypsipylê, whom Jason met and married at Lemnos. According to Homer, Euneôs aided both the Trojans and Achaeans during the war. He sent a large cargo of wine to the Achaeans (*Il.* 7.467–75), and redeemed the captured Lykaôn, Priam's son, from Patroklos (*Il.* 23.746–47).

Euphorbus (26.17; 33.39, 41; 42.1–2; 43.3): Trojan hero, son of Panthous (Homer *Il.* 16.808, 850; 17.59, 81). A descendant of Dardanos of Samothrace, he was the first to wound Patroklos and was then killed by Menelaos (Homer *Il.* 16.806–15; 17.1–81), who dedicated his shield in the Heraion of Argos. Pythagoras claimed to be a reincarnation of Euphorbus.

Euripides (4.1; 34.7): (ca. 485–406 B.C.E.) One of the three great Attic tragedians. The titles of eighty-one of his plays are known, although only nineteen are extant. *Oineus*, the king

of Calydon who was deposed by nephews, is the title of a lost play by Euripides (Aristophanes *Acharnians* 418–19).

Euripos (43.9): The strait that separates Euboea from Boeotia.

Europe (28.11; 31.2): Originally a name for central Greece (*Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 251, 291). This term soon was applied to the entire Greek mainland.

Eurusakês (35.9): Son of Ajax the Greater and Tekmêssa. Eurusakês moved from Salamis to Attica and founded an important Athenian family (Sophocles *Ajax* 575; Plutarch *Solon* 10). Pausanias (*Description of Greece* 1.35.3) notes that there was an altar of Eurusakês in Athens.

Fates (2.11; 33.2, 47; 44.2; 45.7; 54.4): Known in Greek as the Moirai and in Latin as the Parcae, these divinities were characterized as spinners, in accordance with the image found in epic depicting human life as a thread spun by the gods, who wrap it around the person as though around a spindle. According to Hesiod (*Theogony* 904–6), there are three Fates: Klôthô ("the spinner"), Lakhesis ("the one who assigns the lot"), and Atropos ("the unchanging one"); they are the children of Zeus and Themis. The Fates are often associated with birth and marriage, key periods for the destiny of a person, and are included, for example, in depictions of the wedding of Peleus and Thetis.

Geryon (8.17; 26.3): A three-headed or three-bodied monster, who had many cattle and lived on an island in the stream Okeanos with his herdsman Eurytiôn and his formidable double-headed dog Orthos. The tenth labor of Herakles was his abduction of the cattle; Herakles brought the cattle to Mycenae and dedicated them to Hera. According to Philostratus, Neleus and eleven of his twelve sons (only Nestor did not participate in the act) stole these cattle from Herakles.

Giants (8.6–16): A mythological race, which according to Hesiod were offspring of Gê (Earth) and Ouranos, but according to Homer were savage warriors. The Gigantomachy, the war between the Olympian gods and the giants, was only won by the Olympians with the help of the mortal Herakles (Apollodorus *Library* 1.6.1–2; Pindar *Pythian* 8.12–20).

The giants (or "Titans," as they are sometimes called) were thought to have been buried beneath volcanoes. According to Pausanias (*Description of Greece* 8.29.3–4) the giant Orontes had "a human body in every detail," and early depictions of the giants on vase paintings show them as human-like warriors. Apollodorus (*Library* 1.6.1–3), however, described the serpentine aspects of the giants, a portrayal confirmed by later artistic renderings of the giants with a human torso and serpent-like legs (e.g., on the Great Altar of Pergamum).

Glaukê (53.4): The daughter of Creon, king of Corinth, she became engaged to Jason. According to Euripides' *Medea*, after Glaukê became engaged to Jason, she was killed by a poisoned robe given to her by Medea, Jason's spurned wife.

Glaukos (39.2): With his companion Sarpêdon, he commanded the Lycian contingent at Troy (Homer *Il.* 2.876–77). In the fight around the city he found himself facing Diomedes in battle, but both recalled their familial ties of friendship. Diomedes gave Glaukos his own weapons, which were bronze, and Glaukos gave him his own, which were gold (Homer *Il.* 6.119–236). Glaukos died at Ajax's hands during the battle to recover Achilles' body (Apollodorus *Epitome* 5.3–4). According to the fourth-century C.E. epic poet Quintus of Smyrna (*Fall of Troy* 4.1–12), the winds, at the behest of Apollo, seized Glaukos's corpse from the funeral pyre and carried it to Lycia for burial, where the nymphs caused the river "Glaukos" to flow around his grave.

Gorgons (25.7–8): Female monsters with a round face, wings, snakes for hair, and whose gaze could change human beings into stone. The most famous Gorgon, Medusa, was killed by Perseus who avoided her deadly glare by looking at her reflection in his shield (Hesiod *Theogony* 270–80; *Shield of Herakles* 223–37; Apollodorus *Library* 2.4.2). Her figure is a common apotropaic symbol.

Graces (29.2): The three goddesses—or two depending on the tradition—were daughters of Zeus, who personify grace, charm, and beauty. Their gifts are physical, intellectual, artistic, and moral (see Hesiod *Theogony* 907–11).

Gyges (8.3): Founder of the Lydian dynasty of the Mermnads (ca. 685 B.C.E.). He was the first Lydian king to make war on the Asiatic Greeks. According to Plato (*Republic* 359d), when Gyges was a shepherd, he descended into a chasm in the earth and there found a hollow bronze horse containing a corpse, from the finger of which he took a gold ring. When he wore this ring, it made him invisible. With its help, he committed adultery with the queen, murdered her husband, and usurped the throne.

Gyrian rock (31.7): The site of the death of Ajax the Lesser. Poseidon drove Ajax onto this rock; when Ajax boasted that he had saved himself from the gods' wrath, Poseidon split the rock apart and Ajax perished (Homer *Od.* 4.499–511).

Hades (11.7–8; 21.8; 25.9; 34.4; 35.10): Properly, the name Hades denotes the god of the dead, the lord of the underworld. By classical times, however, it also came to stand for the House of Hades, that is, the underworld where the dead go. The god is presented as a judge of wrongful acts, not as a tormentor. The famous journey of Odysseus to Hades appears in Book 11 (the Nekyia) of the *Odyssey*.

Hadrian (8.1): 76–138 C.E. Born in Spain and adopted son of Trajan, Hadrian became emperor of Rome in 117 C.E. Much of his reign was spent touring the provinces (he visited Troy in 123 C.E.), during which time he funded the building of cities, temples, and sanctuaries.

Haimos (23.13, 20, 23): According to Protesilaos, Haimos was the son of Ares and a participant in the battle at Mysia prior to the Trojan War. He was a formidable warrior, who was only killed by the combined force of Palamedes, Diomedes, and Sthenelos. Protesilaos does not clearly identify Haimos's city of origin. Haimos is not mentioned by Homer and thus should be considered another of Protesilaos's examples of great heroes overlooked by Homer.

Halter (14.4): An otherwise unknown athlete.

Halys (57.4): Longest river of Anatolia, forming the border between Cappadocia and Phrygia, and issuing into the Black Sea or Pontus.

Hekabê (51.4): Daughter of Dymas. She was Priam's wife and queen in Troy; Hektor and Paris were two of their sons.

Hektor (18.4–20.1; 23.22; 25.11, 13; 26.17, 20; 33.12; 37.1–38.3; 42.2–3; 48.11, 17–22; 51.4; 56.7): Son of Priam and Hekabê and husband of Andromache, the most excellent and distinguished of Trojan heroes, feared by the Greeks more than anyone else among the defenders of Troy. He was killed by Achilles (Homer *Il.* 22.326). His body was delivered to Priam, and the Trojans gave him a proper burial (Homer *Il.* 24.486–804).

Helen (2.9; 23.28–29; 24.2; 25.10–12; 31.2; 40.3; 54.3–8, 12; 56.9): Daughter of Zeus and Leda, although another version of her birth says that she hatched from an egg laid by her mother Nemesis and was cared for by Leda (Apollodorus *Library* 3.10.7). Helen was the wife of Menelaos; according to Homer, she was abducted to Troy by Paris and became his wife there, thus provoking the Trojan War (see, e.g., *Il.* 2.160, 356; 3.173–75, 426). Competing stories of this event exist: Hesiod (frg. 176.7 [Merkelbach and West]) says that Helen went with Paris as far as Egypt but that she remained there while he brought her image (εἴδωλον) to Troy. The lyric poet Stesichorus is said to have been blinded by the gods for telling a version of her abduction to Troy that was parallel to Homer's account and which blamed Helen. Stesichorus then composed two recantations, rejecting the stories of both Homer and Hesiod and affirming that Helen did not go to Troy; Helen thereupon restored his sight (PMG 192, 193; Plato *Phaedrus* 243a; Isocrates *Helen* 64–66). Herodotus likewise denies that Helen was in Troy; she spent the war in the court of Prôteus in Memphis, and after the war Menelaos retrieved both her and the property stolen by Paris (*Hist.* 2.112–20). Dio Chrysostom offers a more radical solution to the apparent problem of Helen's presence in Troy: Helen was lawfully married to Paris, not Menelaos (*Troikos* 53), and the war resulted from Agamemnon's fear of Paris's further influence among the Hellenes (*Troikos* 61–64). Furthermore, it was Helen herself who blinded the offending Stesichorus (*Troikos* 40). Pausanias reports a tradition that after the Trojan War Helen married

Achilles and lived with him on the White Island (*Description of Greece* 3.19.11–13). In the *Odyssey*, however, Helen is pictured as living happily with Menelaos in Lacedaemonia in Sparta. A hero cult for Helen is attested in Sparta and elsewhere.

Helenos (41.1; 43.3): Trojan hero, a seer and warrior, he was the son of Priam, (Homer *Il.* 7.44; 12.94; 13.576). After the fall of Troy, he was carried off by Neoptolemos, who gave Andromache to him as wife. They settled in Epirus, which they made a "little Troy." When Aeneas encountered them in Epirus, Helenos prophesied to Aeneas his future wanderings, his arrival in Italy, and the sign by which he would know where to establish a city (Virgil *Aeneid* 3.294–505).

Helikê (53.21): An Achaean city on the Corinthian gulf destroyed by an earthquake and tidal wave in 373 B.C.E. The city, it was said, sank into the sea. According to Pausanias (*Description of Greece* 7.24.5–13), this devastation was a punishment from Poseidon because the inhabitants of Helikê had expelled suppliants from his sanctuary.

Helios (20.3; 33.6): The sun god. Helios is usually depicted as a charioteer, driving eastward across the sky. "Helios" is the Greek word for "sun."

Helix (15.8–10): Aurelius Helix, a Phoenician athlete of considerable talent and renown (see also Philostratus *On Gymnastics* 46). In addition to his Olympic victories (209/213 and 213/217 C.E.), he also won both the wrestling and the pancratium at the Capitoline Games of 219 C.E. Dio Cassius offers an alternative version of Helix's troubles at Olympia: The officials at Elis feared that Helix would be the eighth athlete to achieve Herakles' feat of winning the pancratium and wrestling on the same day (Pausanias *Description of Greece* 5.8.4; 5.21.10); not wishing to award him this honor, they conspired so that Helix would miss the wrestling competition (Dio Cassius *Roman History* 80.10; see also Rachel Sargent Robinson, *Sources for the History of Greek Athletics in English Translation* [Cincinnati: n.p., 1955], 171, 267–68). For the most recent compilation of references to Olympic victories and their dates, see Moretti, *Olympionikai* and

its supplements, "Supplemento al catalogo degli Olympionikai," *Klio* 52 (1970): 295–303; and "Nuovo Supplemento al catalogo degli Olympionikai," *Miscellanea greca e romana* 12 (1987): 67–91. It is likely that this Helix is pictured as a pancratist on a mosaic at Ostia found in the so-called Caupona of Alexander; see C. P. Jones, "The Pancratists Helix and Alexander on an Ostian Mosaic," *JRA* 11 (1998): 293–98.

Hellas (13.3; 33.4, 31; 35.5; 40.3; 43.11; 51.13; 53.15): Originally the name of a town or district in Thessaly. It later came to mean the country or land of the ancient Greeks.

Hellenes/Hellenic (passim): Originally the name of a tribe in southern Thessaly (Homer *Il.* 2.683–85), eventually the term referred to the Greek people in general.

Hellespont (8.6; 22.4; 33.16; 57.8, 13): The strait between the Troad and Thrace, now called the Dardanelles.

Heloros and Aktaios (23.13–14; see also 23.22–23): In Pergamene legend, sons of the river god Istros (Danube) and allies of Têlephos, who were killed by the greater Ajax. They are portrayed on the Têlephos frieze of the Great Altar of Pergamum.

Hephaistos (25.3, 9; 28.5; 47.5): Son of Hera, husband of Aphrodite, and often associated with volcanoes, he is the god of fire and known as the smith of the gods. Born lame and ugly, he was thrown out of Olympus into the sea by Hera, whereupon he was rescued by Thetis and Eurynomê and cared for by the Nereids. He was later cast out of Olympus again, this time by Zeus. On this occasion, he landed on Lemnos. Because of their welcome, he established a forge on the island and staffed it with Cyclopes. As the divine artisan, he crafted many famous articles, notably, Achilles' armor. He also defended Achilles against the river Scamander by drying up the river with his fire.

Herakles (7.5; 8.14, 17; 23.9; 26.3–5; 28.1–3; 32.1; 35.1, 5–6; 39.3; 53.1; 55.5–6): Son of Alkmênê and Zeus and widely worshipped Greek hero. Associated with Herakles are the stories of various "labors" or trials, told variously but usually as a cycle of twelve episodes. They were as follows:

capture of the hide of the Nemean lion, killing of the many-headed Hydra, capture of the Erymanthian boar—a task that involved a battle with the Centaurs and Herakles' accidental wounding and death of his friend Kheirôn—capture of the golden-horned hind, driving off the bronze-beaked birds of Ares, cleaning the stables of Augeas, capture of the Cretan bull, capture of the man-eating mares of Diomedes, procuring the girdle of the Amazon queen Hippolytê, capture of the cattle of Geryon, acquisition of the golden apples of Hesperides, and capture of Cerberus from Hades. Theban versions of the labors include Herakles' conquest of Orkhomenos, killing the lion of Mount Kithairôn, and bedding the fifty daughters of Thespius. After his labors were completed, Herakles went with Telamôn to attack Troy in order to avenge injustices done to him during his labors. His death on Mount Oitê, assisted by Poias, was tragic, but he attained deification on Olympus.

Hermeias the Egyptian (15.6): An Olympic boxer. A papyrus from 194 C.E. (P. Lond. 3.1178) records the membership in an athletic guild of a boxer from Hermopolis named Herminus (also known as Môros or Môron). Herminus's family had been important in the Hermopolis gymnasium for three generations (P. Lond. 3.935). Perhaps Hermeias the Egyptian is to be identified with this Herminus; this identification is problematic, however, if one follows Moretti's dating of his opponent Ploutarkhos's Olympic victory to 205 C.E., since in 194 Herminus was already twenty-seven years old.

Hermes (6.1; 25.9; 33.36): Son of Zeus and Maia, a daughter of Atlas, Hermes was the divine messenger and guide, often represented as a herald with hat, sandals, and caduceus or herald's staff. He is particularly associated with Arcadia (see entry) and was said to have been born on Mount Cyllene. He is the trickster god, protector of travelers, and guide of the dead. Apollodorus (*Epitome* 3.30) relates the story that Hermes brought Protesilaos out of Hades. Hermes also has a connection with fertility, and phallic statues set up along roadways are known as "herms." According to various traditions, in addition to inventing sandals and the lyre, the infant Hermes stole fifty of Apollo's cattle, hid them in a cave at

Pylos (see entry), and offered two of them as the first sacrifices to the gods. With his lyre, however, he enchanted Apollo and was forgiven. The reference in *Her.* 25.9 to contending with the children of Leto probably refers to this story.

Hesiod (25.3, 7; 43.7–9): Poet of the late eighth century B.C.E. and author of the *Theogony*, *Works and Days*, and perhaps the *Shield*, a poem about Herakles' fight with Kyknos.

Hiera (23.27–29): Wife of Têlephos, king of Mysia. According to the *Heroikos*, during the Trojan War she led the Mysian women against the Greeks. She was famous for her beauty, which is said to have surpassed Helen's. She has been identified with the female warrior depicted on the Têlephos frieze of the Great Altar of Pergamum.

Homer (passim): The supposed author of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Tradition holds that he was a blind epic singer. Many cities claimed to be his birthplace, most notably Smyrna and Chios, where the Homeridai, who claimed descent from him, lived. Hadrian consulted the Delphic oracle as to Homer's birthplace and received an answer that coheres with Protesilaos's claim of Homer's special relationship with Odysseus: Homer hailed from Ithaca and his father was Telemachus, Odysseus's son (*Certamen* 314). Professional itinerant singers recited Homer's poems throughout Asia Minor and Greece, though his poems were first written down only in the sixth century B.C.E. On the criticism of Homer's poems, see the Introduction.

Hyacinthus (45.6): One of a number of semidivine heroes known for his beauty. Apollo was among those smitten by his beauty. When Hyacinthus was killed while throwing a discus, Apollo made his friend's name immortal by transforming the blood from Hyacinthus's wound into a new flower, the hyacinth.

Hyllas (26.4; 45.6): The young son of Theiodamas who participated with Herakles in the expedition of the Argonauts. During a landing in Mysia, Herakles went to cut a tree to make an oar, while Hyllas (usually written Hylas) left to draw water from a nearby spring. At the edge of the spring

he encountered nymphs who, seeing his great beauty, lured him into the spring where he drowned.

Hyllos (8.14): Two sons of Herakles bear the name Hyllos. Hyllos, the son of Herakles and Dêianeira, killed his kinsman Eurystheus, who had imposed on Herakles the twelve labors. Hyllos later misinterpreted the Delphic oracle's advice about when to conquer Eurystheus' kingdom and died during the ill-fated invasion (Apollodorus *Library*. 2.8.2; cf. Herodotus *Hist*. 9.26; Pausanias *Description of Greece* 8.5.1). The other Hyllos, the son of Herakles and Melitê, is less well known (Apollonius of Rhodes *Argonautica* 4.537–51) and is associated with Dalmatia, Illyria, or Thrace. Hyllos has no direct connection with Phrygia. Perhaps the tradition known to Philostratus has conflated Hyllos with Hyllas (see entry), with Hyllos the son of Gê, or with the Phrygian river Hyllos (see Pausanias *Description of Greece* 1.35.8).

Hymnaios of Peparêthos (8.9): An acquaintance of the vinedresser, whom the vinedresser claims to be a contemporary and reliable witness of the recent discovery of the huge skeletons of ancient heroes and giants.

Hypnos (39.4): The personification of sleep, he was the son of Nyx (Night) and Erebos and the twin of Thanatos (Death).

Ida (26.15; 31.9; 33.14, 41): Wooded mountain range south and east of Troy. Zeus and Cybele were worshipped on its highest peak, Gargaron.

Idomeneus (30.1): Leader of the Cretan forces (Homer *Il*. 2.645) and one of Helen's suitors.

Ikos (8.9): Island of the northern Sporades just east of Peparêthos and today officially called Alonnisos. In antiquity, the tomb of Peleus was believed to be on the island (*Anthologia Palatina* 7.2.9).

Ilion (passim): Another name for the city of Troy. The name "Ilion" derives from its eponymous founder Ilos, the son of Trôs. After Ilos traveled from Dardania to Phrygia and won an athletic contest there, an oracle instructed the local king to award Ilos a spotted cow; Ilos was commanded to follow the cow and found a city where the she came to rest (Apollodorus *Library* 3.12.3).

Ilissos (35.9): A river in Attica, which flows near the southeast walls of Athens.

Imbros (8.11–12): An island in the Thracian Sea off the coast of Troy (Homer *Il.* 13.33).

India (8.5; 53.17): Believed by the Greeks to lie in the farthest reaches of the East, Indians were often confused with Ethiopians, another people believed to inhabit the edges of the world. Little was known about India until Alexander's conquests (327–325 B.C.E.).

Ionia (1.1; 8.6; 23.30; 28.10; 42.1; 43.7): The central part of the west coast of Asia Minor. Named for Ion, the legendary father of the Ionians, whose name is twice used here (1.1; 42.1) to designate one who comes from Ionia.

Iphis (33.43): Slave girl of Patroklos, given to him by Achilles (Homer *Il.* 9.667).

Ismaros (17.2; 34.3): Capital of the Thracian tribe of the Kikones, according to Strabo (*Geography* 7.frg. 44), located on the Aegean coast of Thrace near Maroneia and opposite Samothrace. The area is known for its excellent wine. According to Homer (*Od.* 9.40), the town was destroyed by Odysseus.

Issêdonians (28.12): Scythian tribe located southeast of the Aral Sea. They are often named together with the Massagetai. Their primary area of residence was Chinese East-Turkestan in central Asia, and they controlled important parts of the silk road.

Istros (23.14, 20; 28.12; 54.7): The Greeks gave this name to the lower Danube, although the identification with the Danube was not made until the first century B.C.E. The Istros flowed through Thrace and into the Pontus along its northwestern shore; in the Roman period the Danube was the northern limit of the empire. The highly revered river god Istros was considered the son of Okeanos.

Italy (8.15): Originally the name for the southern "toe" of modern Italy. By the third century B.C.E. it included the entire region south of Cisalpine Gaul.

Ithaca (25.15; 33.4, 8, 31; 34.3; 43.12): An island off the northwest coast of Greece in the Ionian Sea. It was the home of Odysseus.

Jason (28.6): Father of Euneôs and leader of the Argonauts. On Jason's betrayal of Medea, see Medea and Glaukê.

Kaikos (23.25–28): A river in Mysia (northwestern Asia Minor; Strabo *Geography* 12.8.2; Herodotus *Hist.* 7.42).

Kalkhas (23.5; 33.7; 35.15; 41.1): Seer of the Achaean army who guided the fleet to Troy. According to Homer he "knew all things that were, the things to come and the things past" (Homer *Il.* 1.70 [Lattimore]). He told the future by observing birds and made many prophecies concerning the Trojan War, for example, the crucial role of Achilles and Philoktêtês, the length of the war, and the return of Khrysêis (Homer *Il.* 1.69–72; 2.300).

Kapaneus (11.8; 27.1–3; 33.30): Son of Hipponoos, father of Sthenelos, and one of the seven leaders to attack Thebes on behalf of Polyneikês (for more on the saga of the Seven Against Thebes, see the entry for Thebes). In this first attack upon Thebes Kapaneus was killed by Zeus's thunderbolt just as he was about to scale the Theban walls, boasting that not even Zeus could keep him out of the city. The vinedresser here relies upon the story in which the Athenian king Theseus attacked Thebes and buried the dead heroes in Eleusis, where Euadnê, the wife of Kapaneus, threw herself on his funeral pyre. The sons of the seven leaders, the Epigonoi, mounted a successful attack against Thebes ten years later.

Kheirôn (32.1–2; 33.1–2; 45.4–6; 48.5): Among the violent and sexually uncontrollable Centaurs, Kheirôn stands out as civilized and wise. Born an immortal, he lived in a cave on Mount Pelion in Thessaly. He was judicious and kind to humans. His knowledge covered music, martial arts, hunting, ethics, and medicine (Homer *Il.* 4.219; 11.832; 16.143; Apollodorus *Library* 3.4.4; 3.10.3). He helped Peleus to win Thetis; when she deserted Peleus, Peleus gave their son Achilles to Kheirôn to raise (Euripides *Iphigenia at Aulis* 206–9; 1058–79; Apollodorus *Library* 3.13.5–6). Kheirôn relinquished his immortality to Prometheus in order to escape the unbearable pain caused by his accidental wounding by Herakles (Apollodorus *Library* 2.5.4, 11; Pausanias *Description of Greece* 5.5.10).

Khrysês (25.16): A priest of Apollo and the father of Khrysêis, a woman held as captive spoil by Agamemnon. Homer (*Il.* 1.11) recounts that Khrysês came to ransom his daughter, but Agamemnon refused and so dishonored him, thus causing offense to Apollo. Apollo then sent a plague on the Achaeans. The return of Khrysêis to her father so as to appease Apollo and Agamemnon's seizure of Achilles' slave woman Briseis as compensation caused the wrath of Achilles and his withdrawal from the fighting (Homer *Il.* 1.318–56).

Kikones (34.3): A Thracian tribe living between the rivers Nestos and Hebros, near the Aegean coast. They supported Troy in the Trojan War (Homer *Il.* 2.846). After his departure from Troy, Odysseus sacked Ismaros and destroyed them in battle (Homer *Od.* 9.39–61).

Kôkytos (58.3): A stream in southern Epirus and one of the rivers of Hades, running parallel to the river Styx. The souls of the dead had to cross it before they could reach the kingdom of Hades.

Kyknos (25.7): Son of Ares and robber of those bringing gifts to Apollo at Delphi. According to one legend, Herakles killed him at the precinct of Apollo and took his armor. Philostratus here attributes a work describing the shield of Kyknos to Hesiod. The poem *The Shield of Herakles*, which describes the shield that Herakles used in his fight against Kyknos, is usually now attributed to Hesiod.

Lacedaemonians (8.3): The people who inhabited the kingdom of Lacedaemonia, son of Zeus and Taygetê. Lacedaemonia married Sparta, the daughter of Emotas, and Sparta gave her name to the capital of the kingdom inhabited by the Lacedaemonians.

Laestrygonians (25.13): Man-eating giants who destroyed all of Odysseus's ships except his own by throwing rocks at them, spearing like fish all the men in the ships, and then eating them (Homer *Od.* 10.80–132).

Laodameia (2.7–9; 11.1, 8): Daughter of Akastos and Astydameia, and wife of Protesilaos. Her extreme love for Protesilaos is mentioned by Homer (*Il.* 2.694–702) and is the subject of a poem of Catullus (68) and Ovid (*Heroides* 13), in which

Laodameia embraces a wax image of Protesilaos. Later versions say that after Protesilaos's death, Hermes guided him back from the underworld to see his wife for three hours; upon his parting she either died from grief or stabbed herself to death, and thus went with him as he returned to Hades (Apollodorus *Epitome* 3.30; Hyginus *Fabulae* 103). Hyginus records another story in which Laodameia threw herself into a fire when her father ordered the wax image burned (*Fabulae* 104).

Laomedôn (35.1): King of Troy and father of Priam. Herakles offered to kill a sea monster that threatened Laomedôn's daughter. (The monster was Poseidon's punishment for Laomedôn's refusal to pay Poseidon and Apollo for their construction of the city's walls.) Laomedôn agreed to give Herakles Zeus's magic horses, which had been given to Troy in exchange for Ganymede, a Trojan youth whom the gods wanted for their cup–bearer, but once again Laomedôn's promise proved empty. Herakles attacked Troy and slew Laomedôn and his sons, except for Priam.

Lemnos (8.11; 28.2, 4; 28.5–7; 52.3; 53.5): Island in the northern Aegean southwest of Imbros and directly opposite Troy. Lemnos was colonized by the Athenians as early as the sixth century B.C.E., and except for a few brief periods, the Athenians retained control of Lemnos through the Roman period. According to Homer, Hephaistos landed on Lemnos when Zeus threw him out of Olympus (*Il.* 1.590–94), and Hephaestia (modern Palaiopolis) on the northeastern peninsula of Lemnos was perhaps Hephaistos's most important cult site. The nearby site of Mosykhlos, whose soil was high in silica content, was famous through the Middle Ages for its healing effects. One of the island's most famous legends concerns Aphrodite's curse upon the Lemnian women for neglecting her worship: Their resulting foul smell alienated them from their husbands, who turned instead to Thracian slave-girls. The Lemnian women murdered all the men of the island, although Hypsipylê allowed her father Thoas the king to escape (according to Herodotus Thoas was murdered; *Hist.* 6.138). The island remained entirely female until the arrival of Jason, who fathered Euneôs and Thoas by

Hypsipylê. The term "Lemnian deed" for a shocking crime has its origin in this legend and a later atrocity on Lemnos, namely, the slaughter of captured Athenian women and their children (Herodotus *Hist.* 6.138). The vinedresser's reference to the mixing of an initiation rite with offerings to the dead seems to refer not to a cult of Achilles, but to the initiatory cult of the Kabeiroi, who were also worshipped on Imbros and Samothrace; the foundations of an *anaktoron* and *telesterion*, as well as numerous inscriptions, have been discovered on Lemnos.

Leonidas of Rhodes (56.11): The most famous Olympic runner, Leonidas competed in four successive Olympiads (164–152 B.C.E.) and gained twelve victories (Pausanias *Description of Greece* 6.13.4; Philostratus *On Gymnastics* 33; Sextus Julius Africanus *Chronographies* Olympiad 154–57 [Moretti, *Olympionikai*, 618–20, 622–24, 626–28, 633–35]).

Lepetumnos (33.49): Mountain on the north side of the island of Lesbos and site of the sanctuary of the hero Lepetumnos. Other ancient commentators on Homer place Palamedes' sanctuary on this mountain.

Lesbos (28.7–10, 13; 33.28, 49): An island and city opposite the region of Mysia on the coast of Asia Minor, south of Troy.

Leto (25.9): The mother of Apollo and Artemis by Zeus. Pursued by the relentless and jealous Hera, Leto had to give birth to the divine twins on a small island, subsequently called Delos. Leto was beloved to her children, who made every effort to defend her. They slaughtered the sons and daughters of Niobê for the sake of Leto's reputation, they killed Tityos because he tried to mimic her, and because the Python had threatened her, Apollo killed it at Delphi.

Leukê (54.6): An island sacred to Achilles (Pindar *Nemean* 4.49; Euripides *Iphigeneia in Tauris* 436–38). According to Pausanias (*Description of Greece* 3.19.11), this island was located in the Black Sea at the mouth of the Istros. Pausanias relates the experience of the island's first visitor, Leonymos of Croton, who claimed to have seen not only Achilles on the island, but also both Ajaxes, Patroklos, Antilokhos, and Helen (*Description of Greece* 3.19.11–13). Strabo locates the island near the mouth of the Dnieper (*Geography* 7.3.16) and

Herodotus mentions the existence of a cult of Achilles in Olbia in the Crimea (*Hist.* 4.55). For the archaeological evidence of a cult of Achilles in the area of Olbia and on a small island southeast of the Istros delta, see Guy Hedreen, "The Cult of Achilles in the Euxine," *Hesperia* 60 (1991) 313–30.

Libya (33.11): Greek name for the African continent.

Locris (23.20; 31.1; 31.9; 33.30; 49.3; 53.21): A district in east-central Greece, the domain of Ajax the Lesser.

Lycia (35.3; 39.1–2, 4): A district on the southern coast of Asia Minor, the domain of Sarpêdon and Glaukos. Apollo is said to have had a palace there.

Lydia (8.3): A territory in western Asia Minor, north of Caria and south of Mysia; its capital was Sardis. King Croesus (mid-sixth century B.C.E.) was its most famous ruler.

Lykomêdês (46.2–4): King of the Dolopians on the island of Skyros. He killed Theseus by throwing him from a high rock, because he feared him as a rival. Achilles married Lykomêdês' daughter Dêidameia.

Lyrnêssos (33.28–29): A city on the Troad, the home of Briseis, who was the dearly loved slave of Achilles.

Maiôtis (54.3, 8): The present-day Sea of Azov, north of the Black Sea and connected with it through the Cimmerian Bosporus. In antiquity its size was usually overestimated.

Marôn (1.4; 17.2): A priest of Apollo in Thracian Ismaros, who gave Odysseus the wine that made the Cyclops Polyphemos drunk (Homer *Od.* 9.197). His cult was established in Thracian Maroneia, which he is said to have founded.

Massagetai (28.12): General term for the people living east of the Caspian Sea. The term is often used synonymously with the designations Scythians and Eastern Scythians. The Massagetai defeated and killed the Persian king Cyrus in 529 B.C.E. (Herodotus *Hist.* 1.204–16; Strabo *Geography* 11.8.2–8).

Medea (53.4): Daughter of the king of Colchis, commonly known as a witch. Medea fell in love with Jason, betrayed her father, and fled with Jason. According to Euripides' *Medea*, after Medea and Jason settled in Corinth, King Creon offered

Jason his daughter Glaukê as his wife. Outraged by this betrayal, Medea killed Glaukê, Creon, and her own two sons. In an earlier version of the myth, Medea was the rightful queen of Corinth and her children, although promised immortality by Hera, died in her sanctuary (Eumelus *Corinthiaca*; see also Pausanias *Description of Greece* 2.3.6–8). In any case they later became the object of cultic worship in Corinth (Euripides *Medea* 1378–83).

Median/Mede(s) (7.6; 9.5): The Medes, an Indo-European people closely related to the Persians, defeated the Assyrians in 612 B.C.E. and gained control of Iran and Cappadocia until their defeat by Cyrus in 549 B.C.E. The term "Median" continued to be used to refer to Persian affairs. The Persian expansion to the west resulted in multiple conflicts with the Greeks in the fifth century B.C.E. Under Darius I, Mardonius captured Thrace and Macedonia. In 492 Darius's attempt to control the mainland was prevented by the Greek victory at Marathon. In 480 Darius' son Xerxes launched a campaign against Greece and, despite the alliance between Athens and Sparta, quickly gained control of central Greece: The oracle at Delphi and even Athens itself fell to the Persians. The Greek naval victory at Salamis forced Xerxes to return to Asia, and in 479 the Greeks defeated the Persians at Plataia. The Persian threat and their ultimate defeat gave the Greeks a sense of unity and increased their conviction of the superiority of their language, religion, and way of life.

Meliboia (28.4): A Thessalian city and the home of Philoktêtês, one of Helen's suitors, who joined the Trojan expedition but failed to reach Troy because he was bitten by a snake during a sacrifice at Tenedos.

Melikertês (53.4): The younger son of Inô, who drowned along with his mother. Inô was fleeing Athamas, the father of her children, who had been driven mad by the gods. Zeus transformed Inô into the goddess Leukothea. At the place where Inô cast herself into the sea, the body of Melikertês was retrieved by a dolphin who hung the body on a pine tree. Sisyphus instituted the worship of Melikertês under the name Palaimôn and founded the Isthmian Games in his honor.

Memnôn (26.16, 19): Legendary king of Ethiopia; son of the goddess Eos and Tithônos; nephew of Priam. The lost archaic epic *Aithiopis* treated the events of the Trojan War after those in *Iliad*, including the arrival of the Amazons, Memnôn's killing of Antilokhos, the slaying of Memnôn by Achilles, the death of Achilles at the hands of Aeneas and Apollo, and the fight of Odysseus and Ajax over Achilles' weapons. In this account Memnôn wore armor fashioned by Hephaistos; after his death, his mother obtained immortality for him from Zeus. Homer's *Odyssey* (4.188) mentions the death of Antilokhos by the son of Eos, presumably Memnôn. Philostratus assigns the slaying of Antilokhos to "another Memnôn," a young Trojan hero, whom he distinguishes from the Ethiopian Memnôn. Philostratus elsewhere denies that the Ethiopian Memnôn ever came to Troy (*Life of Apollonius* 6.4). The legendary Ethiopian king Memnôn had already been conflated with the Egyptian Pharaoh Amenophis III (14th century B.C.E.), whose name was understood by the Greeks to be a reference to the well-known Memnôn. The so-called Colossi of Memnôn were seated figures, twenty meters high, in front of the Temple of Amenophis III, located on the Nile near the Valley of the Kings. When one of the statues was broken in the earthquake of 27 B.C.E., small fragments of it flew off with a singing sound as the rays of the rising sun heated the stone (Strabo *Geography* 17.1.46; Philostratus *Imagines* 1.7; *Life of Apollonius* 6.4). This phenomenon was a tourist attraction during the Roman period until Septimius Severus repaired the statues (199/200 C.E.), which put an end to the miracle. The phenomenon of the singing statue was remembered, however, even in the fourth century C.E. (see Himerius *Orations* 8.5).

Memphis (26.16): The daughter of the Nile, she was married to Epaphos and gave birth to Libya. The Egyptian city of Memphis was named in her honor.

Menekratês of Steiria (8.11): An acquaintance of the vinedresser, whom the vinedresser uses as a contemporary and reliable witness of the recent discovery of the huge skeletons of ancient heroes and giants. This Menekratês may be the same

prominent Athenian mentioned in an inscription from Myrina; see Simone Follet, "Inscription inédite de Myrina," *Annuario della Scuola Archaeologica Italiana di Atene* 36/37 (1974): 309–312.

Menelaos (23.7, 28; 25.11–12; 29.1–6; 40.3; 42.1): The brother of Agamemnon and the husband of Helen. Menelaos and Helen lived peacefully as king and queen of Sparta until Paris arrived, while Menelaos was in Crete, and abducted Helen. On Helen's whereabouts during the Trojan War, see Helen.

Menestheus (23.19; 35.13): He became king of Athens with the help of Helen's brothers, the Dioscuri. According to Homer (*Il.* 2.552–56), during the Trojan War he was the leader of the Athenian contingent; he was also one of the warriors inside the Trojan horse.

Meroê (26.16): A city located near the junction of the Nile and the Astaboras (modern Atbara). Meroê became hellenized under the Ptolemies.

Merops (8.14): Eponymous ancestor of the inhabitants of Meropis, a legendary land, which stretches beyond the ocean surrounding the inhabited land. Its people have twice the height of human beings and live twice as long. Meropis also appears as a surname of the island of Cos.

Messene (26.3): City in the southwestern Peloponnesus, west of Sparta. Because Nestor was the only one among his brothers and father to accept Herakles when he came to Messene seeking purification from murder, Herakles allowed Nestor to live.

Methymna (33.49): A city located in the far north of the island of Lesbos.

Minos (30.2): King of Crete who possessed great military power and influence. Meeting with him in a cave, Zeus gave him laws which were then established in Crete. Crete's early naval supremacy is also attributed to Minos. Attic legends portray Minos as a cruel tyrant, who in retaliation for his son's murder forced the Athenians to send fourteen youths every nine years as an offering to the Minotaur.

Mousaios (25.8): Legendary sage who, according to Aristophanes (*Frogs* 1032–33), taught oracles and cures for diseases.

Mugdôn (56.11): Leader of Phrygia and the eponymous hero of the tribe of the Mugdônes (Pausanias *Description of Greece* 10.27.1). Homer relates Priam's alliance with Mugdôn and Otreus against the Amazons (Homer *Il.* 3.181–90).

Muses (33.11; 34.7; 43.6; 44.2; 51.7): Daughters of Zeus and Mnêmosunê, divine inspirers of poetry, music, dance, art, and (later) other cultural and intellectual activities. Hesiod (*Theogony* 74–79) names nine Muses: Calliope, Clio, Euterpê, Terpsichore, Eratô, Melpomenê, Thaleia, Polyhymnia, and Ouraniê; these names and the number nine became canonical.

Myrmidons (26.15; 33.22): Thessalian tribe in the Trojan War, they fought under the command of Achilles. According to another legend, they came to Thessaly from the island of Aegina, where Zeus had created them out of ants (μύρμηκες).

Mysia (13.4; 14.3; 23.4; 23.8–24.2, 35.3): Region of northwest Anatolia, north of Ionia and south of the Troad, including Pergamum. Its inhabitants are said to have come from the area of the lower Istros (Homer *Il.* 13.5), thus connecting them with the Moesians of the Roman period. Têlephos was king of Mysia and was wounded by Achilles when the Greeks sacked Mysia.

Narcissus (45.6): Narcissus was the handsome son of the Boeotian river Kêphisos and the nymph Liriopê. He was so handsome that when he bent over a spring and saw his own reflection, he was entranced. Unable to tear himself away from this vision, he eventually died. At the spot where he died, there later grew a flower which was given his name (Pausanias *Description of Greece* 9.31.7–8; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 3.339–508).

Naulokhos (8.12): Literally, "giving safe anchorage," this name was also given to a city on the northeast coast of Sicily, in addition to this harbor on Imbros.

Nauplios (33.47): Father of Palamedes and descendant of Nauplios, a son of Poseidon. In order to avenge Palamedes' death, Nauplios destroyed the Greek fleet when it returned from Troy by setting up signal lights on Euboea's cliffs thus luring the fleet to destruction (Euripides *Helen* 767; 1122–31).

Nausicaa (25.13–14): Daughter of Alkinoos and Arêtê, the king and queen of the Phaeacians. Prompted by a dream sent from Athena, she and her servants went to the mouth of the river to do the family washing. There she encountered Odysseus, who had washed up on the shore the previous evening, and led him back to the city. The Phaeacians eventually gave Odysseus safe passage back to Ithaca (Homer *Odyssey* 6).

Neapolis (8.15): A coastal Greek city in southern Italy (modern Naples).

Neleus (26.1–3): Father of Nestor and king of Pylos, who along with eleven of his sons was slain by Herakles (Homer *Il.* 11.688–92). According to Hesiod (as preserved in a fragment from Stephanus of Byzantium, s.v. Gerania = Hesiod *Catalogue of Women* 11), after Herakles murdered Iphitos, he sought purification from Neleus, who refused it. Thereupon, Herakles killed him and all his sons except Nestor. Philostratus transmits a different tradition, namely, that Herakles killed Neleus and his sons because they stole the cattle of Geryon.

Neoptolemos (28.7; 46.4; 51.13; 52.1): Literally "young warrior," the son of Achilles and Dêidameia. After Achilles' death Neoptolemos was summoned to Troy, where he distinguished himself as both warrior and counselor (*Little Iliad*).

Nereids (51.7–10; 54.8): Daughters of the sea god Nêreus (Homer *Il.* 18.39–64). Achilles' mother Thetis was one of the Nereids.

Nestor (26.1–18; 33.38; 48.5, 9): King of Pylos, oldest and wisest of the Greek leaders in the Trojan War (see, e.g., Homer *Il.* 1.252; 2.77, 370, 555) and the father of Antilokhos. Concerning the death of Nestor's father Neleus and his eleven brothers at the hand of Herakles, see the entry on Neleus.

Nile (26.16): The river that runs north-south through Egypt from its sources in modern Uganda and Ethiopia to its outlet into the Mediterranean. The yearly flooding of the Nile created a fertile strip of land on both banks, to which Egypt's rulers were indebted for their wealth and power. The Nile owes its name to its river god Nilos.

Nireus (23.27): The leader of the Hellenic contingent from Symê. Although he was handsome, Homer labeled him a weakling (*Il.* 2.671–75).

Odrysai (28.11): Powerful tribe of Thracians who lived along the river Hebros and founded the most important league of the Thracian tribes in the fifth century B.C.E.

Odysseus (6.1; 8.13; 14.2–3; 21.3–7; 23.7; 24.2; 25.13–16; 33.4–34.7; 35.8–11, 14; 43.12–16; 48.8): The hero of Homer's *Odyssey*, he was the son of Laertes and Antikleia, and the king of Ithaca. In the *Iliad* Homer portrays Odysseus as courageous and skillful in war and diplomacy. His reputation as a trickster stems from his exploits in the *Odyssey*, where he outwits, often through cunning deception and with divine help (especially from his patron Athena), all those who try to prevent his safe return to Ithaca (e.g., the Cyclops Polyphemos, the Sirens, Circe, Scylla and Charybdis). In the *Odyssey* (11.134–36), Teiresias prophesies that he will live to an old age and experience a peaceful death "from the sea." An alternative account, followed by both Philostratus (*Her.* 25.15) and Apollodorus (*Epitome* 7.36–37), is found in the epic the *Telegonia*, where Odysseus was unwittingly killed by Têlegonos (his son by Circe), whose spear-point was a poisonous sting-ray given to him by Circe. Representations of Odysseus in other epics and in tragedy are not quite so uniformly complimentary of Odysseus' character. The story of Odysseus' feigned madness to avoid going to Troy and his exposure by Palamedes (by threatening Odysseus' infant son Telemachus) appeared first in the *Cypria* (see also Apollodorus *Epitome* 3.7 and Hyginus *Fabulae* 95.2), as well as his collaboration with Diomedes in the retaliatory drowning of Palamedes (see Pausanias *Description of Greece* 10.31.2). A more noble portrait of Odysseus is found in Sophocles *Ajax*, where he and Teukros convince Agamemnon to give Ajax a proper burial (see also Homer *Od.* 11.541–62).

Ôgugia (34.5): Island of Kalypso, a nymph who saved Odysseus from drowning and held him there in bonds of love for seven years (Homer *Od.* 6.172).

Oiax (33.42): Son of Nauplios and brother of Palamedes. He is not mentioned by Homer. He notified their father of Palamedes' death by writing the report on boards from a ship and throwing them into the sea (Hyginus *Fabulae* 117, perhaps drawn from Euripides' *Palamedes*).

Oineus (4.1): Legendary king of Calydon in Aetolia; among his children are Meleagros, Dêianeira, and Tydeus (who was the father of Diomedes). He was driven out of his kingdom by his brother Agrios, avenged later by Diomedes, and buried in Oinoê. A number of fragments of Euripides' tragedy about him are preserved.

Oiniadai (54.5): City in Acarnania on a rocky outcrop in the plain of the mouth of the Akhelôos.

Oitê (28.1, 3): The mountain site of Herakles' self-immolation to escape the effects of the poisoned robe given to him by Dêianeira, his wife who was deceived into believing that the poison was a love potion. In some versions of the myth, Poias, the father of Philoktêtês, lights the pyre.

Okeanos (8.13): The oldest of the Titans, the sons of Gê and Ouranos. He lived with his wife Têthys in the far west and was identified as a river that encircles the world. Mythological monsters and the most remote and foreign tribes of people are said to live by Okeanos.

Olympia (8.17; 15.6, 9): The famous sanctuary of Zeus located on the river Alpheios in the northwestern Peloponnesus. This district belonged to the Eleans, who controlled the sanctuary and its festivals. Local legend attributed the sanctuary's origin to the hero Pelops; Pindar, however, says the athletic festival held there every four years was founded by Herakles. The sacred precinct (called the Altis) contained numerous statues of victorious athletes. (The first Olympiad is dated to 776 B.C.E.)

Olympic Games (13.2; 15.5, 8–9; 56.11): Competitors traveled from Greece, Ionia, Italy, as well as from eastern cities to participate in these athletic competitions held at Olympia. The games were presided over by judges elected from and by the Eleans; these judges insured that all contestants followed the strict regulations of each contest. Violations

resulted in fines or loss of one's prize. A list of Olympic victors is preserved by Eusebius in his *Chronicles*.

Orestes (8.3; 29.4–5): The son of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra who avenged his father's murder. According to Homer, after returning from exile in Athens, he killed both Clytemnestra and her lover Aigisthos, who had killed Agamemnon (*Od.* 3.303–12; 11.395–434). In contrast, Aeschylus portrayed Clytemnestra as Agamemnon's murderer; after Orestes slew her, he was pursued by the Furies to Delphi and then to Athens, where Orestes was declared innocent by a trial presided over by Athena herself. Orestes regained his father's dominion and also became Menelaos's heir to Sparta after murdering Neoptolemos and marrying his wife Hermionê, the daughter of Menelaos and Helen (Pausanias *Description of Greece* 2.18.5–6; Euripides *Andromache*). The story of finding Orestes' corpse in Tegea and the transfer of his body to Sparta is narrated in Herodotus (*Hist.* 1.67–68).

Orontes (8.5): The primary river of Syria, which begins near Heliopolis (northeast of modern Beirut) and winds through Antioch and to the Mediterranean.

Orpheus (23.2; 25.2, 8; 25.9; 28.9, 11–12; 33.28): A Thracian hero, famous for singing and playing the lyre, Orpheus was son of Oiagros, king of Thrace, and Calliope, although according to some traditions he is a child of Apollo or the Muses. A well-known story about him relates his journey into the Underworld in search of his wife, Eurydice, who was killed by a snakebite. Orpheus charmed Hades with his lyre playing, and Hades released Eurydice provided that, as she followed Orpheus into the upper world, he must never look back upon her—a condition that Orpheus did not fulfill. According to many traditions, Orpheus died by dismemberment by a group of ecstatic Thracian women or maenads. His head and lyre were thrown into the Hebros River; the lyre played a lamentation and the head sang in accompaniment as they floated to the shores of Lesbos. His head became a famous oracle on Lesbos, after it was placed in a cave at Antissa. It prophesied continually, until Apollo, fearing competition for his oracle at Delphi, stopped it. The Muses gathered his other limbs and buried them at the foot of Mount Olympus.

His lyre is said to have been placed in the temple of Apollo on Lesbos; this tradition is associated with the origin of the Lesbian tradition of lyric poetry.

Paionia (35.3; 48.14–16): Northern district, along the Axios river, of what became the Macedonian empire. The Paionians were a number of individual tribes, whose migrations led to settlements along the Strymon and Nestos rivers as well. According to Homer, the Paionians were allies of Troy and were led by Pyraikhmês (*Il.* 2.848–50).

Palamedes (14.3; 20.2–21.8; 23.20, 23; 24.2; 25.15, 16; 31.6; 32.2; 33.1–48; 34.6–7; 43.15; 48.7, 19): Grandson of Poseidon and hero from Nauplia (modern Nauplion) in the Argolid, a region in the Peloponnesus south-east of Achaea, near Corinth (the fortress of Nauplion is still called "Palamidi"). In wisdom and power of invention, he rivals Prometheus, Orpheus, and Kadmos. According to the lost *Cypria*, the rivalry of Odysseus and Palamedes began when Palamedes saw through Odysseus's feigned madness, by which the latter had tried to avoid service in the Trojan War; Palamedes was ultimately drowned by Odysseus and Diomedes in this version of the story (*Cypria* frg. 21 [Allen, p. 124] = Pausanias *Description of Greece* 10.31.2). The story of Palamedes' death found in Dictys of Crete's *The Trojan War* is closer to that found in the *Heroikos*. After luring Palamedes down a well by claiming that they had found gold there, Diomedes and Odysseus stoned Palamedes (2.15). Palamedes was also the subject of an tragedy by Euripides, but the traditions about Palamedes were passed over by Homer.

Pallênê (8.16): Also called Phlegra, it is the westernmost peninsula of the Macedonian Chalcidice.

Pamphôs (25.8): According to Pausanias (*Description of Greece* 8.37.9), a pre-Homeric poet, although the extant fragments indicate a later date.

Pandaros (27.5; 39.2; 40.2): Ally of the Trojans from Lycia. Beloved by Apollo, he was known for his archery with a bow that he himself had made (Homer *Il.* 4.86, 105; 5.166).

Panidês (43.9): A king of Chalcis, who presided over the competition between Homer and Hesiod (*Certamen* 315, 321–22).

Panthous (42.1): Father of Euphorbus. He was a priest of Apollo in Delphi, but was taken back to Troy by a Trojan envoy who fell in love with him.

Paris (19.2; 25.10–12; 28.2; 37.3; 40.1–6; 51.1): A Trojan prince, the second son of Priam and Hekabê. Although the name Paris is prominently used in this text (but see 40.1–2), the Greek name Alexandros appears more frequently in the *Iliad*. Paris's birth was accompanied by divine warnings. Hekabê dreamed that she gave birth to a torch which set alight the citadel of Troy, and prior to his birth a seer warned that he would cause the destruction of Troy. According to the lost *Cypria*, Paris was to judge which of the three goddesses Athena, Hera, and Aphrodite was the most beautiful. The victorious goddess was to possess the golden apple of Eris (the goddess of discord), which was inscribed "to the fairest." Having awarded the apple to Aphrodite, Paris received the right to possess the most beautiful woman on earth, Helen. Paris seized Helen from her home in Sparta, thus causing the Trojan War. The *Iliad* sometimes depicts Paris as wearing heavy armor; he is usually said, however, to be an archer, and as an archer he killed Achilles. Paris himself was killed by one of Philoktêtês' arrows, which pierced his groin. He is often depicted as cowardly, especially in comparison to his brother Hektor.

Patroklos (12.1; 19.5; 22.3; 23.13, 20; 26.19; 27.4; 33.30; 42.2; 47.3; 48.10; 48.18–49.3; 51.12; 53.12; 55.3): Son of Menoitios and Stenelê, from Opus; long-time friend of Achilles. News of Patroklos's death brought Achilles back into the battle, swearing vengeance upon the Trojans. After Achilles was killed, he and Patroklos were entombed together (Homer *Iliad* 23).

Peleus (27.12; 32.1; 45.2–3, 8; 46.2–5; 53.10): King of the Myrmidons, husband of the sea goddess Thetis, and father of Achilles.

Pelion (32.1; 45.2–3; 53.9): Mountain in Thessalian Magnesia, just northeast of modern Volos. It was the home of the centaur Kheirôn, and where Achilles and Jason were raised in Kheirôn's care. It was also the region where Peleus lived and married Thetis.

Peloponnesus (33.31; 40.2; 52.3): The large Greek peninsula connected to the mainland by the Isthmus of Corinth.

Peparêthos (8.9): An island in the northern Sporades known today as Skopelos.

Persês (43.7): The brother of Hesiod and ostensibly the target of Hesiod's *Works and Days*, which advises honest work and denounces dishonesty and laziness. Persês, it appears, had bribed the local village elders and defrauded Hesiod of his rightful inheritance (*Works and Days* 37–39).

Phaeacians (25.14): The inhabitants of Skheria, a peaceful and seafaring people (Homer *Od.* 6.262–74). Odysseus encountered them toward the end of his wanderings when he was shipwrecked on their shore. Taken into the court of their king, Alkinoos, Odysseus did not reveal his identity until the epic song of the bard Dêmodokos about Odysseus's deeds at Troy caused him to weep so much that Alkinoos began to guess who he was. The Phaeacians equipped Odysseus with a ship to carry him and many gifts home to Ithaca. This action so enraged Poseidon—because Odysseus had blinded his son Polyphemos—that as the ship returned to Phaeacia, he turned it to stone outside the harbor. Much of the story of Odysseus's wanderings in Homer's *Odyssey* is told in the court of the Phaeacians by Odysseus.

Phaethôn (7.6): Son of Helios. He was given the sun chariot for one day, but half of the earth burned when the horses ran wild and he crashed to earth with his father's chariot (Ovid *Metamorphoses* 1.749–2.328; Euripides *Hippolytus* 740; Plato *Timaeus* 22c).

Phasis (57.3): In Colchis, a river flowing from the Caucasus Mountains to the Black Sea. Its modern name is Rion.

Phêmios (25.13): A bard of Odysseus at his home in Ithaca (Homer *Od.* 1.153–54, 337–44; 17.261–63; 22.331–56).

Philip (53.16): Philip II was the king of Macedon from 359–336 B.C.E. and father of Alexander the Great. Philip unified Macedonia and transformed it into a tremendous economic and military power.

Philoktêtês (28.1–14): Son of Poias (Homer *Od.* 3.190) and leader of the seven ships from Methonê and other towns of the

southwestern part of the Peloponnesus, he is the subject of Sophocles' tragedies *Philoctetes* and *Philoctetes at Troy*. On the way to the Trojan War, he was left behind in Lemnos, suffering from a snake bite (see the *Cypria*). In contrast to Protesilaos's story, the lost epic *Little Iliad* presents Philoktêtês as healed in Troy by Makhaôn, the son of Asclepius. Philoktêtês was in possession of the bow and arrows of Herakles, given to him by his father Poias. Because an oracle had ordained that Troy could not be taken without the bow and arrows of Herakles, Philoktêtês' presence in Troy was necessary. For a survey of the various versions of Philoktêtês' story and its gradual conformity to Roman ideas of masculinity and suffering, see Bowersock, *Fiction as History*, 55–76.

Phlegra (8.16): Originally a mythical place where the Gigantomachy ended in defeat of the giants (Pindar *Nemean* 1.67; Euripides *Ion* 988), later identified with Pallênê (Herodotus *Hist.* 7.123.1). Campi Phlegraei is a region of Campania near Puteoli, rich in sulfur, where Herakles is said to have killed the giants.

Phocis (28.8; 29.4): A region of central Greece, comprising the valleys of the middle Kêphisos and of Krisa, which are linked loosely by the passes over the southern spurs of Mount Parnassos. The oracles of Phocis included the oracles of Apollo at Delphi and at Abae, and an oracle of Dionysos at Amphikleia (Pausanias *Description of Greece* 10.5.5–8; 10.35.1; 10.33.11).

Phoenician(s) (1.1–2; 3.3; 6.3; 44.4): An ancient people, whose territory lying along the eastern Mediterranean coast was more or less coextensive with modern Lebanon. Before 1000 B.C.E. the Phoenicians had invented the alphabet; around the same time they emerged as traders and seafarers. Their products included gemstones, metals, glass items, and textiles, such as their famous purple robes. They were also skilled architects. In 64 B.C.E. Phoenicia was annexed to the Roman province of Syria.

Phoenix (46.2): Teacher and adviser of Achilles. In Homer (*Il.* 9.168, 427–622), he appears first among those chosen for the embassy to Achilles to persuade him to return to the

fighting at Troy. Elsewhere in the *Iliad*, he appears only as one of the older leaders of the Myrmidons (16.196; 17.555; 19.311). Phoenix was son of Amyntôr, and was befriended by Peleus and made a companion and mentor for his son Achilles (Homer *Il.* 9.430–95).

Phrygia (8.14; 33.26; 56.11): A country in central Asia Minor; its inhabitants probably came from Europe.

Phthia (2.9; 11.7; 16.5; 46.5; 53.16): District in Thessaly that was home to Achilles and the Myrmidons, as well as Protesilaos and those under his command (Strabo *Geography* 9.5.14).

Phulakê (16.5; 33.22): A Thessalian city. According to Homer (*Il.* 2.695), Protesilaos was the ruler of this city.

Ploutarkhos (15.4–7): An otherwise unknown Olympic boxer, whose Olympic victory Moretti (*Olympionikai*, 904) tentatively dates to 205 C.E.

Poias (28.1): Father of Philoktêtês. When Herakles clothed himself with the poisoned robe on Mount Oitê, Poias was the only one who helped him to end his sufferings in death. After being transported to Olympus by Athena and gaining immortality, Herakles gave his bow and arrow to Poias as a reward for his help. His son Philoktêtês inherited these weapons.

Poinai (43.15): Goddesses of vengeance.

Polydamas (41.1): Trojan hero, son of Panthous and brother of Euphorbus. In Troy, Polydamas was second only to Hektor; he was a good fighter and a thoughtful advisor (Homer *Il.* 11.57; 14.425; 15.339, 520; 17.597).

Polyphemos (25.15; 34.4; 35.8): Son of Poseidon and the nymph Thoôsa, he was the Cyclops who held Odysseus prisoner in his cave and ate several of his companions until the hero made him drunk and blinded him (Homer *Odyssey* 9). Poseidon punished Odysseus with a difficult homecoming.

Polyxena (51.2–6): This daughter of Priam and Hekabê is not mentioned in the *Iliad*, but appears in later epics. Early traditions report that Polyxena was sacrificed on the tomb of Achilles (*Destruction of Ilion*). This version is followed by Euripides in the tragedy *Hecuba*, where Achilles' ghost demands the sacrifice of Polyxena (*Hecuba* 35–44, 220–24,

534–40; see also *Trojan Women* 39–40). Hyginus's alternative story (*Fabulae* 110) bears many similarities to Philostratus's version: Polyxena is said to have come with Priam and Andromache to reclaim Hektor's body from Achilles. Although Achilles was unmoved by the entreaties of Hektor's father and widow, Polyxena managed to sway him, since he had fallen in love with her. The story of Achilles' betrayal is also connected with this tradition: in order to win the hand of Polyxena, Achilles suggested to Priam that he would abandon the Greeks. The negotiations were to be concluded in the temple of the Thymbrian Apollo, but Paris, hidden behind the statue of the god, killed Achilles with an arrow.

Pontus (22.1; 33.16; 53.10, 18; 54.1–3, 6–8, 11; 55.3, 6; 56.4; 57.3, 8): The region of north-central Asia Minor between the Halys River and Colchis, and including the coast of the Black Sea to the north and extending to Cappadocia in the south. "Pontus" also refers to the part of the Black Sea adjacent to this region.

Poseidon (25.9; 25.15; 33.47; 35.12; 54.5, 8; 58.6): The god of the ocean and of earthquakes, with the epithet Earth-shaker, Poseidon was the son of Kronos and Rheia, brother of Zeus and Hades, father of the Cyclopes, and an ancestor of Palamedes. Although he was a protector of the Achaeans, he was antagonistic to Odysseus (variously for the blinding of the Cyclops Polyphemos or for the death of Palamedes) and long delayed Odysseus's homecoming. With Apollo, he built the walls of Troy for the first ruler of the city, Laomedôn, but after the Achaeans built a wall around their ships at Troy, he feared that it would surpass the walls of Troy. After the war, he diverted rivers in order to destroy the Achaean wall. His attribute is the trident, or fisher's spear, which he used to split rocks to bring forth streams and springs, as well as to stir up storms at sea.

Priam (7.5; 23.5; 25.11; 40.5; 51.4–5; 56.7, 11): King of Troy during the Trojan War, son of Laomedôn, and father of fifty sons, among whom were Hektor and Paris. After ransoming Hektor's corpse from Achilles, he was killed by Neoptolemos during the sack of Troy.

Protesilaos (passim): According to the *Iliad*, the son of Iphiklês and commander of a contingent from Phulakê in Thessaly. He was the first to be killed at Troy, dying as he jumped from his ship onto the shore (Homer *Il.* 2.695–709; 13.681; 15.705; 16.286). While the *Iliad* does not identify his killer, Hektor is frequently blamed in later versions of the story (e.g., the *Cypria*, Apollodorus *Epitome* 3.30; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 12.66–68); later scholia also name Aeneas, Akhatês, or Euphorbus as his killer. Protesilaos greatly loved his wife Laodameia, and his return from Hades to see her was taken up by Lucian (*Dialogues of the Dead* 23). Protesilaos was the object of cult in Phulakê and at his tomb at Elaious on the Thracian Chersonesus (see entries); according to Pausanias, Protesilaos was one of the few mortals to receive divine honors after his death (*Description of Greece* 1.34.2).

Pylos (26.15): The home of Nestor and Antilokhos. Most ancient authors locate Pylos in Messene in the southwestern Peloponnesus at the bay of Navarino, although some place Pylos in Triphylia, further to the north on the western coast of the Peloponnesus, south of the Alpheios. Homer's description of Pylos as "sandy" (*Il.* 2.77) fits the Triphylian Pylos.

Pyriphlegethôn (58.3): A stream in Epirus. See also Akherousias.

Pythagoras (42.1): Philosopher and founder of a religious community. Originally an inhabitant of Samos, Pythagoras emigrated to Croton, an Athenian colony in Italy, in ca. 531 B.C.E. One of his central tenants was metempsychosis, the reincarnation of the soul, a process that can only be terminated through strict asceticism and the Pythagorean way of life. He believed that he was the reincarnation of the Trojan warrior Euphorbus (Ovid *Metamorphoses* 15.160–61). Pythagoras is also famed for his discovery of the numerical ratios of musical scales and for the belief that numbers are the basis of the world.

Pythian oracle (28.8): The oracle of Apollo at Delphi, which during the classical period was the most important Greek oracle. Oracular responses were given by the Pythia, an ecstatic prophetess, and were interpreted and written in verse by the temple priests. The oracle's reputation suffered after

it discouraged the Greeks from resisting the Persian invasion.

Rhêsos (17.3–6): A Thracian king, son of Êioneus, who was known for his snow-white horses. He came to Troy in the tenth year of the war and devastated the Greek camp for one day. At the end of the day he was killed by Odysseus and Diomedes, who took away his horses (Homer *Il.* 10.435, 474, 519). Rhêsos's exploits at Troy were also recounted in the *Rhesus*, attributed to Euripides; the play concludes with his mother (in this version a Muse) declaring over her son's body that he will become a demigod (970–73). Rhêsos's bones were also renowned in connection with the founding of Amphipolis (Polyaenus *Strategica* 6.53).

Rhodes (23.11; 56.11): An island off the coast of western Asia Minor colonized by Greeks who formed three separate city states, which eventually united. Due to its access to eastern ports, especially in Egypt, Phoenicia, and Cyprus, Rhodes became extremely wealthy and prosperous as a trading center.

Rhodopê (17.3–6): Large mountainous massif in Thrace, stretching from the headwaters of the Nestos and Hebros rivers to the outlet of the Hebros.

Rhoiteion (51.8): A small town near Troy and a nearby promontory; on the promontory was the tomb of the Greater Ajax; Ajax's statue was brought to Egypt by Mark Antony, but returned by order of Augustus (Strabo *Geography* 13.1.30).

Salamis (35.9; 53.15): An island in the Saronic Gulf, just to the west of Athens/Piraeus and east of Megara. According to Pausanias (*Description of Greece* 1.35.3), Salamis was colonized by Aegina, along with Telamôn, the father of Ajax the Greater, and a temple and ebony statue of Ajax could still be seen there. Salamis had been associated with Athens since the sixth century B.C.E. and was the site of the Persian naval defeat in 480 B.C.E. Athens' claim on the island during the protracted war with Megara was supported by references to her prominence and control of much of Attica in Homer (*Il.* 2.546–56; *Od.* 3.278, but note that these verses may well have been composed for Athenian propagandistic purposes); Pausanias (*Description of Greece* 1.35.2) relates that Philaios,

the son of Eurusakês and grandson of Ajax, gave Salamis to Athens in return for Athenian citizenship.

Samos (42.1): An island off the western coast of Asia Minor settled by Ionians. In the sixth century B.C.E. Samos was known for its architects, sculptors, poets, and moralists, but its most famous inhabitant was the philosopher Pythagoras.

Sarpêdon (33.12; 39.1–4): According to Homer (*Il.* 2.876; 5.629–62; 6.198–99; 16.462–507), Sarpêdon was leader of a Lycian contingent which fought alongside the Trojans. He was said to be son of Zeus and Laodameia, the daughter of Bellerophon. Sarpêdon played a major role in the attack on the Achaean camp and the assault on the walls. Patroklos killed him, and a great battle was fought around his body.

Scamander (22.3; 48.12; 57.15): River southwest of Troy, called Xanthos among the gods. It derives from a warm and a cold spring on Mount Ida and flows into the Hellespont (Homer *Il.* 11.499; 14.343). Scamander is also the name of the river god whom Achilles fought during the Trojan War (Homer *Il.* 21.211–382).

Scylla (34.4): A sea monster who dwelt near the deadly whirlpool Charybdis, she was encountered by Odysseus (Homer *Od.* 12.85–110, 245–59). This fantastic creature had six heads, and any ship that approached would be attacked and its men devoured. Ovid identified Scylla as a particularly dangerous rock (Ovid *Metamophoses* 14.73).

Scythia (23.11, 13, 22; 28.12; 54.7; 57.9): The territory between the Carpathian Mountains and the river Don was so named by the Greeks, although the term Scythian is often used for those central Asian tribes that by 650 B.C.E. governed northwestern Iran and eastern Turkey, as far as the river Halys. The Scythians were expelled from the Turkish-Iranian region by the Medes ca. 622, after which they founded a kingdom on the lower reaches of the river Dnieper. Expelled from this area by the Sarmatae in the second century B.C.E., they moved to the Crimea. They engaged in considerable trade with the Greeks on the Black Sea, even though to the Greeks they were barbarians par excellence. Mostly likely a nomadic people, their military strength was as mounted archers.

Selene (45.3): Goddess of the moon and daughter of Titans (her parents' names are variously given). Selene fell in love with a mortal, Endymion, whom Zeus punished with eternal sleep.

Sidon (1.1): Hellenized city on the coast of Phoenicia; its two important commercial industries were purple–dyeing and glass–blowing.

Sigeion (8.6, 8): Promontory in the Troad (modern Kumkale), opposite the Thracian Chersonesus, and city south of the promontory of the same name. The city of Sigeion was originally an Aeolian settlement, but in the seventh century was acquired by Athens; the city was destroyed by Ilion (third–second century B.C.E.?). According to Strabo (*Geography* 13.1.32), Sigeion was the site of a temple of Achilles and monuments to both Patroklos and Antilokhos.

Sirens (34.4): Mythical singing creatures that inhabited an island near Scylla and Charybdis. The Sirens lured sailors onto the island and caused them to forget their journey and to lose their desire for home. Odysseus sailed past their island safely (Homer *Od.* 12.37–54, 153–200) by stopping his men's ears with wax while he had himself lashed to the mast of the ship and listened to their songs. These creatures' physical appearance was not described by Homer, but they were often depicted as half-women and half-birds.

Sisyphus (52.3; 53.4): The son of Aiolos, who according to Homer (*Od.* 11.593–600) was perpetually tormented in Hades; he continually pushed a stone up a hill, but it always rolled down before he could reach the top. A sanctuary of Sisyphus was located on the acropolis in Corinth (Strabo *Geography* 8.6.21), and his grave is said to be on the Isthmus (Pausanias *Description of Greece* 2.2.2).

Skyros (45.8; 46.2): Island in the northern Sporades in the Aegean Sea. Lykomêdês murdered Theseus on Skyros, and Achilles traveled there to avenge his death (Homer *Il.* 9.668). According to Statius (*Achilleid* 207–396), Thetis disguised Achilles as a young girl and hid him on Skyros to prevent him going to fight at Troy. Pausanias (*Description of Greece* 1.22.6) presents these two stories as competing traditions. Skyros was also known as the realm of Achilles' son, Neoptolemos (Sophocles *Philoctetes* 239).

Smyrna (23.30): A city on the west coast of Asia Minor at the outlet of the Hermos River, north of Ephesus and south of Pergamum. In the Roman period, Smyrna was known for its interest in science and medicine.

Sparta (29.5): A Lacedaemonian city in the southeast of Greece that was the home of Menelaos.

Sperkheios (53.9): A river in the domain of Peleus and Achilles in Thessaly. Homer (*Il.* 16.174) recounts that Sperkheios was the father of the fighter Menesthios, whose mother was Polydorê, a daughter of Peleus.

Steiria (8.11): An Athenian deme that belonged to the tribe Pandionis. The legendary ancestor of the tribe was the mythical king Pandiôn.

Sthenelos (14.3; 23.20, 23; 27.1–11; 27.13; 31.1; 33.38): Son of Kapaneus; leader of the Argives, along with Diomedes and Euryalos; close companion of Diomedes (Homer *Il.* 2.564; 4.367); father of Eurystheus, the taskmaster of Herakles (*Il.* 119–23). As one of the Epigonoi, Sthenelos participated in Thebes' capture (*Il.* 4.401–410; for more on the saga of the Seven Against Thebes, see the entry for Thebes). Reputed to have been a suitor of Helen before the Trojan War, he was inside the Trojan horse (Virgil *Aeneid* 2.261; Hyginus *Fabulae* 257). According to Homer (*Il.* 4.367–71), Sthenelos was insulted by Agamemnon as inferior to his father, Kapaneus. Pausanias (*Description of Greece* 2.22.9) locates his grave in Argos; other traditions (Lycophron frg. 433) report that he was buried together with Idomeneus and Kalkhas in Colophon.

Sybaris (1.1): Greek city in Lucania in southern Italy, founded by Achaea and Trozen ca. 720 C.E. Sybaris was famous for its wealth and the luxurious life-style of its inhabitants. It was destroyed in 510 B.C.E. by Croton, at the instigation of exiled Sybarites; the Sybarites joined the new Athenian colony at nearby Thurii, but later the new city of Sybaris was founded on the river Traeis.

Tantalos (39.3): A son of Zeus, he reigned on Mount Sipylos in Lydia. He was extremely rich and beloved by the gods, but also one of the archetypal law breakers of Greek legends. Tantalos was welcomed at divine feasts and according

to various accounts he either revealed the gods' secrets to humans (Euripides *Orestes* 4–11), stole the divine drinks of nectar and ambrosia and gave them to mortals (Pindar *Olympian* 1.60–64), or cooked and served his son Pelops to the gods in order to test them (Pindar *Olympian* 1.25–53). His punishment was that he was plunged into water up to his neck, but the water withdrew whenever he tried to drink from it. Similarly, a branch laden with fruit hung just above his head, but if he raised his arm the branch would spring out of reach (Homer *Od.* 11.582–92). According to another version a rock hung precariously over his head, threatening imminent doom (Pindar *Olympian* 1.55–58; Euripides *Orestes* 4–11; Archilochus 53; Pausanias *Description of Greece* 10.31.12).

Taurus Mountains (57.3): These mountains are probably the well-forested range that begins in southwestern Asia Minor and continues along the Lycian coast through Pisidia and Isauria to the borders of Cilicia and Lykaonia. Ancient cartographers and geographers regarded these mountains, which rise over seven thousand feet, as the backbone of Asia.

Tegea (8.3): City in the Peloponnesus, north of Sparta. According to Greek legend, Orestes' tomb was located there (Pausanias *Description of Greece* 3.3.5; 8.54.4). Roman tradition, however, asserted that Orestes died at Aricia and that his bones were transferred to Rome and buried under the Temple of Saturn.

Tekmêssa (33.43): Slave girl, perhaps mentioned in Homer (*Il.* 1.138) without name, given as booty to Ajax the Greater by Agamemnon. In Sophocles' *Ajax* she is daughter of the Phrygian king Teleutas and became the rightful wife of Ajax, with whom he bore the son Eurusakês.

Telamôn (23.18; 30.3; 32.1; 35.1; 37.2; 45.8; 48.20; 49.2; 52.2): Father of Ajax the Greater and associate of Herakles in his revenge against Troy.

Telemachus (33.4): The son of Odysseus and Penelope. According to the *Cypria*, when Telemachus was a baby, Odysseus feigned madness in order to avoid helping in the Trojan War; Palamedes threatened the child's life and thus tricked Odysseus into saving his son and proving his sanity.

Telemachus thus grew up in Ithaca during his father's absence due to the Trojan War and his long delayed attempts to return home. The first four books of Homer's *Odyssey* are especially concerned with Telemachus's anger at his mother's suitors and his quest for news of Odysseus.

Têlephos (23.4, 9, 13, 17, 24–26): Son of Herakles and Augê, and the king of Mysia. Têlephos was wounded by Achilles, but eventually healed by filings from his spear (Apollodorus *Epitome* 3.20). Mistaking Mysia for Troy and the wounding of Têlephos, not mentioned in Homer, are found in the extant fragments of the *Cypria*. The story explains that, by order of an oracle, Têlephos was healed by Achilles and then served as a guide to Troy for the Greek forces.

Tênos (31.6): An island in the Aegean, north of Mykonos and Andros.

Teukros (35.14; 36.1): The son of Telamôn and half-brother of the greater Ajax. Teukros was an Achaean archer and spearfighter (Homer *Il.* 8.266–334).

Thasian (11.9): Of or pertaining to Thasos, an island in the Thracian Sea, rich in natural resources and also well known for its export of wine.

Thebes (27.1, 6): A city in Boeotia and the site of the famous battle of the Seven kings against Thebes. The sons of Oedipus, Polyneikês and Eteoklês, were to reign in Thebes in alternate years. When Eteoklês would not relinquish the throne, Polyneikês gathered six leaders to help him gain his rightful place. Their attempt to take Thebes was disastrous, and only one of the seven leaders survived. The saga of the Seven Against Thebes was the subject of a number of dramas, including Aeschylus's *Seven Against Thebes*, Euripides' *Phoenician Women*, Seneca's *Phoenician Women*, and Statius's epic *Thebaid*.

Thermôdôn (54.7; 57.3, 13): A river in Pontus (modern Terme Çayi) that forms the eastern border of the central plain of Themiskyra. Tradition places the Amazons' home at the mouth of this river.

Theseus (32.1; 35.9; 46.2): Athenian hero, son of Aigeus or Poseidon and eventually a king of Athens. The legends surrounding Theseus include numerous labors in Attica, partly influenced by the myths of Herakles, and the slaying of the Minotaur in Crete. The story alluded to in this text seems to connect the death of Theseus's son Hippolytos with Theseus's flight from Athens. Hippolytos had been falsely accused by his stepmother Phaedra of adulterous advances toward her, whereupon Theseus cursed him. Upon hearing the curse, Poseidon sent a bull from the sea, which frightened Hippolytos's horses and resulted in his being fatally thrown from his chariot.

Thessaly (2.7; 8.14; 10.5; 16.5; 33.22–23; 50.2; 52.3; 53.8–10, 14–23): District of northern Greece. Thessaly is surrounded by mountains, with access to the sea only at the Bay of Volo. It has two large, fertile plains, separated by hills; these plains made Thessaly rich in grain, horses, and cattle. Mountains notable in legend include Mount Pelion, home of the centaur Kheirôn, and Mount Oitê, site of Herakles' funeral pyre. Phthia in Thessaly was the home of both Achilles and Protesilaos. In the sixth century, Thessaly was particularly strong and dominated northern Greece under the rule of a few aristocratic families. Thessaly later declined after the prominent family of the Alôadai supported the Persian cause. In the time of Philip of Macedon and Alexander the Great, Thessaly was technically independent, but under Macedonian influence. Thessaly was part of the province of Macedonia, under the Roman empire.

Thetis (46.5–6; 51.11–12; 53.10, 19, 22; 54.5): Daughter of the sea god Nêreus and one of the Nereids. Different myths explain why she was given in marriage to a mortal, Peleus, king of Phthia, with whom she bore Achilles. In the *Iliad*, especially in books 1, 18, and 19, she intercedes for Achilles before Zeus, provides armor for him, and mourns the death of Patroklos and Achilles' impending doom.

Thrace (3.2; 17.3, 6; 28.12): A region in northeastern Greece bounded, in Roman times, by the Black Sea, the Nestos River, and the Hellespont.

Thrasymedes (26.10): One of Nestor's sons. According to Homer, Thrasymedes accompanied his father Nestor to Troy (*Il.* 9.81; 10.255; 14.10); other legends say that he was a chief of the Greek sentries at Troy.

Thymbraion (51.1): A temple of Apollo located at the confluence of the Thymbrian River and the Scamander in Troy (Strabo *Geography* 13.1.35). According to some legends, this was the location of Achilles' death at the hands of Paris and of Polyxena's suicide.

Tithônos (45.3): The lover of Eos, goddess of the dawn. According to the Homeric *Hymn to Aphrodite*, Tithônos was a Trojan with whom Eos fell in love. She asked Zeus to grant him immortality, but neglected to ask for agelessness. As a beautiful young man he lived with Eos on the banks of Okeanos, but as he grew older, Eos shut him up in a room where he could be heard babbling but not seen.

Tlêpolemos (23.11): Son of Herakles and of Astyokhê or Astydameia, king of Rhodes, and ally of the Trojans (Homer *Il.* 2.653–70).

Troy (passim): Troy was a city (modern Hisarlik) in northwest Asia Minor, close to the Aegean and the Hellespont, under the rule of Priam during the Trojan War. By the seventh century B.C.E., the city was also called Ilion. The surrounding region is known as the Troad.

Tydeus (27.1–3; 33.30): Son of Oineus and father of Diomedes (Homer *Il.* 14.113–25), and one of the seven leaders to attack Thebes on behalf of Polyneikês (for more on the saga of the Seven Against Thebes, see the entry for Thebes). Tydeus was fatally wounded by Melanippos (who was in turn slain by Amphiaraos), but lost Athena's gift of immortality when she saw him consume the brains of the dead Melanippos (Apollodorus *Library* 3.6.8).

Tyre (1.1): Merchant city on the coast of Phoenicia.

Vesuvius (8.16): Volcano located south of Naples in Italy. Although the ancients thought it was extinct (see Diodorus Siculus *Library* 4.21.5), it erupted on 24 August 79 C.E., destroying the nearby cities of Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Stabiae.

Xanthos (53.16): See Balios and Xanthos.

Xeinis the Chersonesian (4.2): The former owner of Protesilaos's sanctuary.

Xerxes (7.6; 53.15): (486–465 B.C.E.) King of Persia and son of Darius and Atossa. His third campaign was an invasion of Greece, which ended in his great defeat at Plataia. His campaigns in Egypt and then in Babylon preceded his invasion of Greece.

Zeus (7.8; 8.14; 9.6; 25.7–8; 26.1; 33.2, 7; 35.6; 39.3; 43.2, 3; 48.22; 56.4; 58.3): Chief of the gods, lordly head of the family of the gods, he is the son of Kronos, whom he overthrew, and the brother and husband of Hera. He is usually described as enthroned on mountain peaks, principally Mount Olympus, and as the upholder of law, morals, and civic justice.

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On Heroes, Tombs, and Early Christianity: An Epilogue

by

Helmut Koester

About a decade ago, when I was directing our Greek reading group at Harvard Divinity School, called "Graeca," we began the reading of Philostratus's *Heroikos*, of which no English translation had ever been published. The two editors and translators of this English translation, Ellen Aitken and Jennifer Berenson Maclean, were members of this class. We struggled with the often rather difficult syntax of Philostratus and began the composition of the "Glossary" that is now published with this volume; it was done just for our own learning experience and we did not yet think that this might eventually lead to the publication of an English translation of this important ancient text. It is a pleasure to see that these two former graduate students, with the encouragement and criticism of my colleague and friend Professor Gregory Nagy, have now been able to prepare a readable English translation with Introduction, notes, and Glossary that will make this text more easily accessible to the student of Roman religion, Homeric tradition, and, indeed, early Christianity.

Not too far from the Thracian Chersonesus, where the tomb of Protesilaos recalled the memory of the Trojan War, was the eastern Macedonian city of Philippi, situated just at the border of Macedonia and Thrace. About a century after Philostratus wrote his *Heroikos*, the Christians of Philippi invited the pilgrims, who were on their way from central and western Europe to the Holy Land, to stop at Philippi and worship at the tomb of Saint Paul, apostle and martyr. Here, not in Rome, so they claimed, was his tomb: Paul had returned to the East after his sojourn to the West and had died in Philippi as a martyr.[1] A vaulted tomb of a hero

[1] On the excavation of the tomb and of the church of St. Paul in Philippi and the interpretation of the finds, see Charalambos Bakirtzis and Helmut

from the hellenistic period still existed in Philippi near the center of the city. The name of the hero who had once been worshipped here, Epiphanes Exekestou, had probably been long since forgotten.[2] After the peace of Constantine, the Philippian Christians chose the location immediately adjacent to the tomb's temple-like superstructure when they built their assembly hall and dedicated it to "Saint Paul in Christ," as a mosaic inscription in the floor of the church reveals.[3] Soon this first structure was replaced by a magnificent octagonal cathedral, the typical structure for a martyrion. With its fountain and baptistery the building complex surrounded the ancient tomb. Hundreds of coins from the fifth and sixth centuries that were found in the ancient tomb's superstructure give evidence for the pilgrims' devotion to the memory of the great apostle. A large hostel was constructed next to the martyrion to accommodate the visitors during their stay.

This was characteristic for the developments of the fourth century. To understand the rise of this hero worship it is important to understand and study the hero cult of the Greek and Roman world and especially its popularity in the third century C.E., for which the *Heroikos* of Philostratus is an important document. The worship of the great apostles of the past and of the Christian martyrs took over the role of the pagan hero cults and spread very quickly at the time of the new Christian emperor Constantine. While occasionally prayers had been offered to martyrs at their graves as early as the third century, the cult of the martyrs as heroes of the new religion now became widespread. Eucharistic meals were celebrated at their graves annually on the day of their martyrdom or on other designated days. Healing miracles happened at the graves and prayers were offered there for the benefit of the supplicant, and preachers told stories of the great deeds of the hero-martyr. Local martyrs took over the role of the

Koester, *Philippi at the Time of Paul and After His Death* (Harrisburg, Penn.: Trinity Press International, 1998).

[2] The name of this hero was found inscribed on the lid of the sarcophagus that excavators found under the dirt floor of the tomb; see Chaido Koukouli-Chrysantaki, "Colonia Iulia Augusta Philippensis," in Bakirtzis and Koester, *Philippi*, 20.

[3] The inscription tells that the mosaic floor of the church was given by bishop Porphyrius, who is known to have been bishop of Philippi in the first half of the fourth century C.E.; see Charalambos Bakirtzis, "Paul and Philippi: The Archaeological Evidence," in Bakirtzis and Koester, *Philippi*, 41–42.

old city-protecting heroes. A good and well-documented example is Saint Demetrios in Thessalonica, who stepped into the shoes of the venerated Kabiros.[4] The Virgin Mary now assumed the role of the city goddess Tyche in Constantinople and elsewhere. The emperor Constantine himself ordered and financed the building of new churches over the graves of the apostles Peter and Paul in Rome. Christianity fully became the heir of the ancient Greco-Roman cult of heroes within a few decades.

But it was a long way in the development of Christian beliefs to make it possible to worship at the tomb of a martyr or apostle or even at the tomb of Jesus. Christianity did not begin with worship at the tomb of its founder. In the beginning, such worship was rejected as a typically Jewish and pagan custom. Early Christian belief began with a clear disclaimer of such worship. Jesus was not a hero, and his grave did not play any role as a place of worship after his death. In his quotation of an early formula of faith, the apostle Paul speaks of Jesus' death, burial, resurrection, and epiphanies to many, but never mentions any worship at the tomb of Jesus (1 Cor 15:3–7). After all, "flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God" (1 Cor 15:50).[5]

The story of the empty tomb that is told variously in the ancient Christian gospels confirms this belief. Its oldest version is preserved at the end of the Gospel of Mark (Mark 16:1–8 and parallels). It tells about the women who came to the tomb[6] of Jesus in order to do the expected embalming of the body of Jesus. But they found that the tomb was empty and they were told, "You seek Jesus of Nazareth? . . . He has been raised. He is not here!" (Mark 16:6). In the traditional interpretation that is shared by most exegetes and indeed in the general Christian understanding, the record of the empty tomb of Jesus is usually taken as a story told in order to give evidence for the bodily resurrection of Jesus. It is unlikely, however, that this was its original intention. It should also be remembered that it was not difficult for the ancient

[4] James C. Skedros, *Saint Demetrios of Thessaloniki: Civic Patron and Divine Protector, 4th–7th Centuries CE* (HTS 47; Harrisburg, Penn.: Trinity Press International, 1999).

[5] All translations of scripture are taken from the NRSV.

[6] The canonical gospels use the term μνημεῖον in all reports about the tomb of Jesus; cf. Mark 16:2–8 and parr.; John 20:1–11, although there are a few textual variants in which the term μνῆμα appears.

mind to imagine the physical reality of the appearance of someone who had died. In order to tell that a dead person had appeared in bodily form, it was by no means necessary to tell that the tomb was empty.

The story of the empty tomb belongs to the oldest layer of the formation of the passion narrative. It predates the various stories of the epiphanies of the risen Jesus, which appear in different forms in the several traditions of the ancient Christian Gospels. While these epiphany stories serve as proofs for the reality of Jesus' resurrection, the story of the empty tomb must have had a very different purpose, namely, to explain that there would be no hero worship at the tomb of Jesus.[7] Tombs of the great figures of the history of the Bible were everywhere in ancient Israel, especially around Jerusalem. The authors of the Gospels of Matthew and of Luke knew this well when they presented Jesus as accusing the Pharisees that they built the tombs of the prophets and decorated the graves of the righteous (Matt 23:29; Luke 11:47–48). It is also reflected in the report that, after the death of Jesus, the tombs opened and many saints came out of their tombs and appeared to many in the city (Matt 27:52–53).

The story of the empty tomb in Mark 16 corresponds to the confession of the centurion standing at the cross when Jesus died, "Truly, this man was God's Son!" (Mark 15:39). Jesus is here not presented as a hero or a divine man, whom one should worship at his tomb; he is the Son of God—altogether belonging to a very different category of divine beings appearing on earth.[8] In the first part of the Gospel of Mark, Jesus had indeed been presented as a hero as he accomplished marvelous deeds of healing and even demonstrated his power over the forces of nature in the stilling of the tempest (Mark 4:35–41). The author of the Gospel

[7] This interpretation was orally presented some years ago by Dieter Georgi. I have no doubt that it is correct.

[8] I agree with Hans Dieter Betz ("Heroenverehrung und Christusglaube: Religionsgeschichtliche Beobachtungen zu Philostrats *Heroikos*," in *Geschichte—Tradition—Reflexion: Festschrift für Martin Hengel zum 70. Geburtstag*, vol. 2: *Griechische und Römische Religion* [ed. Hubert Cancik; Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1996], 138–39) that Christian christology required a model that was different from the worship of the hero. I would add, however, that this difference in christology is indebted to the tradition of Moses and to the servant of God in Deutero-Isaiah.

of Mark, however, argued that the true dignity of Jesus is not recognized by Peter's confession, "You are the Christ" (Mark 8:29), that is, the miracle-working heroic Messiah. Rather, he is the Son of Man who has to suffer and to die. In his death, Jesus truly becomes the Son of God, not a human being endowed with heroic powers but God's beloved Son who gives his own life as a ransom for many (Mark 10:45). According to the Gospel of Mark, Jesus is not a hero, legitimized by his miraculous accomplishments, but the Son of God because of his suffering and death.

That the early followers of Jesus explicitly rejected the worship of their dead master as a hero must be seen within the rich tradition in ancient Israel of the tombs of heroized ancestors. The tomb of Sarah and Abraham was situated east of Mamre in the field of Ephron that Abraham had purchased from the son of Zohar the Hittite (Gen 23:5–20). The Jewish historian Josephus (*Jewish War* 4.532) says that this tomb near Hebron, beautifully decorated with marble, was still shown in his day. According to Gen 25:9–10, Abraham's sons, Isaac and Ishmael, together buried him there.[9] This tomb of Abraham remains a sacred site for both Jews and Muslims to this very day—even the place of the terrible killing of Muslims by a deranged fanatic Jew only a few years ago.

As Josephus indicates (*Jewish Antiquities* 16.179–83), there was also the tomb of David and Solomon near Jerusalem, from which Herod the Great tried to rob some treasures and then built a memorial (μνῆμα) of white marble at the entrance. Josephus also notes that Herod's court historian Nicolaus of Damascus makes mention of this tomb, though—according to Josephus—he suppressed the information about Herod's robbery. It is not clear what is meant by the "tomb of Herod" to which the Roman army moved when it came down from Mt. Scopus (Josephus *Jewish War* 5.108). Since Herod the Great was buried at the Herodion (*Jewish War* 1.673—although the excavations have found no evidence for this whatsoever), it could have been the tomb of members of Herod's family or the tomb of Herod's grandson Agrippa I.

There is also the tomb of Rachel "on the way to Ephrat (that is, Bethlehem)," where "Jacob set up a pillar at her grave; it is the

9 That this memory was still alive in the early Christian period is indicated by the reference in Acts 7:16.

pillar of Rachel's tomb, which is remembered there to this day" (Gen 35:19–20). The author of the Gospel of Matthew refers to this tomb at the end of the story of the murder of the innocents of Bethlehem (Matt 2:17–18). Worship at the tombs is also evident from the remark in Matt 23:29/Luke 11:47 that the Pharisees "build the tombs (τάφοι) of the prophets and decorate the graves (μνημεῖα) of the righteous." Acts 2:29 refers to the fact that the tomb (μνῆμα) of David is still known to this very day. Further references to the known tombs of Israel's kings, prophets, and heroes of old are abundant in the Hebrew Bible.

There is, however, one exception: "Moses was buried in a valley in the land of Moab opposite Beth-Peor, but no one knows his burial place to this day" (Deut 34:6). The epilogue of the Book of Deuteronomy states that "never since has there arisen a prophet in Israel like Moses, whom the LORD knew face to face. He was unequaled for all the signs and wonders that the LORD sent him to perform in the land of Egypt, against Pharaoh and all his servants and his entire land, and for all the mighty deeds and all the terrifying displays of power that Moses performed in the sight of all Israel" (Deut 34:10–12). There may be a reference to this Moses in a later book of the Hebrew Bible, where also the obscurity of his tomb is especially emphasized: the servant of God of Deutero-Isaiah. Here the prophet speaks about the servant "who has borne our infirmities and carried our diseases," and who "was oppressed" and "afflicted" and "by a perversion of justice was taken away," "for he was cut off from the land of the living" (Isa 53:4, 7–8). "They made his grave with the wicked and his tomb with the rich" (Isa 53:9).[10] Like the tomb of Moses, the tomb of this new Moses, the servant of God, remains unknown. No worship took place at his tomb. The Christians, who fashioned their narrative of the suffering and death of Jesus in analogy to the story of the suffering servant of Deutero-Isaiah, knew that there should be no worship at the tomb of Jesus.

The early Christian church, however, was not able in the long run to reject the worship of the hero Jesus. The Jewish philosopher Philo of Alexandria had already given space to the

[10] See Klaus Baltzer, *Deutero-Isaiah: A Commentary on Isaiah 40–55* (Hermeneia: Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress, 2001).

concept of Moses as a hero in his *On the Life of Moses*.[11] The early Christian tradition, however, had apparently resisted for a long time the temptation to pay honor to the tomb of Jesus. The memory of Jesus was kept alive in the Christian Eucharist that was celebrated in his memory in every place where a community gathered for the common meal. At these meals it was believed that Jesus was mysteriously present as is told eloquently in the story of the Emmaus disciples (Luke 24:13–32). To be sure, Palestine had become the Holy Land as early as the writing of the Gospel of Luke, but it did not yet include the tomb of Jesus as a holy place. If there were heroes, they were the Christian martyrs, whose relics may have been collected as early as the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*.[12] Memorial meals were celebrated in honor of these martyrs in the cemeteries. Dates for these festivals began to be fixed during the fourth century.[13]

Full-fledged hero worship of Jesus, however, did not enter the early Christian world until the time of the emperor Constantine early in the fourth century. The tomb of Jesus had to be found again; nobody remembered where it was. Constantine's mother had to travel to Jerusalem and she was lucky to find it. Constantine ordered the building of a magnificent basilica; its eastern extension was a large rotunda as a house for the tomb of Jesus, which survives to this day as the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Hero worship had finally gained entry into Christianity. As worship at the tomb of the founding hero Jesus became the primary object of pilgrimages to Jerusalem, also the tombs of the apostles and martyrs were now discovered and monuments built to honor their memory and to invite pilgrims to stop on their way

[11] But see the conclusion of *On the Life of Moses*: "How also he was not laid to rest in the tomb (τάφος) of his forefathers, but was given a monument (μνῆμα) of special dignity which no man has ever seen" (2.291; trans. F. W. Colson; LCL; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1929).

[12] See *Mart. Pol.* 18.2. It is not certain, however, whether this reference belongs to the original report. It may have been added at a later time.

[13] The exact date for Polycarp's martyrdom, which appears at the end of the report (*Mart. Pol.* 21) is certainly a later addition that is characteristic for the attempt of the fourth-century church to regulate the hero worship of Christian martyrs; see Hans von Campenhausen, "Bearbeitungen und Interpolationen des Polykarpmartyriums," in Hans von Campenhausen, *Aus der Frühzeit des Christentums: Studien zur Kirchengeschichte des ersten und zweiten Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1963), 253–301.

to the Holy Land, as many did at the tomb and the octagonal martyrion of St. Paul in Philippi. Indeed, the claim of the discovery of the tomb of Saint Peter under the dome of his church in Rome makes this the largest and most magnificent place of Christian hero worship in the whole world.

Index of Greek Words

The following index lists the occurences by chapter and paragraph number of all of the words found in the Greek text of the *Heroikos* with the exception of δέ, καί, μέν, τε, the definite article, and the relative pronoun (ὅς). Comparative and superlative forms of adjectives and adverbs are to be found under the positive form. For proper names, the Glossary should be consulted.

ἀβασανίστως 7.10
ἀβέβηλος 58.2
ἁβρός 10.2; 17.2; 42.3
ἁβρότης 19.3
ἁβρῶς -ότερον 27.10
ἀγαθός 2.4; 4.3; 14.2; 18.2; 20.3; 21.4; 21.9; 23.15; 25.18; 31.7; 35.1; 42.4; 50.2
ἄγαλμα 7.3; 9.6; 9.7; 10.3; 10.5; 19.3; 19.5; 26.13; 26.16; 33.48; 35.7; 37.5; 42.3; 52.2; 54.3
ἄγαμαι 10.5; 26.8
ἄγαν 23.16
ἀγαπάω 20.3; 21.5; 26.4 (ter); 33.31; 35.9; 35.12; 35.14
ἀγγελία 31.7
ἄγγελος 23.11
ἀγέλη 18.3 (bis); 19.9
ἀγεννής 48.10
ἀγήνωρ 27.12
ἀγνοέω 8.18; 11.4; 14.3; 19.1; 23.1; 23.5; 23.6; 37.4
ἀγορά 1.5; 2.1; 4.4; 26.15; 33.15
ἀγοράζω 57.4
ἀγορεύω 35.13
ἄγριος 3.4; 17.4; 33.15
ἄγροικος 26.1; -ότερος 33.44
ἀγρός 4.2; 4.3; 4.4; 4.6; 4.10; 4.11; 5.2; 53.23
ἀγχίνους 33.3
ἄγω 4.1; 18.2; 23.1; 23.5; 23.10; 23.17; 25.10; 26.9; 28.7; 31.1; 31.9; 33.21; 33.27; 33.42; 39.1; 39.4; 43.11; 43.15; 45.3; 48.15; 51.6; 51.10; 53.2; 53.9; 53.15; 53.16; 57.9
ἀγώγιμος 53.3
ἀγών 13.4; 19.4; 23.12; 24.2; 25.12; 26.1; 26.19; 26.20; 27.2; 48.14
ἀγωνία 15.3
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ἀδακρυτί 45.6
ἀδάκρυτος 53.10
ἀδαμάντινος 15.7
ἀδάμας 46.7
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