

# Mythographical Narratives (*historiai*) in the D scholia to the *Iliad*

A Project by the University of New Hampshire's Greek Myth Lab  
December 2023

## Introduction

1. What are Scholia?	2
2. What are <i>Historiai</i>	3
3. What are the D Scholia?	5
4. Sources of Mythical Material	8
5. Texts and Translation	9
Mythical Stories in the D Scholia to Homer's <i>Iliad</i>	12

## Introduction

### 1. What are scholia?

The term “scholia” refers to the vast number of usually anonymous comments that are keyed to an ancient literary text, for example Homer’s *Iliad*, Pindar’s lyric poems, or Euripides’ tragedies. A rough modern comparison would be a text of Shakespeare that glosses old-fashioned words with more modern ones and commentary to help a reader understand the text that they are reading. The word scholia is fascinating in itself; the singular is scholion (Grk. σχολίον), the diminutive of the word *scholē*, which is the Greek word for “leisure” or “free time,” but later comes to mean “learning” and eventually “school” or “lecture.” A scholion, then, is nothing more than a “little lecture” or “note.” Collectively these notes are called “scholia,” and the person responsible for creating them is called a “scholiast.”

Scholia have a wide range of functions. Some notes might just offer a more mainstream equivalent of a poetic word—such as “before” might be given for “ere” in Shakespeare—or provide help with pronunciation or accentuation. Others might comment on the poem itself or offer criticism of the text or content. Still others set out to explain references or names in the text that might not be fully understandable or provide further background for them. It is this last group—the explanation of content, called in Greek *historiai* (see next section)—that are translated in this document.

All scholia are aimed at helping readers understand and contextualize a literary text, and so the notes have to be somehow connected to the work being read. Most often, these notes were written in the margins around the text itself, sometimes resulting in a very chaotic look to the page (examples: click [here](#) for the Venetus A, [here](#) for the Townleian manuscript). How would an ancient reader know which note belongs to which words or line of Homer? The commentator would, before the note, write out a word or phrase from the literary text being explained or mark off the text using various signs. The phrase pointing to the original text is called the *lemma* (literally, “that which is peeled off,” pl. *lemmata*); this connects the material in the note to the specific line or word being commented on. These are given in bold in this document, with the Greek in parentheses. Here is an example, which shows the lines explained and the lemma.

**Schol. (D) Il. 1.2 Achaians (Ἀχαιοίς).** The Greeks. Xouthos, the son of Aiolos, married Creousa, the daughter of Erechtheus, and had two sons, Ion and Achaios ...

Because of their explanatory function, scholia are typically anonymous, meaning that we don't know who wrote them or even when they were written or compiled. And, to complicate things more, the scholia that we do have are from a date well after antiquity. The earliest manuscript containing the scholia that are the focus of this document (called the D scholia) was copied in the 9th century AD, some 1500 years after the *Iliad* was first put down in written form. Even so, many of these notes clearly derive from earlier work on the *Iliad* and are often drawn from ancient sources. Many of the stories translated here, in fact, have also been found on papyrus dating as early as the 2nd century AD, and perhaps even from the 1st century, so we know that the origins of many of the stories are ancient (see below on the “Homeric Mythographer”).

## 2. What are *Historiai*?

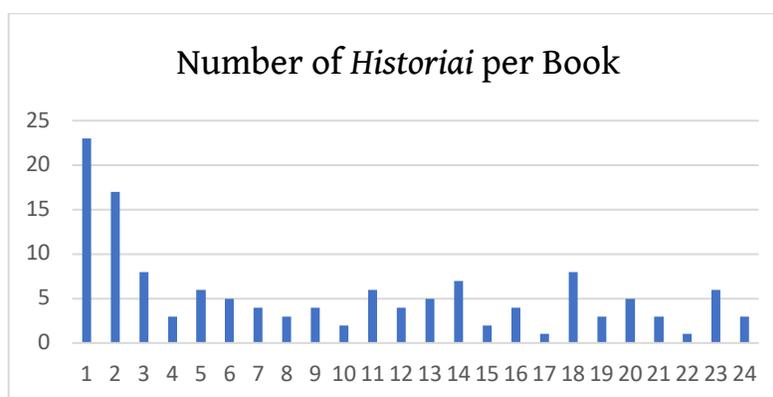
One of the jobs of the ancient literature teacher (*grammatikos*) was to explain the content and references in a literary text to students. The Greek term used for “content” is *historia*, which originally meant “inquiry” but later came to mean any self-contained narrative story. It was used famously by Herodotus, called the “father of history,” to describe his own investigation of the events involving the Persian Wars (ended 479 BC), and that's where we get our own word “history” today. But in antiquity *historia* also came to denote simply an “account” or “story,” and in terms of literature it could be used to refer to the stories told or alluded to by an author. Since most of the literary texts studied by students in antiquity were either an epic, tragic, or lyric poem, the vast majority of content that a student would encounter would involve myth (though not all: see below at *Il.* 23.683, a story why Greek athletes competed in the nude). Doubtlessly, literature teachers had to know these stories and the mythical information fully and to be able to deliver the content in a clear and accessible fashion. The *historiai* in the D scholia, then, were likely helpful reminders of these stories, which could be employed by teachers or students in a variety of ways.

There are 133 *historiai* in the D scholia to the *Iliad* (and nearly fifty in the corresponding scholia to the *Odyssey*) that concern the mythical storyworld, ranging from a few lines long to lengthy narratives. All of these are self-contained narratives that serve to explain or elaborate something in Homer's *Iliad*. Some of the stories explain names used by Homer (for example, the “Achaians” mentioned above at *Il.* 1.2, or where the island of Tenedos got its current name at *Il.* 1.38b); others offer background context to explain obscure phrases in the text (for instance, the vague mention of Zeus' plan at *Il.* 1.5, or why Calchas was called a “seer of evils” at *Il.* 1.106). A great number of the stories provide background information about the Trojan War that is not found in the *Iliad*, which only tells of a few months in the 10th year of the war, or where later poets, called *neoteroi* (“younger, more recent”), differed with or added context

to Homer’s work. We translate *neoteroi* as “post-Homeric poets,” while the scholia usually refer to Homer simply as “the poet.”

While most of the stories provide helpful context to explain Homer’s poem, and thus help with the process of reading the poem, many of the narratives are not actually necessary to understand the poem itself. Instead, they serve to widen readers’ knowledge of the mythical world by connecting references in Homer to the fuller world of myth. In other words, reading Homer’s *Iliad* is not just about understanding the poem itself, but how that poem fits into the wider Greek mythical storyworld. A good example of this is the poet’s description of the images on the shield that Hephaistos makes for Achilles in book 18. Among the images that the god depicts are constellations: the Pleiades, Hyades, Orion and the Bear. Knowing the mythical origins of these constellations is hardly essential to understand the passage, which is simply a list of the constellations. Yet, each constellation has a relatively extensive story provided in the D scholia. So the purpose of these stories is not to help readers understand Homer, but to lead readers to other parts of the mythical system, which in its totality was part of the educational process. In fact, taking time to learn the background of the constellations while reading Homer would serve to *slow down* the reading of Homer’s poem by quite a bit and would distract the reader from the flow of the poem. Thus, reading Homer also serves as an opportunity to expand one’s understanding of the rich tapestry of the mythical past in all its complexity.

There are 133 stories helping explain the material in the *Iliad*, but the distribution is not even, with the vast majority from books one and two.<sup>1</sup>



<sup>1</sup> In addition, there are distinctive clusters with high concentrations of stories at various points. For instance, there are six stories given in the first fourteen lines (1.2, 1.5, 1.7, 1.9, 1.10, 1.14), six more before the sixtieth line (1.38a, b, 1.39, 1.42, 1.52, 1.59), and a cluster of three from 1.263 to 1.268. There is a cluster in book 2 that explicates, in part, the mythical family of Agamemnon (2.103–7). Later, catalogs of Zeus’ lovers in book 14 and of constellations in book 18 offer peg for several stories.

Why is this? In addition to the typical phenomenon of commentators losing “steam” as they supplied commentary for lengthy works, this emphasis on the early books seems to coincide with the number of papyrus fragments found for the *Iliad*, indicating a greater focus on the earlier books. More than a thousand papyri and *ostraka* (pot sherds with writing on them, not an uncommon writing surface) with Homeric lines are now known, and this extensive evidence has been helpfully collected and synthesized by Rafaella Cribiore in her great book on education, *Gymnastics of the Mind* (2001: pp. 194–97, 204–5). Cribiore’s calculations show that half of the Iliadic papyri come from books 1–6. Of these, *Iliad* 1–2 made up the lion’s share, and these two books were also the focal points for school exercises and textbooks. This disproportionate distribution is also found in the references to Homer in the late antique commentary to Statius’ *Thebaid*, where 11 of the 22 references or citations of Homer come from books 1 and 2 of the *Iliad*.

### 3. What are the D scholia?

As noted above, scholia are basically a set of notes that help explain a literary work. What about the “D” in D scholia? As it happens, we have several classes of commentaries to Homer’s *Iliad*, which was the most studied poem in antiquity. These are identified by letters before the word “scholia.” The D scholia, then, are different from the A scholia (found in the famous Venetus A manuscript, which contains commentary from four ancient scholars, the *Viermännerkommentar*, or VMK for short), and from the bT scholia, which are found in several manuscripts of similar nature. The D scholia—named because the notes were once (falsely) associated with the ancient scholar *Didymus*—are distinctive because of their blend of mostly basic glosses of Homeric vocabulary and the systematic inclusion of the substantial *historiai* that are translated here. Other scholia have different profiles and often contain critical approaches to the poem, both philological and literary, which are not found in the D scholia. The other scholia do contain some *historiai*, a few similar to those found in the D scholia, but only the D scholia systematically include stories throughout the poem. The D scholia, in turn, are found in several individual manuscripts; they are generally consistent but can, at time, differ from each other as scribes and scholars would alter or add to the notes they were copying. In some cases—especially in a series of notes from books 5 and 6 where manuscript (commonly abbreviated to “ms.”) Z offers a shorter version of the note—we have chosen to translate the longer note from other manuscripts, noting important differences in ms. Z. Readers wanting to know more about the rich commentary tradition around the Homeric epics are invited to consult Eleanor Dickey’s *Ancient Greek Scholarship* (Oxford 2007) pp. 18–20, or Francesca Schironi’s chapter on Homeric Scholia in the *Cambridge Guide to Homer* (Cambridge 2020) pp. 155–158.

The relatively homogenous nature of the *historiai* in the D scholia—their form and structure are rather but not entirely consistent—suggests that they were taken from a pre-existing collection of mythical stories and then added to a set of notes that were focused on Homeric vocabulary. This led one scholar (Panzer) over a century ago to posit the existence of the so-called Mythographus Homericus (MH), “the Homeric Mythographer,” who would have been responsible for compiling the stories and organizing them in one place. The existence of such a work was confirmed when several papyri (2nd–4th c. CE) emerged from the sands of Egypt that had virtually the same stories in the same order. The language in the papyri is remarkably consistent with, but not always the same as, that in the D scholia, so it’s clear that they derive from the same original collection, even if either (usually) the D scholia or (more rarely) the papyri add an additional detail on their own. To give you a sense of how these two sources compare, we offer a side-by-side comparison below (bold denoting differences).

Schol. (D) <i>Il.</i> 1.38a “and sacred Cilla” (Κίλλαν τε ζαθέην)	<i>P.Hamburg</i> 3.199 “and sacred Cilla” (Κίλλαν τε ζαθέην)
Pelops son of Tantalos, as payment for giving up his youthful beauty, got <b>unbroken</b> horses from Poseidon along with a chariot. He then hurried off to Pisa in hopes of marrying Hippodameia, desirous of defeating her father, the suitor-killing Oinomaos. When he was <b>in the area of the Troad called “Lesbotis,” beside the region of the Andraioi</b> , his charioteer Cillos died...	Pelops son of Tantalos, as payment for giving up his youthful beauty, got horses from Poseidon along with a chariot. He then hurried off to Pisa to marry Hippodamia, desirous of defeating the suitor-killing Oinomaos. When he was next to Lesbos, his charioteer Cillos died...

While there are some slight differences in phrasing, the similarities between the two confirm that there was circulating in the imperial period a large, separate collection of myths that followed the order of presentation in the *Iliad*. Whether all the stories in the D scholia come from the Mythographus Homericus is still up for debate (we don’t have papyri for the MH for all parts of the *Iliad*). A (very) few stories in the D scholia are drawn from very late sources, which could not have been included in the Mythographus Homericus that was in circulation by the early second century AD.<sup>2</sup> Even so, the *historiai* in the D scholia certainly represent a concerted effort by a Homeric scholar to bring together, in one place, mythical information to accompany Homer’s poem, drawn mainly from one source (the MH) but with some additional stories taken from other sources. When there are papyri corresponding to the D scholia, we

<sup>2</sup> For example, the story at *Iliad* 2.220 (translated in this document), is drawn from the *Posthomerica* of Quintus of Smyrna’s first book (1.620–end). That work is usually dated to the fourth century though it may be slightly earlier.

provide translations of them in a footnote, using the text of M. van Rossum-Steenbeek's helpful collection of subliterate papyrus, *Greek Readers' Digests?* (Leiden 1998).

The D scholia, then, incorporate one form of Homeric scholarship (*historiai*) into another (glosses of vocabulary). Because our interest is in the mythographical narratives, we do not translate all of the other scholiastic material except in those cases where the notes relate to the mythological material. For those who want access to translations of full scholia, we invite readers to consult the work of Bill Beck *et al.* (*The Ancient Scholia to Homer's Iliad: A Translation*. Cambridge, forthcoming). To show how these mythographical stories are embedded in other sorts of notes, we provide an example here; the *historia* itself is found below in bold.

**Schol. (D) Il. 1.5 “And the plan of Zeus was brought to pass” (Διὸς δ’ ἐτελείετο βουλή)**

Plan of Zeus. Some explain this as fate (*heimarmenē*); others explain it as the sacred prophetic tree of Zeus on Mt. Dodona in Thesprotia, as Homer himself says in the *Odyssey* (14.327–8), “But Odysseus, he said, had gone to Dodona to hear / the will of Zeus from the high-crested oak of the god.” **Others have said that Homer’s statement derived from a certain *historia*: they say that Ge [Earth] was being burdened by an excessive number of humans, and there was no piety among them. So she asked Zeus to lighten her load. Zeus immediately acted, first creating the Theban War, through which he destroyed a lot of people. And later, taking Momos [Blame] as his counselor,<sup>3</sup> he married Thetis off to a mortal and fathered a beautiful daughter,<sup>4</sup> and from these two things a war arose between the Greeks and barbarians. And this is how it happened that the earth was lightened, with a bunch of people being killed off. The story is in Stasinus, the author of the *Cypria*, who said as follows (fr. 1): “There was a time when countless races of people / roaming over the land weighed down the surface of deep-breasted Earth. / Zeus saw and pitied her and decided in his shrewd mind / to lighten all-nurturing earth of people, / fanning the great strife of the Trojan War / so that he could drain the weight through death. And the heroes in Troy / kept dying, and the will of Zeus was being fulfilled. We say, in accordance with the opinion of Aristarchus and Aristophanes, that this is the plan of Thetis, who in what follows begs Zeus to punish the dishonor done to her son (1.508), just as is also laid out in the summary in the prooemium of the poem.**

---

<sup>3</sup> The manuscripts contain the following words after “counselor,” which were bracketed as a later and awkward addition by van Thiel: “which is the ‘plan of Zeus Homer is talking about. He was intending to destroy everyone with thunderbolts or floods, but Momos stopped him, suggesting two courses of action.”

<sup>4</sup> Peleus and Helen respectively.

We also do not translate the mythographical material that is not in narrative form. For example, although the scholiast at 1.8 uses mythical information to explain the obscure epithet of Achilles, *dios*, there is limited narrative material—only genealogical information:

**Schol. (D) Il. 1.8: “and *dios* Achilles”** [*dios* means] godlike, wellborn. Or that he was descended from Zeus [*Dios*], favored.” For Aiacos was descended from Aigina daughter of Asopos (the Theban river), and Aiacos’ sons were Telamon and Peleus. Peleus’ son was Achilles.

Similarly, another note gives limited mythical information explaining the three names of the Peloponnesos, but no narrative story:

**Schol. (D) Il. 1.30: “In Argos:”** In Argos, which is now called the Peloponnesos. Agamemnon was king of Mycenae, a city in Argos. One should know that the Peloponnesos was called Aigialeia in antiquity, named after Aigialeus, the son of Inachos (the river in Argos) and Melia, the daughter of Ocean. Later it was renamed Apia after Apis, the son of Phoroneus, and then Argos after the all-seeing Argos. Finally, it was called Peloponnesos from the fact that Pelops, the son of Tantalos, ruled all of the land.

We do not include these sorts of notes in our translation, although there is no guarantee that they were not part of the collection known as the Homeric Mythographer—after all, we have no such papyri for many lines of the epic poem. In fact, a geographically focused note on *Iliad* 20.3 is also found in a papyrus that transmits parts of the Homeric Mythographer.

#### 4. Sources of the Mythical Material

There is not enough space here to address adequately the complicated question about the source attributions that are present for most of the stories in the D scholia. These source attributions are in almost every case given at the end of the story in the form of “So-and-so tells the story (*historei*)” or “The story (*historia*) is in So-and-so,” and they purport to show the literary source from which the material is drawn. The problem can be reduced to the following two main points. First, the accuracy of these references is unknown since most of the sources referred to are lost or fragmentary; when we can check the references against an existing original text, we find that the material in the scholia may reflect the source closely or vary widely.

Second, does a reference imply that the *whole* story is taken from the source or just a salient detail or two? Take the note at *Il.* 3.243 on the Dioscouroi, which says that “this is the story according to Pindar.” When one checks the source which survives (*Nemean Ode* 10.55–90), however, we find that the fight between the Dioscouroi and the sons of Aphareus arises not because of the abduction of the latter’s fiancées, but over a cattle dispute. Some details are accurate, however: the two pair fight, Castor is killed by Idas, who is in turn thunderbolted by Zeus, and Polydeuces shares his immortality with his brother, Castor. At other points, the source reference points to a poet who simply alludes to the myth and does not tell it in its entirety. A good example is at *Il.* 5.412, where the scholia point to Lycophron, a notoriously dense and obscure poet, who in typical fashion only points to the story vaguely but does not narrate it. But the scholia to Lycophron—most poets needed commentary to help readers, and Lycophron’s dense poetry needs it more than most—do tell the story. So, when our scholiast to Homer points to “Lycophron,” it probably means that the scholiast was referring to a copy that had the full story in the margins, which is the source for the story. It’s possible that this means something like “I found this story in my copy of X author,” which included the text and accompanying commentary.

This only scratches the surface of the complicated and varied relationship between these source references and earlier literature, and we can see in some stories how the scholiast can mix things up. For instance, see the story at *Il.* 12.233 (with note), where the source references are obviously erroneous when compared with another source. In fact, the references in the D scholia may be less about showing care in documenting sources than they were about establishing some authority for the versions presented to readers—in other words, readers will feel confident that they are getting good information, even if the references are only partially related to the story being told. Whether they are accurate or not does not affect what the narratives are doing in their context: supplementing Homer’s text and extending the readers’ knowledge of the mythical storyworld.

## 5. Texts and Translation

We are certainly thankful that Helmut van Thiel decided to publish his edition of the D scholia in digital, open-source form. This allows for easy access, and we used his [2014 edition](#), which is an updated version of an earlier 2000 version. Van Thiel’s work was necessary because the magisterial collection of Iliadic scholia by Hartmut Erbse (De Gruyter 1969–88) pointed to but omitted the D scholia. A team of Italian scholars is working to produce a new edition that combines all of the important bodies of scholia, for both the *Iliad* (Franco Montanari, Fausto

Montana, Davide Muratore, Lara Pagani) and *Odyssey* (Filippomaria Pontani).<sup>5</sup> We have also benefitted from the careful work of Joan Pagès, whose 2007 Barcelona dissertation, *Mythographus Homericus: estudi edició comentada*, and other subsequent work have been invaluable to understanding the mythographical stories in the D scholia. Finally, a recent publication is worth noting for those who want to know more about the Homeric Mythographer: Joan Pagès and Nereida Villagra, eds. *Myths on the Margins of Homer: Prolegomena to the “Mythographus Homericus”* (2022).

Reading ancient texts such as these *historiai* are difficult for many reasons, not least because the names that were familiar to the ancient Greeks and Romans are not household names to us. In addition, since the aim of the scholiastic notes was to help readers cope with the *Iliad*, they often omit details that are found in the epic—in other words, it’s helpful to have Homer’s text available to you as you read this document (see the story of Euneus at 7.467, where the name is not given until the last line of the story). Finally, there are a number of technical markings in the translation which note editorial interventions on our part. There are three such markings:

- 1) [text] marks an editorial addition to help the reader understand the text. [...] denotes non-mythological material omitted from the translation.
- 2) {text} gives an etymological note, whether explaining a Greek word or giving the Greek where it shows how names were derived.
- 3) <...> means that there is something missing in the text itself, usually through a mistake or accident when scribes copied the text, and that we are not confident enough to provide a guess. <text> indicates the material that we think dropped out of the text or our best guess to offer the reader some context.

In terms of spelling mythical entities, we have adopted the transliteration scheme of MANTO ([manto.unh.edu](http://manto.unh.edu)). For ancient authors, we have Latinized the names and followed the practice of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Since the D scholia are valuable witnesses to earlier mythographical and poetic texts, it is important to point to the modern editions of these authors. We give the fragment numbers of mythographers from the early period based on Fowler’s edition (*Early Greek Mythography*, 2 vols. 2000, 2013 [abbreviated *EGM*]). For later authors we include references to Jacoby’s *FGrHist* numbers (now Brill’s *New Jacoby*) or, in some

---

<sup>5</sup> See the bibliography in Fausto Montana and Franco Montanari, “The Ecdotic Problem of the Mythographus Homericus: Some Thoughts on the Scholiastic Side,” in: *Myths on the Margins of Homer: Prolegomena to the Mythographus Homericus*, edited by Joan Pagès and Nereida Villagra, 31–56 (De Gruyter 2022).

cases, the *FHG* references (*Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, now available in digital form at <https://www.dfhg-project.org>).

The translations in this document were a collective effort, part of the Greek Myth Lab at the University of New Hampshire, which included undergraduates and occasionally advanced high school students. The original translators are noted by initials after the translation; the final document has been standardized and edited by Scott Smith. The contributors are:

AP: Allina Podgurski

AT: Ari Toumpas

ChR: Christian Rhoads

CR: Camden Roy

DBD: Don Bart Doyle

JC: Jacob Compagna

JL: Joseph Laufer

KB: Kennis Barker

MR: Melina Ryan

RSS: R. Scott Smith

Finally, we would like to thank the anonymous readers of *Canopus* and the editor-in-chief, Greta Hawes, who read our work with such care and offered a great many suggestions that have improved this work substantially. It often goes without saying, but we'll express it here: a scholarly work is never the product of one, but is the culmination of hundreds of years of tireless effort and bears the imprint of many, many hands.

## Mythical Stories in the D Scholia to Homer's *Iliad*

### Schol. (D) *Il.* 1.2 Achaians (Ἀχαιοῖς)

The Greeks {*Hellenes*}. Xouthos, the son of Aiolos, married Creousa, the daughter of Erechtheus, and had by her two sons, Ion and Achaios. Of these, Ion lived in Athens, while Achaios, having murdered one of his family members, went to Thessaly, became ruler of the land, and named his subjects “Achaians” after him. All the people of Hellas were collectively called “Hellenes” after Hellen son of Zeus. The first to be called this were people in Thessaly, and not even all of them—only those in the city of Hellas had that name. Later, after Hellen and his children became extremely powerful, all were called “Hellenes” after him. [RSS]

### Schol. (D) *Il.* 1.5 And the plan of Zeus was brought to pass (Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή)

[...]<sup>6</sup> Others have said that Homer's statement derived from a certain *historia*: they say that Ge [Earth] was being burdened by an excessive number of humans, and there was no piety among them. So she asked Zeus to lighten her load. Zeus immediately acted, first creating the Theban War, through which he destroyed a lot of people. And later, taking Momos [Blame] as his counselor,<sup>7</sup> he married Thetis off to a mortal and fathered a beautiful daughter,<sup>8</sup> and from these two things a war arose between the Greeks and barbarians. And this is how it happened that the earth was lightened, with a bunch of people being killed off. The story is in Stasinus, the author of the *Cypria* (fr. 1 Davies).<sup>9</sup> [RSS]

### Schol. (D) *Il.* 1.7 Son of Atreus (Ἀτρείδης)

The son of Atreus is Agamemnon. According to Homer Agamemnon is the son of Atreus, the son of Pelops, and his mother was Aerope. According to Hesiod (fr. 194 MW = 137a Most) he was son of Pleisthenes.<sup>10</sup> Agamemnon was Mycenaean by birth and led a fleet to Troy. After he sacked Troy and returned home, he was treacherously killed while feasting by Aigisthos, the son of Thyestes, who had taken advantage of his absence and seduced Agamemnon's wife,

---

<sup>6</sup> See Introduction for a translation of the complete entry and discussion.

<sup>7</sup> The manuscripts contain the following words after “counselor,” which were bracketed by van Thiel as a later and awkward addition: “which is the ‘plan of Zeus Homer is talking about. He was intending to destroy everyone with thunderbolts or floods, but Momos stopped him, suggesting two courses of action.”

<sup>8</sup> Peleus and Helen respectively.

<sup>9</sup> The scholion continues with a verbatim quotation of his source and other interpretation of Zeus' plan, a rare citation of actual lines from a poem. See Introduction for the full text of the D scholion here.

<sup>10</sup> Pleisthenes was son of Atreus.

Clytemnestra. According to the tragedians, it was Clytemnestra herself who killed him after giving him a cloak without hole for his head. By her Agamemnon had a son, Orestes, and four daughters, Laodice, Chrysothemis, Iphigeneia, and Electra. [RSS]

### Schol. (D) *Il.* 1.9 the son of Leto and Zeus (Λητοῦς καὶ Διὸς υἱός)

The son of Leto and Zeus is Apollo. [...] Zeus desired Leto, the daughter of Coios (one of the Titans) and Phoibe, and impregnated her. She, after nine months went by, traveled through the sea to the island of Asteria, one of the Cyclades. When she got there, she grasped two trees, an olive and a palm, and gave birth to twins, Artemis and Apollo, and she called the island Delos because it became rooted in one place instead of being in an obscure {*adēlos*} position.<sup>11</sup> [RSS]

### Schol. (D) *Il.* 1.10 the host (λαοί)

A mass of soldiers. Stones are called “laes” in a certain dialect. Deucalion was the son of Prometheus. He was ruler over the region around Phthia and married Pyrrha, the daughter of Epimetheus and Pandora, whom the gods fashioned as the first woman. When Zeus wanted to destroy the Bronze Race, Deucalion on Prometheus’ instructions built a chest,<sup>12</sup> loaded the necessary provisions onto it, and boarded it with Pyrrha. Zeus poured torrential rains from heaven and flooded most of Hellas, resulting in the deaths of all people except those few who fled to the nearby high mountains. Then Tempe, the valley in Thessaly, also split apart and everything outside of the Isthmos and the Peloponnesos was flooded. Deucalion was carried through the sea in the chest for nine days and nine nights and landed on Parnassus. There, when the rainstorms came to an end, he disembarked and sacrificed to Zeus Phyxios {the Savior}. Zeus sent Hermes to him and told him to ask what he wanted. Deucalion asked that people be born for him; on Zeus’ instructions, he picked up and threw rocks over his head. The stones that Deucalion threw became men; those that Pyrrha threw became women. This story is found in Apollodorus (*Bibl.* 1.46–48 = 1.7.2). [RSS]

### Schol. (D) *Il.* 1.14 holding wreaths in his hands (στέμματ’ ἔχων ἐν χερσίν)

Daphne was the especially beautiful daughter of Ladon, the river in Arcadia. Apollo desired her and, wanting to sleep with her, started chasing her. Just as the god was overtaking her,

---

<sup>11</sup> This seeks to explain the myth that the island wandered in the sea before the birth of the twins. See Callimachus, *Hymn to Delos*, lines 51–54, which provides the same etymological explanation.

<sup>12</sup> The word *larnax*, sometimes translated as “ark,” also means coffin. It is the same item in which Tennes (1.38b) and Perseus (14.319) were put when cast into the sea.

they say, she prayed to her mother Ge [Earth] to open up and receive her. After this happened and the Earth sent up a tree that bears her name, Apollo saw it and was stunned. He named the tree *daphne* {“laurel”} after the name of the maiden. He took the branches and wreathed himself with them. [RSS]

**Schol. (D) Il. 1.38a “and sacred Cilla” (Κίλλαν τε ζαθέην)<sup>13</sup>**

Pelops son of Tantalos, as payment for giving up his youthful beauty, got a team of unbroken horses from Poseidon along with a chariot. He then hurried off to Pisa in hopes of marrying Hippodameia, desirous of prevailing over her father, the suitor-killing Oinomaos. When he was in the area of the Troad called “Lesbotis,” beside the region of the Andraioi,<sup>14</sup> his charioteer Cillos died. Cillos visited Pelops, who was greatly grieving his death, in a dream. He lamented his own demise and demanded Pelops provide him a proper funeral. Because of this, when Pelops woke up, he burned Cillos’ image in fire, and then buried his ashes in grand fashion, heaping a burial mound on top of him and building a shrine next to it. He called it the shrine of Apollo Cillaios because of the fact that Cillos died unexpectedly. What is more, he also founded a city and called it Cilla. Cillos, meanwhile, evidently assisted Pelops even after death, helping him defeat Oinomaos in the race. This story is in Theopompus (*FGrHist* 115 fr. 350). [RSS]

**Schol. (D) Il. 1.38b Of Tenedos (Τενέδοιό τε)<sup>15</sup>**

[...] Tenedos is an island lying in view of Troy. Earlier it did not yet have this name, since Tennes and Leucothea had not yet been born to Cycnos son of Poseidon.<sup>16</sup> The people back then called it Leucophrys. When Tennes and Leucothea were born to Cycnos, their mother did not survive, and Cycnos got remarried to Phylonome (some say is was to Polyboia). Phylonome—Tennes was already a grown man—desired him and sent him messages about

---

<sup>13</sup> *P.Hamb.* 3.199 (van Rossum-Steenbeek #48) has the opening of this story: “**and sacred Cilla:** Pelops son of Tantalos, as payment for giving up his youthful beauty, got horses from Poseidon along with a chariot. He set out for Pisa to marry Hippodamia, desirous of defeating the suitor-killing Oinomaos. When he was next to Lesbos, his charioteer Cillos died...Cilla...” For a proposal that this story conflates the panhellenic version of the story with a local version told in Lesbos, see Joan Pagès, *Polymnia* 5 (2020) 1–19.

<sup>14</sup> The text here is problematic, not least because only manuscript Z contains the specification of “Lesbotis,” where others simply say “around Lesbos.” In addition, the land of the Andraioi is nowhere else mentioned, and it may be a mistake for “Antandros,” which is a town south of Troy.

<sup>15</sup> *P.Hamb.* 3.199 (van Rossum-Steenbeek #48) is fragmentary, but some parts can be read: “<he threw...> his sister into the sea below. The chest was driven by <divine> purpose to the island at that ti<me> called <Leucophrys> but later Tenedos <after him>. Myrtilos and E<name unclear> tell the story.

<sup>16</sup> Van Thiel deletes this last clause as repeating what comes next.

getting together. He dutifully made sure the bonds of nature were not broken, so she accused him before his father of having tried to rape her. Believing her accusation, Cycnos arrested his son, put him into a chest, and threw it into the nearby sea. But Poseidon saved him because of his self-control and because he was his grandson. He made the chest land on the island of Leucophrys. After the people there saw the chest, opened it up, and learned what had happened, they not only made him their king, they also named the island Tenedos after him. [RSS]

### Schol. (D) Il. 1.39 Smintheus (Σμινθεῦ)<sup>17</sup>

This is an epithet of Apollo. Sminthos is a place in the Troad where there is a shrine of Apollo Smintheus. The reason is as follows. There was a certain Crinis who lived in Chryse, a city in Mysia, and he was a priest of the Apollo that was worshipped there. The god got angry with him and sent mice against the fields, which kept ruining the crops. Eventually, the god wanted to reconcile with him and came to Ordes, who was in charge of Crinis' herds. Kindly received by him, the god promised to free him from the blight and at once shot and killed the mice. As the god was leaving, he ordered him to reveal his epiphany to Crinis. When he did, Crinis established a shrine to the god and gave him the epithet "Smintheus," since according to their local dialect mice are called *sminthoi*. The story is in Polemon (fr. 31 Preller). Others have said the following. When the Cretans were sending out a colony, they received an oracle from Apollo that told them to found a city wherever they were opposed by "the earthborn" (he was talking about mice). They sent the colonists out. When they got to the Hellespont, during the night mice gnawed through the straps of their armor. When they got up in the morning and saw what had happened, they put their heads together and founded a city there which they called Sminthia because the Cretans call mice *sminthoi*. Apollo is called Smintheus because he defended this city. [RSS]

### Schol. (D) Il. 1.42: Danaans (Δαναοί)

The Greeks. Here's the story. Belos, the brother of Agenor and the son of Poseidon and Libya (after whom the land got the name "Libya"), ruled the Egyptians. He married Anchinoe, the daughter of the Nile, and had twin children, Aigyptos and Danaos. Belos settled Danaos in Libya, Aigyptos in Arabia. The latter subdued the land of the Melampodai {"Blackfeet"} and named the land "Egypt" after himself. By many wives Aigyptos had fifty sons and Danaos had fifty daughters. The two quarreled over power. Later, Danaos became afraid of Aigyptos' sons

---

<sup>17</sup> P.Hamb. 3.199 (van Rossum-Steenbeek #48) preserves only the lemma and the first sentence: "in the city of Chryse <in Mysia> there was a priest named Crinis..."

because he had heard from an oracle that he was going to be murdered by one of them. On Athena's instructions he built the ship that was called the "Fifty-Oar" after the number of his daughters—the first of its kind. He put the girls onto it and fled. He landed on Rhodes where he dedicated the statue of Lindian Athena. From there he went to Argos, where Gelanor, who was ruler at that time, handed over the kingship to him. He conquered the land and named the inhabitants "Danaans" after him. This story is in Apollodorus' second book (*Bibl.* 2.11–13 = 2.1.4). [RSS]

**Schol. (D) *Il.* 1.52 pyres (πυραί)**

In olden times the bodies of the dead were first cremated on account of the fact that it simplified things, then buried in this condition under the earth. The reason the Greeks burn their corpses is as follows. The first person to be buried this way, they say, was Argeios, the son of Licymnios; Heracles did so out of necessity. When Heracles, they say,<sup>18</sup> assembled an army to attack Troy (because Laomedon had broken the agreement that he had made with Heracles, who had saved his daughter Hesione from the sea monster, but had not given him the horses that he had promised him for such a good deed), he asked Argeios to join him just as if he were a relative. They say that Argeios' father, Licymnios, was reluctant to do so because he had already lost his older son, named Oionos, when he sent him with Heracles against Lacedaimon, and he would not let his son go until Heracles swore that he would bring him home. When Argeios met his end, Heracles was at a loss how he might fulfill his oath. So he burned his corpse and, they say, this man was the first to receive such treatment. The story is in Andron (fr. 10 Fowler; *EGM* 2.314). [RSS]

**Schol. (D) *Il.* 1.59 Son of Atreus, now I think we shall return home (Ἀτρείδη νῦν ἄμμε παλιμπλαγχθέντας ὄϊω)**

Post-Homeric poets take their cue from this when telling the story about Mysia in the following way. When the Greeks were sailing around Troy, they landed in Mysia and they mistakenly took to sacking the city, thinking it was Troy. Telephos, the son of Heracles and Auge (the daughter of Aleos), was king of the Mysians, and when he saw that his land was being plundered, he armed his men and chased the Greeks back to their ships, killing many. When Achilles attacked him, he did not stand his ground, but fled. While fleeing he got twisted up in a grape vine and was wounded in his thigh (Dionysos was getting his revenge for Telephos' failure to honor him). The Greeks returned to Argos. When Telephos' wound would not heal, Achilles cured him after consulting one of the gods (cf. *Apd. Epit.* 3.16–19). [RSS]

---

<sup>18</sup> Following ms. Q; the others read "he says."

**Schol. (D) *Il.* 1.106 seer of evils (μάντι κακῶν)**

[...] Post-Homeric poets tell the following story. When the Greeks had assembled in the city of Aulis in Boiotia and were held up in port, Calchas the seer proclaimed that the Greeks would not be able to sail to Troy unless Agamemnon sacrificed his daughter Iphigeneia to Artemis. This was because he had killed her sacred goat that was being raised in her grove and, what's more, boastfully said that not even Artemis could have shot like him. Forced under the strain of necessity, Agamemnon led the girl to the altar, but the goddess pitied her and substituted a deer in her place, saving her and saying that she had been sent to the temple of the goddess among the Taurians in Scythia. The story is in many post-Homeric poets and in Dictys, the author of the *Trojan Matters* (*FGrHist* 49 fr. 5). [RSS]

**Schol. (D) *Il.* 1.180 lords over the Myrmidons (μυρμιδόνεσσιν ἄνασσε)**

That is, he rules the Myrmidons. Zeus abducted Aigina the daughter of Asopos, the river in Thebes, and brought her to Phlious, where he raped the aforementioned girl and made her pregnant (she would give birth to Aiacos). In his search for her Asopos learned from Sisyphos who had abducted her and where he had gone. Without delay he hurried off. Zeus, about to be caught red-handed, changed Aigina into the island that bears her name while he himself turned into a rock. When Asopos couldn't find anyone, he returned to his own springs. Zeus wanted to punish the tattletale, so he forced Sisyphos in the underworld to push uphill a giant boulder that was the same size as the one he turned into. Since Aiacos was all alone on the island, Zeus took pity on him and turned the ants {*myrmē*-} there into people, and this is the reason they are called Myrmidons. [RSS]

**Schol. (D) *Il.* 1.195 from heaven (οὐρανόθεν)**

The poet says that Athena (that is, "sense") comes from heaven. This is why she has to come down like this and control him [Achilles] by the hair and not some other part of the body, because that is where the logical part of the soul is situated. Mythographers too say with good reason that Metis, being pregnant with Athena, was swallowed by Zeus and when she came to term the goddess emerged fully armed from his head. The story is in Apollodorus in the first book (*Bibl.* 1.20 = 1.3.6). [RSS]

**Schol. (D) Il. 1.263 Peirithoos (Πειρίθooν)**<sup>19</sup>

[...] Peirithoos, the son of Ixion, was an Athenian by birth, but he was related to the Centaurs. When he was getting married to Hippodameia daughter of Boutes, he invited the Centaurs to the festivities. But the Centaurs got drunk and tried to violate all the Greek women who were present. In response to this the Lapiths banded together, fought them off, and chased them all the way to Malea, a mountain in the Peloponnese. <Peirithoos was Zeus' son. Dia, dwelling...some words uncertain><sup>20</sup> had sex with Zeus and gave birth to the aforementioned Peirithoos, who was given this name because of the fact that Zeus “ran around” {*perithein*} in the form of a horse when he had sex with his mother. [RSS]

**Schol. (D) Il. 1.264 And Caineus (Καινέα τε)**<sup>21</sup>

Caineus was son of Elatos and king of the Lapiths. At first, he was a beautiful young girl, but after Poseidon slept with her, the girl asked to change into a man. She became invulnerable and proved to be the most valorous man among his peers. Once, he planted a spear in the very middle of the town square and ordered people to consider it a god. Zeus got angry at this and punished him for his impiety: while Caineus was fighting the Centaurs, Zeus allowed them to overcome him, even though he was invulnerable. The aforementioned Centaurs hit him with oak and fir trees and drove him into the earth.<sup>22</sup> [RSS]

---

<sup>19</sup> A fragmentary papyrus (P.Oxy. 418 = van Rossum-Steenbeek #49) offers some readable sections: “...women. In response to <this, the Lapiths assembl>ed for war and chased the Centaurs ... to Malea, a mountain in the P<eloponnese>, where Heracles kil<led> them. Peirithoos was Zeus' son: Dia, dwelling...slept with Zeus, who had changed...and <bore> Peirithoos.”

<sup>20</sup> There is a lacuna (i.e., a gap in the text) here in the D scholia, and the surviving text is somewhat garbled; the missing material probably involved Peirithoos' parents (Zeus and Dia), conception or birth. We have imported some material from P.Oxy. 418 to give a coherent account.

<sup>21</sup> P.Oxy. 418 (= van Rossum-Steenbeek #49) provides the following: “<Caineus was> the son <of Elatos> and king of the Lapiths ... he was a beautiful <girl...> when Poseidon slept with her, she asked <to change> and she became an invulnerable young man. Though he proved to be the ... of his peers, he could not bear <the weight of his> good fortune. He disparaged the gods and held them of no account, and once he planted a spear ... town square and ordered people to consider it a god. Zeus got angry and allowed the Centaurs, when he went to war against them, to get the better of him even though he was invulnerable. The Centaurs drove him into the earth with fir and oak trees.”

<sup>22</sup> After this the scholion gives several lines from Apollonius of Rhodes, *Argonautica* (1.59–64), which involve Caineus: “For bards relate that Caineus though still living perished at the hands of the Centaurs, when apart from other chiefs he routed them; and they, rallying against him, could neither bend nor slay him; but unconquered and unflinching he passed beneath the earth, overwhelmed by the downrush of massy pines” (trans. Rieu).

**Schol. (D) Il. 1.268 wild beasts (φερσίην)<sup>23</sup>**

Homer means the Centaurs. Ixion, the son of Phlegyas, married Dia daughter of Eioneus. But when his father-in-law came for the gifts of the bride-price, Ixion tricked him and burned him to death. After Ixion went mad and was purified by the gods, he desired Hera. Zeus wanted to put the man to the test, to see if he would really go through with it, so he fashioned a cloud to look like Hera and put it in bed with him. Ixion slept with it as if it were Hera and had a son, Centauros, from which the race of Centaurs descends. After Ixion died, Zeus punished him by making him spin violently on an iron wheel in the underworld. [RSS]

**Schol. (D) Il. 1.399 When they tried to bind him (ὀπότε μιν ξυνδήσαι)<sup>24</sup>**

When Zeus took control in the heavens, he wielded his power excessively, committing many willful acts. Poseidon, Hera and Apollo<sup>25</sup> wished to subjugate him by tying him up. When Thetis heard the plot against Zeus from her father, Nereus (he was a seer), she hurried to him, leading forth as an ally Aigaion to terrify the conspiring gods. He was a sea-god and judged against his father, Poseidon. When Zeus heard Thetis' message, he hung Hera up in the fetters she intended for him and sentenced Poseidon and Apollo to serve Laomedon. To reward Thetis, he safeguarded the honor of Achilles for the rest of time. Didymos tells the story (p. 179 Schmidt). [AP, MF, CR]

**Schol. (D) Il. 1.418 you were [destined to die young and pitiable] ([ὠκύμωρος καὶ ὀϊξυρός...] ἔπλεο)**

For it is said that Thetis learned of Achilles' fate from Zeus: if he remained in Phthia and did not sail with the Greeks to Troy, he would have a long life, but without fame. But if he did accompany them, his life would be short, but he would be famous in song and story. When Thetis learned of this, she deposited her son, as if a girl, in the women's quarters of Lycomedes' palace on Scyros (this is one of the Cyclades islands). [RSS]

<sup>23</sup> This story is not found in *P.Oxy.* 418, which after the note to line 1.264 immediately provides one for 1.399.

<sup>24</sup> *P.Oxy.* 418 (= van Rossum-Steenbeek #49) offers a bit more context along with the story: “**When <other> Olympian gods tried to bind him:** Some write ‘and Phoibos Apollo’ [instead of ‘and Pallas Athena’]. For <they say> that when Zeus ruled over the gods in an overweening fashion, Poseidon, Hera and Apollo plotted against him. When Thetis learned this from her father Nereus, who was a seer, she revealed the plot to Zeus and delivered as an ally the Hundred-Hander Aigaion, the son of Poseidon. Zeus bound Hera and ordered Poseidon and <Apo>llo to serve Laomedon.

<sup>25</sup> The manuscripts add “and Athena” to the list of the gods that conspired against Zeus, rightfully deleted by van Thiel. Athena's name does not appear in the rest of the story in the D scholia nor in the papyrus.

**Schol. (D) *Il.* 1.519 when Hera will rouse my anger (Ἥρη ὄτ' ἄν μ' ἐρέθῃσιν)**

Zeus desired Thetis daughter of Nereus and pursued her with the intention of raping her. When he got to Mt. Caucasus, he was stopped by Prometheus, who said that the son born from Thetis would be greater than his own father. Fearing for his own power in the sky, Zeus kept away from the aforementioned goddess but gave her to Peleus as a way to honor his own son, Aiacos.<sup>26</sup> Achilles was her son. He surpassed not only his own father in military prowess but all other heroes at that time. [RSS]

**Schol. (D) *Il.* 1.590 “for once before I was eager to defend you (ἤδη γάρ με καὶ ἄλλοτ' ἀλεξέμεναι μεμαῶτα)**

When Heracles was on his way home after he had sacked Troy in response to Laomedon's treachery (Laomedon had tried give him mortal horses instead of the immortal ones he had promised as payment), he was detained by a storm due to Hera's wrath and put into shore on the island of Cos Meropis. She hated the hero and for this reason she had earlier lulled Zeus to sleep.<sup>27</sup> When the people of Cos saw him from the city, they drove him away from it in fear that he was a wild bandit. Angered by this, Heracles sacked the city of Cos. As for Hera's lulling of Zeus to sleep, he got angry and put her in chains. When Hephaistos tried to free her and was caught red-handed, he was hurled from Olympos. Crashing down on Lemnos, an island off Thrace, he became lame, as the poet says. This is also why Lemnos is sacred to the god.<sup>28</sup> [RSS]

**Schol. (D) *Il.* 1.609 to his own couch (πρὸς ὃν λέχος)**

[...] Cronos' and Rhea's male children were Zeus, Poseidon and Hades. Their daughters were Hestia, Demeter and Hera. Of these, they say, <Zeus and Hera> fell in love during the reign of Cronos <...there is a gap in the text...> Zeus and Hera for three hundred years, as Callimachus says in the second book of the *Aitia* “when Zeus loved for three hundred years” (fr. 48 Harder). Sleeping with each other without their parents' notice, they had a son, Hephaistos, not completely healthy, but lame in both feet—as one can see when Homer calls him “crooked in both feet.” That they slept together without their parents' knowledge is also attested by Homer, who says (*Il.* 14.296) “the two came to make love unknown to their own parents.” After Zeus overthrew the Titans and cast Cronos down into Tartaros, he and Hera took over the kingdom in heaven and have ruled over gods and humans up until this very day as husband and wife. Hera received the epithets “Married” {*teleia*} and “Yoked” {*zygia*} since she was the only sibling

<sup>26</sup> Aiacos was Peleus' father.

<sup>27</sup> This refers to events in *Iliad* 14.

<sup>28</sup> See also the story at 14.255.

to receive such a husband. She had a daughter, Hebe, whom the poet presents as cupbearer of the gods. [RSS]

**Schol. (D) Il. 2.103 Argeiphontes (Ἀργειφόντη)**

[...] Some say this is an epithet, which arose for the following reason. Zeus desired Io, the daughter of Inachos, the king of the Argives. After having slept with her, he turned her into a cow because of Hera’s jealousy. Hera asked Zeus for the cow and got her, and then stationed over her as a guard Argos, who was called the “all-seer” since he had eyes all over his body. Zeus ordered Hermes to steal the cow, but when he was unable to slip past Argos, he hit him with a rock and killed him—and that’s how he got the name *Argeiphontes* {“Argos-killer”}. Hera set a gadfly upon Io as if she were a cow. Driven to flee by the pain, she first came upon the bay which was named “Ionian” after her. Then she crossed the strait {*poros*} which was once called Thracian but which is now called “Bosporus” {“Cow-Strait”} after her. Having wandered over various other places, she came to Egypt, where, having reclaimed her old form, she gave birth to a son, Epaphos, along the Nile river. This story is more broadly told in Apollodorus’ second book (*Bibl.* 2.6–9 = 2.1.3). [ChR, CR]

**Schol. (D) Il. 2.104 lord Hermes gave it [the scepter] to Pelops, the horse-driver (Ἑρμείας δὲ ἄναξ δῶκε Πέλοπι πληξίππῳ)**

*Plexippos* means “horse-driver” or “horseman.” When Hippodameia, the daughter of Oinomaos, desired Pelops, she persuaded Myrtilos, the son of Hermes and her own father’s chariot-driver, to help him achieve victory over her father by keeping the latter’s horses from running at full speed. She wanted Pelops to catch the horses and so marry her. For marriage to her was the prize for the victor, but death was the prize for the loser. While they raced, Oinomaos fell from his chariot—the pegs in the axle box came loose, the result of Myrtilos’ treachery. When Oinomaos realized the plot against him, he brought down curses on Myrtilos—that he be killed by Pelops—and this came to pass. For while they were sailing across the Aegean Sea, Hippodameia grew thirsty, and so Pelops got off the ship {*harma*, confusingly also “chariot”}<sup>29</sup> and went in search of water in the wilderness. At that very moment, Hippodameia conceived a desire for Myrtilos and begged him not to reject her. Myrtilos did just that, but when Pelops returned, Hippodameia got to him first and accused Myrtilos of violating her. Pelops pushed Myrtilos from the ship {*harma*, “chariot” or “ship”} into the sea

<sup>29</sup> Apparently, the scholiast has transformed a story was set on land in the Peloponnesos (as in other versions) and has it take place on the sea. So, the meaning of *harma* shifts from “chariot” (its main meaning) to “ship” (a rarer use). The shift may be explained by a conflation of two versions of the story, one set on Lesbos, and another on the Peloponnesos (see J. Pagès, *Polymnia* 5 (2020) 1–19).

and took the reins of the ship himself. From this event, the Sea is named Myrtoan after Myrtilos, and Pelops was called the *plēxippos* {“Horse-driver”} from then on, on account of the fact that he himself drove the horses. [JL, AP, CR, ChR, AT]

**Schol. (D) Il. 2.105 And Pelops in turn (αὐτὰρ ὁ αὖτε Πέλοψ)**

Pelops passed it [the scepter] on to Atreus. Pelops had a child, Chrysippos, by his first wife. He then married Hippodameia daughter of Oinomaos, by whom he fathered several children. But Chrysippos was very much loved by Pelops, so his stepmother and her children grew jealous and plotted his death so that Pelops would not pass the kingdom to him. They appointed Atreus and Thyestes, the eldest of the children, to the task. When Pelops realized that Chrysippos had been killed, he banished those children of his that had become murderers. He called down curses on them and their descendants, that they be destroyed. The children were banished from Pisa to various other lands. When Pelops died, Atreus, since he was the older son, went there with a great army and took control of his lands. Hellanicus tells this story (fr. 157 Fowler; EGM 2.432–4). [JL, AP, CR, ChR]

**Schol. (D) Il. 2.106 rich in lambs (πολύαρνι)**

Feeding many, wealthy. When Atreus, the son of Pelops, was ruling the Peloponnese, he once vowed to sacrifice to Artemis the most beautiful animal born among his flocks of sheep. When a golden lamb was born, he regretted his vow, and instead shut the lamb away in a box to guard it. Being proud of his possession, he bragged about it in the town square. Vexed by this, Thyestes seduced Aerope and persuaded her to hand the possession over to him. When Thyestes got it, he criticized his brother, saying that it was not proper to brag about this such thing, and he himself stated in public that the man who possesses the golden lamb ought to hold the kingship. Atreus agreed with this <text may be missing>.<sup>30</sup> Zeus sent Hermes to Atreus, telling him to make an agreement <with Thyestes> about the kingship, and he made a revelation about the sunrise: the sun was going to travel backwards. Having come to an agreement about this, the sun set in the east. Thus, with the god bearing witness to the greed of Thyestes, Atreus assumed the kingship and banished Thyestes. [JC, JL, AP, CR, ChR]

---

<sup>30</sup> The missing material would have reported that Thyestes produced the lamb and became king. The following agreement with Atreus explains how Atreus reclaimed the kingship.

**Schol. (D) *Il.* 2.107 but Thyestes then passed it [the scepter] on to Agamemnon (ἀὐταρ ὁ αὖτε Θυέστ' Ἀγαμέμνονι)**

Atreus ruled over the Peloponnesos and had Agamemnon and Menelaus with Creousa daughter of Telestor or, as some say, with Aerope daughter of Catreus. When he was about to die, he made peace with his brother and granted the kingship to him, so that he could give the scepter to Agamemnon once he reached manhood. His brother, acting in good faith, did just that. [JC, JL, AP, CR, ChR]

**Schol. (D) *Il.* 2.145 Icarian Sea (πόντου Ἰκαρίοιο)**

The Icarian sea was named after Icaros, the son of Daidalos, who fell into it and died as follows. After Pasiphae mated with the bull, Daidalos was wary of Minos' anger, so he flew away from Crete with his son Icaros on wings. When his son fell into the sea lying below, its name was changed to "Icarian." Daidalos, however, flew all the way to Camicos on Sicily and, waiting for his son, stayed with the daughters of Cocalos. When Minos came in search of Daidalos, he was killed when the daughters poured boiling water over him. Philostephanus (*FHG* fr. 36) and Callimachus in the *Aitia* (fr. 43 Harder) tell this story. [RSS]

**Schol. (D) *Il.* 2.157 Aigis-bearing (αιγιόχοιο)**

The *aigis* is Zeus' weapon, made by Hephaistos. When Zeus, the son of Cronos and Rhea, was in Crete, he got the name "Aigis-bearing" because he was reared there by a goat {*aig*-} or, as some say, because he killed a goat, clothed himself in its skin, and used the horns to make a bow. This is why a certain place in Crete is called Aigidocos. The story is in Euphorion (fr. 162 Powell).<sup>31</sup> [RSS]

**Schol. (D) *Il.* 2.212 Thersites alone continued on (Θερσίτης δ' ἔτι μοῦνος)**

When Oineus neglected Artemis in regard to sacrifices, the goddess got angry and sent a wild boar against the city. An army of the finest men of Greece came to fight it since it was ravaging the land, as Homer himself says in book 9 [lines 533–42]. Among these was Thersites, who in cowardice abandoned the post where he was stationed and ran off to some high spot, hunting for safety. Meleagros reproached him for this and chased him until he fell from a ledge and became disfigured as Homer presents him. Euphorion tells this story (fr. 106 Powell).<sup>32</sup>

<sup>31</sup> The story of Zeus and the goat is more fully told at 15.229.

<sup>32</sup> The commentary continues with a *zētēsis*, a point of debate: why did Thersites march in Troy being so disfigured? After this, we are given a genealogy: "Oineus and Agrios were brothers, as Homer says in book 8 (line 117); now Oineus was Meleagros' father, while Agrios was Thersites' father and Dia his mother."

### Schol. (D) *Il.* 2.220 most hateful (ἔχθιστος)

It must be told that Achilles kills him [Thersites], as the poet Quintus [of Smyrna] narrates the story in his *Posthomerica* (“Post-Homeric Events”, 1.734–end). He says that, in the battle against the Amazons, Achilles killed Penthesileia, their queen. But afterwards, when he beheld her very beautiful body, he fell in love with her and was greatly saddened by her death. When Thersites saw him taking it all so badly, he starting making fun of him, his typical behavior. The hero was enraged at this and punched him with his fist, killing him on the spot, his teeth dashed down onto the ground.<sup>33</sup>

### Schol. (D) *Il.* 2.336 horseman (ἵππότης)

Homer uses “horseman” [*hippotēs*] instead of “refugee” [to describe Nestor]. Here’s why. Heracles marched against Pylos because Neleus did not purify him of the murder of Iphitos and because of Neleus’ sons’ foolishness. He came full force to take the city, but as long as Periclymenos was still alive, the city was hard to take, for he was double-lived.<sup>34</sup> Well, when he had become a bee and landed on Heracles’ chariot, Athena pointed him out to Heracles, leading to his death. At that time, Nestor was being raised among the Gerenians, so when Pylos was sacked and his eleven brothers were killed, he was the only one to survive. This is why he is also called “Gerenian.” Hesiod tells this story in the *Catalog of Women* (fr. 33 MW = 32 Most).<sup>35</sup> [RSS]

### Schol. (D) *Il.* 2.339 Where are our agreements? (πῆ δὴ συνθεσῖαι τε)

When the best men of Greece had assembled to court Helen on account of her lineage and beauty, her father Tyndareos (as some say) was trying to avoid the situation where, in favoring one of them, he would make all the others his enemies. So he administered an oath, shared by all: they each swore that if the one who received his daughter was wronged in regard to her, they would come to his defense. This is how he came to give her to Menelaus. Not much later she was carried off by Alexander. So they all took part in the expedition on account of the oaths they made. The story is in Stesichorus (PMG 190). [KB, JC, AP, CR, ChR]

<sup>33</sup> Two manuscripts add at the end, “The Amazons came to fight on the Trojans’ side after Hector’s death.”

<sup>34</sup> Apparently *amphibios* (“double-lived”) here means “shape-shifter,” that is, able to take on human and animal forms.

<sup>35</sup> See also story at 5.392.

**Schol. (D) *Il.* 2.494(c) Peneleos [led] the Boiotians (Βοιωτῶν μὲν Πηνέλεως)**

Boiotia was formerly called Aonia after the Aonians who dwelled there. According to some, the name changed to Boiotia after Boiotos, the son of Poseidon and Arne; according to others the name comes from the cow {*bous*} that Cadmos drove before him in accordance with an oracle from Delphi. The story: when Phoinix’s daughter Europa was carried off from Sidon by Zeus, her brother Cadmos was sent by their father in search of her. When he did not find her, he went to Delphi to consult the god. The god told him not to worry about Europa, but instead to use a cow as his guide and found a city wherever it grew tired and lay down on its right side. After receiving this oracle, Cadmos made his way through Phocis. There he came across a cow among the herds of Pelagon and followed behind it as it made its way. After passing through the whole of Boiotia, it hesitated and lay down at the spot where Thebes is now. Desiring to sacrifice the cow to Athena, Cadmos sent some of his companions to get sacred water from the Spring of Ares. But the serpent that was guarding the spring—which they say was born of Ares—killed most of those that were sent. Vexed, Cadmos killed the serpent, and on Athena’s instructions he sowed its teeth like seeds, from which grew the “Earthborn Men.” Ares grew angry and was about to kill Cadmos, but Zeus stopped him and gave Harmonia, the daughter of Ares and Aphrodite, to Cadmos to be his wife. But first, he ordered him to serve as a slave for a year to atone for his killing of the serpent. At the wedding, they say, the Muses sang and each of the gods gave Harmonia a gift. Hellanicus (fr. 51 Fowler; *EGM* 2.357–60) gives this information in the *Boiotiaka*, as does Apollodorus in his third book (*Bibl.* 3.2 = 3.21–25). [RSS]

**Schol. (D) *Il.* 2.547 the *dēmos* [of Erechtheus] (δῆμος [Ἐρεχθέως])**

Erechtheus, who was also called Erichthonios, was king of the Athenians and was born of Hephaistos. The story: when Hephaistos desired Athena, he started chasing her, and she fled. When he got close to her with a lot of effort—for he was lame—he tried to have sex with her. But when Athena, being modest and a virgin, was fighting him off, he ejaculated upon the goddess’ leg. Disgusted, Athena wiped away the seed with wool and threw it onto the earth. And this is why the child that rose up from the earth was called Erichthonios based on an etymology: from the wool {*erion*} and the earth {*chthōn*}. Callimachus tells the story in the *Hecale* (fr. 260 Pfeiffer, but see *Apd. Bibl.* 3.188 = 3.14.6). [JC, JL, CR, ChR]

**Schol. (D) Il. 2.595 Thamyris (Θάμυρις)**

This was the son of Philammon and the nymph Argiope,<sup>36</sup> a Thracian by birth, who conceived a desire that was disgraceful: he was the first to love men. He surpassed most in beauty and in playing the cithara, and he competed against the Muses in a musical contest on the following terms: if he was found to be better, he got to sleep with them all. If he was beaten, they could deprive him of whatever they wanted. The Muses proved superior; they took away his sight, his musical talent, and his mind. [RSS]

**Schol. (D) Il. 2.629 [Phyleus] who, enraged at his father, once moved to Doulichion (ὄς ποτε Δουλίχιον δ' ἀπενάσσατο πατρὶ χολωθείς)**

He [Phyleus] once left and settled in Doulichion because he testified against his father Augeias. He ruled in favor of Heracles concerning the payment that Augeias had promised to give Heracles if he cleaned out his barns that were full of cow dung. The story is also in Callimachus (fr. 77 Harder).<sup>37</sup> [RSS]

**Schol. (D) Il. 2.662 he straightway killed his own father's dear maternal uncle, etc. (αὐτίκα πατρὸς ἐοῖο φίλον μήτρῳα κατέκτα καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς)**

The story is told that when Tlepolemos saw that Licymnios (the uncle),<sup>38</sup> who was by that time old, was being led around carelessly by one of the household slaves, he threw his staff at the slave. But he missed him and struck Licymnios, killing him by accident. This is why he was forced to become an exile from his fatherland. [JC, JL, CR, ChR]

**Schol. (D) Il. 2.721 But he was left on the island suffering terrible pains (ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐν νήσῳ κεῖτο κρατέρ' ἄλγεα πάσχων)**

The story is told that Philoctetes, while cleaning the altar of Athena (called the Golden One) on Lemnos, was bitten by a snake and, when he was in the grips of a painful wound, he was left behind there by the Greeks. For they knew that the priests of Hephaistos cared for those bitten by snakes. [JL, AP, ChR, AT]

---

<sup>36</sup> The text reads *Arseios*, which cannot be right. We adopt the name from *Apd. Bibl.* 1.17 (the *Suda* θ 41 gives the name as *Arsinoe*).

<sup>37</sup> The story is more fully told at 11.698.

<sup>38</sup> Licymnios was brother of Alcmene, Heracles' mother. Tlepolemos is Heracles' son.

**Schol. (D) *Il.* 2.740 steadfast in battle (μενεπτόλεμος)**

Enduring in war. Polypoites was the son of Peirithoos. They say that he was given this name by his father because he had exacted retribution {*poin-*} on many {*poly-*}—referring to his punishment of the Centaurs, when they acted outrageously at the wedding of his mother Melanippe.<sup>39</sup> [JL, AP, ChR, AT]

**Schol (D) *Il.* 3.75 to [horse-pasturing] Argos (Ἄργος ἐς [ἰππόβοτον])**

Iasos and Pelasgos were the sons of Triops. After their father died they divided his kingdom up. Pelasgos attained the land towards the river Erasinos and founded Larisa, while Iasos attained the land towards the east. When these two brothers died, their brother Agenor, the youngest, marched against the land, leading forth a great cavalry. This is why Argos was called both “horse-pasturing,” after the cavalry of Agenor, and also called “Iasian,” after Iasos. This is told by Hellanicus in the *Argolica* (fr. 36 Fowler; *EGM* 2.242–4). [AP, CR]

**Schol. (D) *Il.* 3.144 Aithra daughter of Pittheus (Αἴθρη Πιτθῆος)**

This Aithra is different from the Aithra who was the mother of Theseus. For it is shameful for Aithra to attend Helen as a servant given that she is believed to have been her mother-in-law. As Hellanicus says (fr. 168c Fowler; *EGM* 2.488),<sup>40</sup> Peirithoos and Theseus, the sons of Zeus and Poseidon respectively, made a pact to marry daughters of Zeus. They first carried off Helen, who was quite young, brought her to Aphidna in Attica and delivered her into the care of Aithra, the daughter of Pittheus and mother of Theseus. Then they traveled into Hades seeking Persephone. The Dioscourai, when they couldn’t recover their sister, set to destroying the whole of Attica and took Aithra prisoner. [AP, CR]

**Schol (D) *Il.* 3.151 like cicadas (τεττίγεσσιν ἐοικότες)**

The goddess Day {*Hēmera*} desired Tithonos, the son of Laomedon and Priam’s brother, and gave birth to a son by him, Memnon. When Tithonos was worn out by his long life, the goddess turned him into a cicada. This is why the poet likens his kinsmen, the elders of the city, to cicadas. Hellanicus tells the story (fr. 140 Fowler; *EGM* 2.526–7). [RSS]<sup>41</sup>

<sup>39</sup> The manuscripts are unanimous in reading Melanippe; Pagès corrects to Hippodameia.

<sup>40</sup> Van Thiel in his most recent edition (2014) has the reference to Hellanicus going with the previous sentence (referring to Aithra). In his previous edition (2000), he has it as we translate it here (so too Fowler). This is one of three fragments attributed to Hellanicus on the subject, and all refer to the *age of Helen* and so the reference to Hellanicus is almost certainly looking forward to the following material.

<sup>41</sup> At 3.175, the D scholia give the following genealogical information: “**and his child:** he means ‘daughter’ and is referring to Hermione. Porphyrios in his *Homeric Problems* gives as following: Ariaethus reports a son of

**Schol (D) *Il.* 3.189 Amazons, a match for men (Ἀμάζονες ἀντιάνειραι)**

The Amazons are said to be the daughters of Ares and Aphrodite and raised along the Thermodon river in Scythia. They received the name Amazons because their right breasts {mazo-} are cut away since they get in the way when they shoot arrows. Melanippe and Hippolyte, the daughters of Ares, were the leaders of the Amazons' army. They tried to bring Phrygia under their control because it had good grazing for horses and was rich in vines. They readied their whole army, came into the aforementioned region, and set up their camp along the Sangarios river. The kings of Phrygia at the time were Mygdon and Otreus, who marshalled their own armies and came to the same place as the Amazons to prevent them from advancing across their borders. Priam, the king of Troy, marched with them against the Amazons, being at that very moment in the full prime of life. [RSS]

**Schol. (D) *Il.* 3.242 shame (αἴσχεα)**

Because Helen had been carried off by Alexander, she was unaware of the misfortune that had befallen her brothers, the Dioscouroi, in the meantime. She assumed that they had not come to Troy because they were ashamed of her, seeing that she had been taken earlier by Theseus, as has been said earlier [see 3.144]. Because of that earlier abduction, Aphidna, a city in Attica, was destroyed and Castor was wounded in his right thigh by Phidnos, the king at that time. When the Dioscouroi did not find Theseus, they plundered Athens. The story is in the works of Polemon (fr. 10 Preller<sup>42</sup>)—that is the Cyclic poets (fr. 12 Davies)—and, in part, Alcman the lyric poet (PMG 21). [ChR, MR, AP, CR]

**Schol. (D) *Il.* 3.243 So she spoke, but [the life-giving earth] already held them (ὥς φάτο, τοὺς δ' ἤδη κάτεχεν [φυσίζοος αἴα])**

When Idas and Lynceus, the sons of Aphareus, were celebrating their marriage to Leucippos' daughters, Phoibe and Hilaira, they invited the Dioscouroi, who were relatives (Tyndareos [their father] was Aphareus' brother). It is said that the Dioscouroi carried off the girls while they were still virgins. In the violent struggle over the marriage that ensued, Castor was killed. This angered Zeus, who struck Idas with a thunderbolt. He consoled Polydeuces, giving him a

---

Helen and Menelaos, Morrapihos (*FGrHist* 316 fr. 6), after whom is named the race of Morrapihians in Persia. But according to Cinaethon (fr. 3 Davies) it is Nicostratus. Among the Lacedaimonians two children of Helen are honored: Nicostratos and Aithiolas.”

<sup>42</sup> For the difficulty identifying this work and its relationship to the Cyclic poets, see Preller, *Polemonis Periegetae Fragmenta* (1838) 15–18.

choice, whether he wanted to live forever, or to die with his brother for six months and to live for the same length of time. Polydeuces chose to live and die with Castor. The story is in Pindar (N. 10.55-90). [ChR, AP, CR]

### Schol. (D) *Il.* 3.325 of Paris (Πάριος)

Alexander was called Paris from the fact that he was exposed on Mt. Ida immediately after being born, was raised there and eluded *{parelth-}* his fate as follows. When Hecuba was pregnant with him, she dreamed that she gave birth to a burning torch which burned down the entire city and the forest standing on Mt Ida. When the seers and those skilled in dream interpretation heard this dream-vision, they told her to cast the child out as food for wild beasts immediately while he was still small. When Alexander was born, they exposed him on Mt. Ida, but a shepherd saw the exceedingly noble-looking child, took him in, and raised him.<sup>43</sup> [ChR, AP, CR, MR]

### Schol. (D) *Il.* 3.443 nor when I first [carried] you off (οὐδ' ὅτε σε πρῶτον)

Alexander, the son of Priam king of Troy, was also called Paris. At the command of Aphrodite, after Harmonides constructed ships for him (according to some of the post-Homeric poets, it was Phereclos son of Tecton<sup>44</sup>), Paris went with the goddess to Lacedaimon, the city of Menelaus. There, when by the will of Aphrodite he laid his eyes upon Helen and she was love-struck by Eros' counterstrike, he took her along with her possessions and went to Sidon in Phoenicia. And after getting married there he went with her to Ilion (this is the capital of Troy). Following the injustices wrought there through oaths and vows, again by the will of Aphrodite, Paris took her home and laid with her, having unexpectedly received his wife again, as the poet shows through his own words.<sup>45</sup> [ChR, AP, CR]

### Schol. (D) *Il.* 4.171 much-thirsting [Argos] (πολυδίψιον [Ἄργος])

That is “thirsty for many years.” The story: when Danaos came from Egypt and settled in the Peloponnese, he made the land, which was previously arid, well-watered. When his daughters were out searching for water, Poseidon desired one of them, Amymone, so he struck the earth with his trident and revealed to her the spring in Lerna. Others say the following, that it was

<sup>43</sup> See 12.93 for another story explaining Paris' name.

<sup>44</sup> At *Il.* 5.59–60 Homer tells us that Meriones killed Phereclos, who is modified by *tektonos* (either “the builder” or “son of Tekton”) and *Harmonideō*, which may either mean “son of Harmon” or “descendant of Harmon.” Homer's line is open to many interpretations, and so the scholiast's confusion is not unexpected.

<sup>45</sup> The end of this note refers to the events in the *Iliad*, book 3.

by the instructions of Athena that Argos, which was previously dry, became well-watered through the daughters of Danaos, for those women came up with the idea of digging wells. When Aigyptos' sons arrived to marry Danaos's daughters, the Danaids, following their father's instructions, murdered them treacherously. For their father had advised them to stop the men from taking their virginity. Hypermnestra alone saved Lynceus from death, because he did not take her virginity. Because of this he later took her as wife and watched over her. [ChR, AP, CR]

**Schol. (D) Il. 4.319 As when I cut down glorious Ereuthalion (ὡς ὅτε δῖον Ἐρευθαλίωνα κατέκταν)**

The Pylians and Arcadians were waging war over land boundaries around the mountain called Lycaion.<sup>46</sup> Responding to a challenge, Nestor fought Ereuthalion, the son of Hippomedon (some say of Apheidas<sup>47</sup>), in single combat and killed him. Out of joy he moved out of the designated area for combat. <And the Arcadians>, with Ereuthalion still palpitating, rushed forward and attacked the Pylians, and in this way defeated them.<sup>48</sup> After they buried Ereuthalion and his friends,<sup>49</sup> they engraved on his tomb this epigram “Here the kings of Arcadia established a tomb for Ereuthalion and his friends, the distinguished offspring of Hippomedon, who once overpowered Nestor and his host in battle.” Ariaethus tells the story (*FGrHist* 316 fr. 7). [ChR]

**Schol. (D) Il. 4.376 without war (ἄτερ πολέμου)**

After Oidipous cast Iocasta out, he got remarried to Astymedousa. This woman accused the children from his first marriage of trying to violate her. Oidipous got angry, brought down curses that they would inherit the land through bloodshed, and handed the kingdom over to them. Eteocles, his son, exiled his brother Polyneices on the grounds that he himself was older. When Polyneices reached Argos, he encountered Tydeus, a refugee. He had fled into exile after he, attempting to help his father, killed a cousin who had opposed him. When Adrastus saw that they were clothed in the hides of wild beasts, Tydeus a boar, Polyneices a lion, he figured out the oracle: for he had been told to yoke his daughters to a boar and a lion. So he gave Deipyle to Tydeus, and Argeia to Polyneices. He also sent a message to Mycenae, asking for an

<sup>46</sup> Accepting Bekker's emendation for mss. *Agkaion*.

<sup>47</sup> “Aphidamas” is the name found in the bT scholia.

<sup>48</sup> In the bT scholia Nestor's mistake of moving outside the designated area simply leads to the Arcadians *claiming* victory.

<sup>49</sup> The scholiast is confused; the bT scholia offers a more likely scenario where the friends are the ones who build Ereuthalion a tomb. That body of scholia reports the tombstone thus: “Here his friends, kings of Arcadia, built a burial mound for Ereuthalion...”

alliance against Thebes. Thyestes was ready to give help, but negative omens stopped him. Well, when they reached Thebes, the Argives sent Tydeus as an ambassador. He took part in an athletic competition and, with Athena as an ally, was victorious in every event. On his way back, he caught and killed the fifty young men who were lying in wait to ambush him. [ChR]

**Schol. (D) *Il.* 5.64 [a bane] unto himself, since he did not know the gods' decrees ([κακὸν...] οἷ τ' αὐτῶ, ἐπεὶ οὐ τι θεῶν ἐκ θέσφατα ἤδη)**

When the Lacedaimonians were overcome by famine, they consulted an oracle about a solution. The god told them to placate the deities of the Teucrians (this is what the people of Troy were called previously). So Menelaos went to Troy and did what was ordered. From there he traveled to Delphi to receive an oracle about having children. Alexander went along with him too, so that he could consult the oracle about a wife. When both were at the seat of the oracle, it is said that the Pythia gave the following response:

Why do you, two kings, one of the Trojans, the other of the Achaians,  
come to my abode no longer thinking alike?  
Indeed one has come looking to find the foal's offspring,  
the other to get the foal itself. What, great Zeus, do you have in mind?

Not understanding the oracle, they departed. That's the story as to why he did not know "the gods' decrees." Hellanicus says that the oracle given to the Trojans was to keep away from sailing and stick to farming, lest they employ the sea and thereby destroy themselves and their city (fr. 142 Fowler; *EGM* 2.529–30). [RSS]

**Schol. (D) *Il.* 5.126 dauntless [might], the kind [your father] had ([μένος πατρώϊον] ἄτρομον οἶον ἔχεσκε)**

During the Theban war Tydeus son of Oineus was wounded by Melanippos son of Astacos. When Amphiaraios killed Melanippos and brought the head to him, Tydeus cracked it open and started gulping down his brains out of anger. Athena, who was in the process of bringing Tydeus immortality, abandoned him when she saw this sacrilegious act. When Tydeus realized what had happened, he asked the goddess to pass along that immortality to his son. The story is in the Cyclic poets.<sup>50</sup> [RSS]

---

<sup>50</sup> Only one manuscript (G) provides this reference to the Cyclic poets; other mss. do not give any source. Other bodies of scholia (AbT) ascribe this story to Pherecydes (fr. 97 Fowler, *EGM* 2.412).

**Schol. (D) Il. 5.385 Ares suffered (τλῆ μὲν Ἄρης)<sup>51</sup>**

[...] <sup>52</sup> Well, Otos and Ephialtes were sons of Poseidon, though people called them sons of Aloeus. When these two got enormously huge, they bound Ares in their house. As time went on, Eriboia, their stepmother and wife of Aloeus, convinced Hermes to smuggle Ares out and to punish them for their binding of the god. Hermes was persuaded and did just that. But even then the two did not stop committing outrageous offenses but tried to violate Hera and Artemis. Angered, Artemis sent a female deer to them while they were out hunting. When the deer ran between the two of them, it became the cause of their deaths: when they threw their spears at it, they missed the deer and struck each other, and they died. [...] <sup>53</sup> [RSS]

**Schol. (D) Il. 5.392 Hera suffered (τλῆ δ' Ἥρη)**

Eurytos, the king of Oichalia (the one in Boiotia), announced that whoever defeated him (some say his sons) in an archery contest would win his daughter Iole in marriage. For he had received his skill in archery from Apollo. Heracles competed and won, but Eurytos took it badly and did not hand over the girl. Enraged, Heracles sacked Oichalia and led Iole off as a prisoner. But not even that put an end to his anger; no, when Eurytos' son Iphitos came to Tiryns looking for his horses, Heracles welcomed him into his home and killed him. Trying to cleanse himself of the defilement of murder, Heracles went to Neleus in order to receive purification. But when Neleus' children did not want to take him in, Neleus drove him off. Heracles departed from there and was taken in by Deiphobos, the king of Arcadia, and was purified of the murder. Later, Heracles marched against Neleus and not only sacked Pylos, but even wounded Hera, who was fighting as Neleus' ally. As for Neleus himself, Heracles killed him and his children, except for the youngest, Nestor. He was being raised among the Gerenians and that's why he survived. This is why the poet calls him "Gerenian."<sup>54</sup> [RSS]

---

<sup>51</sup> Prior to this the scholia provide another explanation that rationalizes the myth: "Otos and Ephialtes, the sons of Aloeus and Iphimedeia (but said to be Poseidon's sons), being massive and strong, put a stop to wars. This is the origin of the myth that they had bound Ares."

<sup>52</sup> Before the story the D scholia relates the famous statement about Homeric criticism: "Aristarchus maintains that 'we ought to take what is said here by the poet as being rather mythical and stemming from poetic license, and we should not waste time on anything outside of what is said by the poet'." The scholiast, of course, does exactly that.

<sup>53</sup> The note continues with various other rationalizing and allegorizing approaches to the myth which are unlikely to come from the Homeric mythographer: one explains that Otos and Ephialtes were kings of Greece who conquered a large region and allowed people to live in peace—leading to the myth that they bound Ares. Other explanations: 1) Ares' binding reflects a celestial phenomenon, 2) the myth is symbolic of the power of education: Otos (learning) and Ephialtes (logic) overcomes Ares (anger).

<sup>54</sup> See also story at 2.336.

**Schol. (D) *Il.* 5.412 so that wise Aigialeia, Adrastos' daughter, not... (μη δὴν Αἰγιάλεια περίφρων Ἀδραστίνη)<sup>55</sup>**

Diomedes<sup>56</sup> married Aigialeia, the youngest of Adrastos' daughters. (Adrastos had three daughters: Argeia wife of Polyneices, Deipyle wife of Tydeus, <and Aigialeia>, so Aigialeia was his mother's sister.)<sup>57</sup> When he went on military campaign against Troy, he left Cometes son of Sthenelos to take care of his kingdom and his household. Here's the account. When Aphrodite was wounded by Diomedes, she could not harm him because Athena was helping him. Instead, she made his wife crazy for sleeping around and for licentiously and indiscriminately carousing with young men of every age. Aphrodite also filled Cometes with desire for her. When Diomedes returned from Troy, Cometes pursued him with his bodyguard, intending to kill him. Diomedes, furnished with only weak support, fled to the altar of Athena. After that he departed for Italy<sup>58</sup> and, it is said, he received from Daunus some people to establish a settlement. In the end, when his fellow settlers were in dire straits and had nothing to eat, Athena turned them in to herons, and Diomedes' life then came to an end. The story is in Lycophron (592ff.).<sup>59</sup> But the poet does not tell this story. Instead he only says that [Diomedes should beware] fighting a stronger god than you [Aphrodite] in battle and being killed: then, if his wife learned about his death, she would mourn alongside his household. [RSS]

**Schol. (D) *Il.* 5.650 who had done him a favor (εὖ ἔρξαντα)<sup>60</sup>**

[Heracles] had done Laomedon a favor by saving his daughter Hesione when she had been set out as food for the sea monster, which, because of Poseidon's wrath, was bringing ruin to the Trojans. They were paying the price for Laomedon's failure to render payment to the aforementioned god and Apollo for building the wall, instead chasing them away with threats. This

---

<sup>55</sup> Starting at this point in the text and running to the story at 6.155, manuscript (ms.) Z and the other manuscripts differ in length and some detail. We have decided to translate the longer version (in mss. YQXUI), adding important details and differences from the Z manuscript where appropriate.

<sup>56</sup> Ms. Z specifies Diomedes was king of Aitolia at the time.

<sup>57</sup> Diomedes is the son of Tydeus and Deipyle.

<sup>58</sup> All of the manuscripts of the D and T scholia read "Iberia," but Daunus is the eponym for the Daunians in southern Italy. The scholia to Lycophron (line 592), which may be our scholiast's source for this story, has "Italy."

<sup>59</sup> Only the vaguest part is in Lycophron, but the scholia to Lycophron (Tz.) add details that resemble this version. There, Diomedes' brother sides with Daunus, whereupon Diomedes casts a curse on the land that only his followers could get crops to grow. Eventually he was killed at the hands of Daunus, whereupon his followers, lamenting, were turned into birds. Perhaps the famine suffered here is a corruption of the curse.

<sup>60</sup> This story, found only in ms. Z, is also told substantially at Schol. (D) *Il.* 20.145 and draws on Apd. 2.104 (the language is quite similar). Pagès does not include it in his collection of the Mythographus Homericus.

is why Apollo sent a plague and Poseidon sent the sea monster against the Trojans. The sea monster would ride up on a wave and snatch people. Oracles said that they would be freed of the disasters if Laomedon <...> Hesione <the text breaks off>. [RSS]

**Schol. (D) *Il.* 6.35 ...lofty Pedasos. And the hero Leitos killed Phylacos (Πήδασον αἰπεινὴν, Φύλακον δ' ἔλε Λήϊτος ἥρωος)**

During the Trojan War, when Achilles was sacking the cities neighboring Troy, he came to the one that was long ago called Monenia,<sup>61</sup> but now known as Pedasos. When he despaired of ever taking the city by seige and was about to leave, they say a young woman inside the walls fell in love with him. She took an apple, inscribed it, and threw it into the middle of the Achaians. This is what was written on it: “Don’t run off, Achilles, until you take Monenia. There’s no water here and their thirst is dire.” So Achilles stayed and took the city because of the lack of water. Demetrios <word corrupt> tells this story.<sup>62</sup> [RSS]

**Schol. (D) *Il.* 6.130 no, not even stout Lycourgos, Dryas’ son (οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ Δρύαντος υἱὸς κρατερὸς Λυκόοργος)<sup>63</sup>**

After Dionysos, the son of Zeus and Semele, was purified by Rhea on Mt. Cybele in Phrygia and was initiated into the goddess’ secret rituals, he received his whole getup from the goddess and travelled all across the inhabited world, leading choral dances. The honors he received made him the foremost among all people. But when he got to Thrace, Lycourgos son of Dryas, because of Hera’s hatred, harassed him and drove him out of the land with a cattle prod, and he captured Dionysos’ nurses, who happened to be celebrating the rites with him. Driven by a heaven-sent whip, Lycourgos was eager to punish the god, but Dionysos jumped into the sea out of fear and was held afloat by Thetis and Eurynome. Now, Lycourgos did not sin against the god without paying for it, and he was punished in the worst way: Zeus deprived him of his sight. Many recall this story, but chiefly the one who composed the *Europaia*, Eumelos (fr. 1 Davies, p. 102). [RSS]

<sup>61</sup> Ms. Z gives “Coloneia” as the city, but the name Monenia is found in Eustathius’ commentary on *Iliad* 6.21.

<sup>62</sup> The mss. give ὁ ἀσκητής, which is almost certainly corrupt, and it is unclear what is meant here. It is unclear which of the many writers named Demetrios is being referred to here. Several manuscripts add Hesiod as a reference, suggesting that the Demetrius here is Demetrius Ixion, a second century BC literature critic who wrote a commentary on Hesiod.

<sup>63</sup> We translate the version found in mss. YQAR, which differs a bit from ms. Z.

**Schol. (D) *Il.* 6.153 where Sisyphos used to live, the craftiest man that ever was (ἔνθα δὲ Σίσυφος ἔσκεν ὃ κέρδιστος γένητ' ἀνδρῶν)<sup>64</sup>**

When Zeus<sup>65</sup> carried Asopos' daughter, Aigina, away from Phlious to Oinone through Corinth and Asopos went searching for her, Sisyphos told him about the abduction in a crafty way.<sup>66</sup> Because of this, Sisyphos brought the anger of Zeus down on himself, and Zeus sent Thanatos [Death] to him. But Sisyphos saw him coming and bound Death in strong chains. And so it happened that no human being died during that time, until Hades<sup>67</sup> delivered him to Death and freed Death from his chains. But, before he died, Sisyphos told his wife Merope not to send the customary gifts to Hades for him. Time elapsed and his wife did not render what was due. When Hades learned of this, he released Sisyphos so that he could go back up and scold his wife for not doing so. But when he got to Corinth, he did not go back. And so, when he died of old age, Hades forced him to roll a rock into the underworld so that he couldn't flee again. The story is in Pherecydes (fr. 119 Fowler; *EGM* 2.180–1). [RSS]

**Schol. (D) *Il.* 6.155 and Glaucos fathered blameless Bellerophon (αὐτὰρ Γλαῦκος ἔτικτεν ἀμύμονα Βελλεροφόντην)<sup>68</sup>**

This man was formerly called Hipponous, but after he killed Belleros, the ruler of the Corinthians, he got the name Bellerophon {"Belleros-killer"}. He was the biological son of Poseidon, but he was called the son of Glaucos. He got from Poseidon the child of the Gorgon Medousa, Pegasos, a winged horse (which got this name because it had "leapt" {*ped-*} out of the neck of Medusa).<sup>69</sup> After committing murder against one of his own (as I said, he killed Belleros, one of his fellow citizens), he fled to Argos. He was purified by the king, Proitos, and resided with him. Proitos' wife, Anteia, desired Bellerophon and begged him to sleep with her, but he, honoring what was right in the eyes of the gods, refused her. Anteia was afraid that Bellerophon would reveal her sexual advances to Proitos, so she acted first, making the accusation that *he* had violated her. Proitos did not want to kill Bellerophon with his own

<sup>64</sup> We translate the story found in manuscripts YQAUIG, which differs slightly from ms. Z.

<sup>65</sup> Ms. Z adds "becoming winged," referring to a metamorphosis to a bird ("eagle" in Nonnus 7.210–215).

<sup>66</sup> Obscure, but probably refers to Sisyphos requiring Asopos to reveal a water source in Corinth before revealing his knowledge of Aigina's abduction.

<sup>67</sup> Ms. L offers an alternative: "Until *Ares* freed Death and gave Sisyphos to him." This is accepted by Fowler, who rightly believes Hades would not have personally intervened in the upper world (*EGM* 2.181 with n. 102).

<sup>68</sup> We translate the story as provided by manuscripts YQAU<sup>s</sup>; ms. Z offers a slightly different text with only a few minor discrepancies.

<sup>69</sup> Ms. Z gives the names of the horse as Pedasos, which better fits the etymology. Q adds here "and he rode around on it."

hands, so he sent him to his wife’s father, Iobates, in Lycia, carrying a letter—a letter that condemned him, though he did not know it.

When Iobates saw that he had not been killed in the numerous trials he set for him, he surmised that the accusation against him was a terrible and deliberate ploy. After all, Bellerophon had prevailed over such a huge number of troubles through his physical prowess. So he gave his daughter Cassandra to Bellerophon in marriage along with a portion of his kingdom. It is said that he became cocky because of his accomplishments and wanted to visit the heavens on Pegasus (as we said, the horse had wings on his back). Zeus got angry and sent a horsefly to irritate Pegasus, and because of this Bellerophon fell off and crashed down into the plain of Lycia that was named after him “Aleion,” for he wandered {*alaz-*} around it, crippled. As for the horse, Eos begged Zeus for it as a gift so that she could make her rounds of the world without getting tired, and he gave it to her. The story is in Asclepiades’ *Tragodoumena* (fr. 13 Villagra). [RSS]

**Schol. (D) Il. 6.396 Eetion, who lived beneath Placos, rich in trees (Ἡετίων ὃς ἔναιεν ὑπὸ Πλάκῳ ὑληέσση)**

Granicos (some say it was Atramous), a Pelasgian by birth, once came to the foot of Ida in Lycia and founded a city there, calling it Atramyteion [= Adramyttion] after himself. He fathered a daughter named Thebe, and when she reached the age of marriage, he held an athletic contest and set marriage to her as a prize for the winner. Heracles appeared on the scene at just that moment and took Thebe as wife, founded a city beneath the mountain called Placion in Lycia, and called it Placian Thebe after her. The story is in Dicaearchus (fr. 53 Wehrli). [RSS]

**Schol. (D) Il. 7.9 whom the club-man Areithoos and ox-eyed Philomedousa bore (ὄν κορυνήτης γείνατ’ Ἀρηϊθῶος καὶ Φιλομέδουσα βοῶπις)<sup>70</sup>**

Areithoos the Boiotian,<sup>71</sup> the best of men in his region, crossed over into Arcadia (the Boiotians and the Arcadians were clashing over land borders) and carried off a great deal of plunder from there. He treated the Arcadians with contempt, so Lycourgos, the most powerful man there, set an ambush. He put an end to Areithoos’ large force, killed the man himself, and took

---

<sup>70</sup> A papyrus (*P.Oxy.* 3830 = van Rossum-Steenbeek #50) includes this story, but only one word at the very end survives (“entire set of protective armor”).

<sup>71</sup> This story is created from information in Homer. The unlikely claim that Areithoos was Boiotian probably comes from Homer’s statement that Areithoos’ son Menesthios lived in Arne, which likely meant Messenian Arene but which was understood by a commentator as the city in Boiotia. Boiotia and Arcadia not only do not share a border, but they are also over a hundred miles apart. See Fowler, *EGM* 2.110–111.

the booty as well as his entire set of protective armor along with his club. The story is in Pherecydes (fr. 158 Fowler; *EGM* 2.111). [RSS]

**Schol. (D) *Il.* 7.44 These Helenos, the son of Priam... (τῶν δ' Ἑλενος Πριάμοιο πάϊς)<sup>72</sup>**

The myth is told that, of the children born to Priam by Hecabe, Helenos and Cassandra were twins. When the family was celebrating their birthday in the sanctuary of Thymbraian Apollo, it is said that Helenos and Cassandra fell asleep while playing in the temple. The parents, because they drank too much, forgot about the kids and went home. When they came back to the sanctuary the next day, they saw their childrens' ear-canals being cleaned out by snakes with their tongues. The women shrieked at this shocking sight; this drove away the snakes, which slithered away into the nearby laurel trees. But both children received the power of prophecy. Anticleides tells this story (*FGrHist* 140 fr. 17). [RSS]

**Schol. (D) *Il.* 7.86 and they will heap up a tomb for him on the wide Hellespont (σῆμα τέ οἱ χεύσωσιν ἐπὶ πλατεῖ Ἑλλησπόντῳ)<sup>73</sup>**

Athamas, the son of Aiolos and king of Thebes, married Ino daughter of Cadmos and had two sons, Learchos and Melicertes. At the instigation of Hera he divorced Ino and married Nephele, fathering two children by her, Helle and Phrixos. When Nephele saw that he was secretly sleeping with Ino, she left. Now that Ino had control over the household again, she plotted against Nephele's children. She devised a way to parch the seeds for growing and did just that. And, lo and behold, there was a great crop failure in the land. So Athamas sent priestly ambassadors to Pytho [Delphi]. But Ino convinced them to falsify an oracular response to Phrixos's detriment: if Athamas made a sacrifice of his offspring, he would be freed of the terrible plight. When Athamas heard the oracular response from the priests, he summoned Phrixos from the fields, and as a pretense he asked him to bring with him the finest animal he had in his flocks for sacrifice. The myth is told that when Phrixos had arrived with his sister, the ram spoke in a human voice through the presence of some divine power. It revealed the whole plot against Phrixos and told him to sit on its back with his sister so that they could escape the impending danger. When they did (it is said) the ram propelled itself into the air

---

<sup>72</sup> P.Oxy. 3830 (van Rossum-Steenbeek #50), which is fragmentary, offers the following readable bits: “<**These Helenos, the dear s-on <of Priam> put in his heart:** born to Priam...twins...celebrating their...sanctuary of Apollo...Cassandra...came back the next day...with their t<ongues>...cleaning...snakes immediately...thus it happened...received...Anticleides.”

<sup>73</sup> P.Oxy. 3830 (van Rossum-Steenbeek #50), which is fragmentary, also offers the following readable bits: “<...**wi>de Hellespont:** Athamas...<ru>ling Thebes ma<rried>...had two children Le<archos and Melicertes>...orders of Hera...he then married Nephele...Phrixos. Sleep<ing>... Nephele got wind...Ino got control and plot<ted..>.”

with great force. Helle, unable to hold on, fell into the sea lying below, which got its name “Hellespont” from the aforementioned girl.

As for the ram, after it carried Phrixos from this sea to Colchis, it died. It is said that it was for this—its fleece—that the Argonauts were dispatched from Thessaly with Jason. They say that when Athamas learned about the details of Ino’s plotting, he did not spare either her or his children by her: he killed Learchos with his own hands and pursued <Melicertes> and Ino with a sword. Just as he was about to overtake them, she saved herself and her son by hurling herself into the sea, receiving honors from the sea gods. Later she was called Leucothea {White Goddess} because of the foam of the sea, and Melicertes was called Palaimon. He watches over people sailing on the sea. The story is in Philostephanus (*FHG* fr. 37). [RSS]

**Schol. (D) Il. 7.467 the ships came in from Lemnos (νήες δ’ ἐκ Λήμνοιο παρέστασαν)**

The Lemnians, by not making the customary sacrifices to Aphrodite, sentenced themselves to death. For it is said that the goddess got angry and inspired in the men a desire for Thracian women, ignoring their own. Then she sat by and let things play out. Well, the men kept crossing over to Thrace, honoring and caring about matters there. As for the women of Lemnos, an extraordinary madness fell upon them. They voted unanimously to kill the men, a plan that they did not fail to carry out. After this misfortune involving the men, it is said that Jason and the Argo landed on the island, and he slept with the most powerful of the women there, Hypsipyle. They say he fathered Euneos<sup>74</sup> by her. The story is in Asclepiades’ *Tragodoumena* (fr. 14 Villagra). [RSS]

**Schol. (D) Il. 8.284 ...you, though a bastard child (καί σε νόθον περ’ ἔόντα)**

When Heracles sacked Troy, he took as prisoner Hesione, the daughter of Laomedon (and sister of Priam), and gave her as a war-prize to Telamon because he had fought with him. Telamon fathered Teucros by her. Because he had been born of a Trojan woman, they called the child “Teúcross,” moving the accent back to create a proper noun. For the Trojans are called Teucroí after one of their rulers, Teucros. The story has been told in more detail by many, including Apollonios the *grammatikos* in the second book of *On Generations*.<sup>75</sup> [RSS]

---

<sup>74</sup> Euneos is the character in the *Iliad* that sends the ships from Lemnos to provision the Greek army (lines 7.467–79, which this note is explaining).

<sup>75</sup> Apollonios is almost certainly a mistake for Apollodorus, but which Apollodorus? Some have plausibly emended “On Generations” to “On Ships,” which would point to Apollodorus the Athenian’s *On Ships* (*FGrHist* 244 fr. 158). But Apollodorus the Mythographer tells most of this story in the *Library*, which is structured along genealogical lines (*Bibl.* 2.103–4; at 3.162 he mentions the gifting of Hesione to Telamon).

**Schol. (D) Il. 8.368 the dog of Hades (κύνα Ἄϊδαο)**

Cerberos. Though the labors of Heracles were completed in eight years and a month, Eurystheus did not count the labor involving the cattle of Augeias or the one involving the Hydra. So he imposed on him an eleventh labor,<sup>76</sup> to bring back Cerberos from the underworld. This creature had three dog heads, the tail of a serpent, and along his back were the heads of all kinds of snakes. When Heracles was about to set out to get Cerberos, he went to Eumolpos in Eleusis because he wanted to be initiated into the mysteries.<sup>77</sup> Since it was not possible for foreigners to be initiated at the time, he was first adopted by Pylios and then came to be initiated.<sup>78</sup> But since he could not witness the mysteries because he had not been purified of his killing of the Centaurs, he was purified and then initiated by Eumolpos. He then went to Tainaron, a cape in Laconia, where there is an opening that leads down into the underworld, and he started his descent through it. When the souls saw him, they all immediately fled, with the exception of Meleagros and the Gorgon Medousa. He drew his sword against the Gorgon, as if she were alive, but he learned from Hermes that it was only an empty phantom. When he got near the gates of the underworld, he helped Theseus up, who was sitting on a throne that did not allow him to move. He also wanted to help Peirithoos up, but the earth shook violently, and he was unable to. He also rolled the rock off of Ascalaphos. Wanting to offer blood to the souls, he slaughtered one of Hades' cows. [RSS]

**Schol. (D) Il. 8.479 [to the abyss] of earth and sea, where Iapetos and Cronos... ([πέιραθ'] ...γαίης καὶ πόντοιο, ἴν' Ἰαπετός τε Κρόνος τε)<sup>79</sup>**

When Zeus removed his father Cronos from the kingship and took up the rule over the gods, the Giants, the children of Ge [Earth], got angry and prepared a great war against Zeus in Tartesos (this is a city near Oceanos). Zeus opposed them and defeated them all, and after he banished them into Erebos he entrusted the kingship over them to his father Cronos. And he defeated Ophion, the giant that visibly surpassed the rest, by putting a mountain on top of him, which was called Ophionion after him.<sup>80</sup> [DBD, JL, ChR, RSS]

---

<sup>76</sup> Normally this is the twelfth labor, as seen in Apollodorus' *Library*, from which this story is drawn (2.113, 122–125 = 2.5.11–12).

<sup>77</sup> Thus allowing him access into the underworld.

<sup>78</sup> The text for this sentence is garbled and fits awkwardly into the narrative; we supply what we think the general sense could be.

<sup>79</sup> *P.Oxy.* 3830 (van Rossum-Steenbeek #50), which is fragmentary, offers the following readable bits: “chil<dren> of Ouranos and Ge...because being new...Zeus....throwing...with thunderbolts and lightning flashes...he shut in...power to Cronos... Oph<ion> surpassing ...called it after him. The story is in Euphorion.

<sup>80</sup> The subscription in the papyrus cites Euphorion as the source. See previous note.

**Schol. (D) Il. 9.448 fleeing his father Amyntor's abuse (φεύγων νείκεα πατρός Ἀμύντορος)<sup>81</sup>**

Amyntor's son was Phoinix, who was banished from his homeland for the following reason. When his father took a shine to a concubine named Clyteia and openly showed hatred for Hippodameia, by whom he fathered Phoinix, Hippodameia begged her son to sleep with his father's concubine, Clyteia, and he did. When Amyntor found out, he brought down curses of childlessness on his son. Fearing both his father and the curses he was leveling at him, Phoinix fled to Peleus who, because of their kinship, welcomed him in and gave him the region of Dolopia. He also entrusted him with his son Achilles, who was still small, to raise. The story is in Pyktes;<sup>82</sup> it is told differently in the tragedians. [RSS]

**Schol. (D) Il. 9.529 the Couretes and the Aitolians fought (κουρηῆτές τ' ἐμάχοντο καὶ Αἰτωλοί)**

When Oineus, the ruler of Aitolia, was sacrificing the first fruits of the yearly crops to the gods, he left out Artemis alone. Enraged, the goddess sent a monstrous wild boar against the Aitolians, which was destroying not only the land, but also the inhabitants. Men from Calydon and Pleuron went out after it. Oineus' son Meleagros was the first to find success against it and so got the spoils of the boar—the head and hide—as a prize. But he then gave them to Atalanta out of desire (she'd joined them for the hunt). The sons of Thestios—the brothers of Meleagros' mother Althaia—were furious at Meleagros and schemed against him. When he found out, he killed some and made others flee. This is why the people of Pleuron went to war against the Calydonians. Meleagros, furious at his mother, did not help his fatherland at first, but when the city was being ravaged, his wife Cleopatra convinced him to go forth. He killed some; others he pursued to the cliffs and forced them over. Althaia was overcome with rage toward her son and burned up the log that had been given to her by the Moirai [the Fates]. It had been

---

<sup>81</sup> Two papyrus fragments (*P.Oxy.* 3830 and *P.Lond.Lit.* 142 = van Rossum-Steenbeek #50), offer some material: “The son of Amyntor and Hippodameia...persuaded by his mother...so that she [the concubine] hate him [Amyntor]...*-he brings curses>* down on Phoinix...*<not>* to have children...*<out of?>* grief he comes...and he [Peleus] received him warmly...he set the ch<ild>...”

<sup>82</sup> If not Demetrius Pyktes, a grammarian of the 1st c. CE, then otherwise unknown. The text may be corrupt. One ms. (A) has *poiētēi* (so “in the poet”), but even though this story closely replicates the Homeric version (with names added), it is improbable that this is a correct reading. The scant remains of the papyrus possibly allow for “in *Er<atosthen>es*,” judged as “very likely” by van Rossum-Steenbeek, but this is improbable since the story has nothing to do with astronomical myth.

foretold that when the log was burned entirely, Meleagros too would perish. After her son died, Althaia regretted it and killed herself.<sup>83</sup> [RSS]

**Schol. (D) Il. 9.557 the daughter of Marpessa, etc. (κούρη Μαρπήσσης καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς)**

Euenos, the son of Ares and king of Aitolia, had an especially beautiful daughter named Marpessa, and he challenged her suitors to a chariot-race, saying that he would give her in marriage to the one who could escape him in pursuit. When he caught them, he beheaded them and put their heads on the wall of his house to scare off the others. Well, many had already been killed when finally Idas (they called him Aphareus' son but in reality he was Poseidon's), after getting really fast horses from his father, snatched the girl while she was dancing in the sanctuary of Artemis. When Euenos was unable to catch him, he slaughtered his horses and hurled himself into the Lycormas river, which was then called "Euenos" after him. After Idas escaped the danger, Apollo confronted him over the girl, wanting to take her away for himself. When they were about to fight, Zeus sent Hermes to tell the girl that she could choose whichever one she wanted. Worried that Apollo would abandon her when she got old, she chose Idas.<sup>84</sup> [RSS]

**Schol. (D) Il. 9.562 they called [her] Alcyone (Ἀλκυόνην καλέεσκον)**

Ceyx son of Phosphoros (the star) married Alcyone daughter of Aiolos. He got so full of himself that he wanted to be considered a god. And so his wife always called him Zeus and he called her Hera. Zeus got angry over this and changed them into birds that live apart from each other. She was called "Alcyone" {sea-bird} and he "Ceyx" {tern?}. When the Alcyone was giving birth on the sea shore, it happened that waves would roll in and carry off her offspring. When Zeus saw her crying, he pitied her and ordered the winds not to blow during the time she gave birth—for 14 days as winter ramps up. [...] [RSS]

---

<sup>83</sup> The scholia at 9.548, a few lines later, essentially repeats the story, with a few additional details: "It was agreed that these things [the head and hide of the boar] would be given, as the prize for bravery, to the first one to strike the boar. When Meleagros got them, he bestowed them on Atalanta daughter of Iasos, and Arcadian by birth. Meleagros' uncles (his mother's brothers), ambushed her and took the prize from the girl. This threw Meleagros into a rage, and he killed them. Grieving over her brothers, Althaia, Meleagros' mother, burned up the log that had been given to her by the Moirai—the one that was tied to Meleagros' life. Meleagros perished along with it."

<sup>84</sup> Schol. (T) ad loc. cites Simonides (PMG fr. 563) as source, while ms. R in Schol. (D) at 9.562 refers to Pherecydes.

**Schol. (D) Il. 10.334 of a grey wolf (πολιοῖο λύκοιο)**

Because of the peculiar nature of its color. In fact, they say that Pelias got his name for this reason. Tyro, the daughter of Salmoneus, after giving birth to two sons by Poseidon, abandoned them by the waters of the Enipeus river. To one, a dog that had lost her puppies offered her teat, while a horse stepped on the other one's forehead. When the horsekeepers arrived, they picked the children up and raised them. They named one child Pelias {"bruised"} since he was bruised from the gathering of blood, and the other one Nēleus since a dog pitied {*katēleēse*} him. [ChR, CR]

**Schol. (D) Il. 10.435 among them king Rhesos (ἐν δέ σφι Ῥῆσος βασιλεύς)**

Rhesos was a Thracian by birth, the son of Strymon (the river there) and Euterpe, one of the Muses. Being better than his contemporaries in warlike deeds, he went against the Greeks so that he could help the Trojans in war. He entered the fray and was killing many Greeks when Hera, fearing for the Greeks, sent Athena to destroy him. The goddess came down and ordered Odysseus and Diomedes to go forth on the spying mission. Springing on Rhesos while he slept, they killed him and his companions, as Pindar relates the story (fr. 262 Snell). Some say that Rhesos had arrived in Troy during the night, and before he tasted the water of the land, he was killed. For, they say, a prophecy had been given to him, that if he tasted the water and his horses drank from the Scamander and grazed on the pasture there, he would be completely unconquerable. [AP, ChR, CR]

**Schol. (D) Il. 11.1 Eos, from her bed (Ἡὼς δ' ἐκ λεχέων)**

The myth is told that Day {*Hēmera*} desired Tithonos, the son of Laomedon and the most attractive young man of those in his day in Troy, and abducted him. She got to sleep with him after he asked for and received immortality from her. But he grew old—for he lacked foresight and did not also ask for eternal youth. Vexed and unable to enjoy what life had to offer, he asked the goddess to release him from living. Since it was not possible for him to die, she changed him into a cicada, the most musical of all winged creatures, so that she could continue to find joy through his voice. Memnon, the king of the Aithiopians, was their son. [RSS]<sup>85</sup>

**Schol. (D) Il. 11.672 When I killed Itymoneus (ὄτ' ἐγὼ κτάνον Ἴτυμονῆα)**

Neleus, the son of Poseidon, being the foremost horseman of those in his day, sent a team of horses to Elis to participate in a race being held there by Augeias. When they won, Augeias got

---

<sup>85</sup> See story at 3.151, where the story is told in narrower compass but with a source attribution.

jealous, took them for himself, and sent the charioteers home empty handed. When Neleus learned of this, he did nothing, but Nestor, the youngest of his sons, gathered an army and attacked Elis. He killed many, took back the horses, and brought back a lot of plunder from his enemies. The story is in Pherecydes (fr. 118 Fowler; *EGM* 2.163–4). [RSS]

**Schol. (D) *Il.* 11.690 Mighty Heracles came and ruined (ἐλθὼν γὰρ ἐκάκωσε βίη Ἡρακλεΐη)**

Heracles came to Pylos in need of purification, but the people of Pylos shut the gates and did not let him in. In response the hero got angry and sacked Pylos. Fighting alongside Neleus were three gods: Poseidon, Hera and Aidoneus, as the poet says in book 5 [line 385]; on Heracles' side were two, Athena and Zeus. [RSS]

**Schol. (D) *Il.* 11.698 They did, in fact, owe him a heavy debt (καὶ γὰρ τῷ χρεῖος μέγ' ὀφείλετο)**

On Eurystheus' orders Heracles cleared away the dung of Augeias, but when he asked for his payment, Augeias refused to give it, saying that he had performed the job under orders. Phyleus, Augeias' son, was the judge in the matter and ruled against his father, who got angry and cast him out of the land. Heracles marched against and sacked Elis, then summoned Phyleus from Doulichion and bestowed the kingship on him. Because there was a shortage of men (many had been killed in the war), Heracles had the wives of those who had died sleep with his army. After many were born in this manner, Heracles established the Olympic Games in Zeus' honor and he himself was the first to take part in the contests. The story is in Callimachus (*Aitia* fr. 77 Harder).<sup>86</sup> [RSS]

**Schol. (D) *Il.* 11.709 And with them the two Moliones (μετὰ δέ σφι Μολίονε)**

Cteatos and Eurytos were the sons of Poseidon and Molione, the daughter of Molos, but they were called the sons of Actor. They had a nature completely different from all other men: they were of a double nature, having two heads, four hands and the same number of feet, but one body. Because of this, they kept winning contests, whether in war or in athletics. When Heracles went to war against them (they were fighting on Augeias' side) and was unable to prevail over them in the open, he ambushed and killed them, and that's how he sacked Elis. The story is in Pherecydes (fr. 79b Fowler; *EGM* 2.280–1). [RSS]

---

<sup>86</sup> The story, with fewer details, is also told at 2.629.

**Schol. (D) *Il.* 11.741 [Agamede] who knew all the drugs ([Ἀγαμήδην] ἢ τόσα φάρμακα ἤδη)**

Medeia was the daughter of Aietes and wife of Jason. This woman, after murdering her own children,<sup>87</sup> fled in exile to Athens and married Aigeus son of Pandion. While she was there, Theseus, Aigeus' son by Aithra, came from Troizen to find and meet his father for the first time. Medeia urged Aigeus to give him a deadly potion, saying that he had come to steal his kingdom. Aigeus believed her and gave his son a poisoned cup when he arrived. But just as he was about to drink it, Aigeus recognized the sword and sandals—he'd left them behind in Troizen as tokens of recognition—and took the poison away from him. He then cast Medeia out of Attica. She then settled Ephyra, which was near Elis, and caused that place to be called “of many drugs” {*polypharmakon*}. The story is in Crates (fr. 14 Broggiato). [RSS]

**Schol. (D) *Il.* 12.1 So among the huts the stalwart son of Menoitios (ὡς ὁ μὲν ἐν κλισίῃσι Μενoitίου ἄλκιμος υἱός)**

While growing up in Opous (in Locris), Patroclus son of Menoitios was involved in an involuntary mistake. In a fit of rage over a game of dice he killed a boy his age, Clesonymos, the son of Amphidamas (a man of some importance), but some say it was Aianes he killed. Exiled for this, he went to Phthia and, based on his kinship with Peleus,<sup>88</sup> he stayed there with Achilles. They maintained an exceptional friendship with each other and went on campaign against Troy together. The story is in Hellanicus (fr. 145 Fowler; *EGM* 2.537). [AP, ChR, CR]

**Schol. (D) *Il.* 12.93 Paris (Πάρις)**

When she was pregnant, Hecabe had a dream in which she gave birth to a torch that caused the whole city to burn down. When the child was born, he was exposed following the judgment of the prophets, but by the will of the gods he was raised by the one who found him, a shepherd who, when he saw a she-bear giving the baby milk, took him in and raised him. He was therefore called “Paris” not because, as some say, he was raised in a pouch {*pēra*}, but because he avoided {*parelth-*} his fate. Later he was called Alexander, because he defended {*alex-*} his country, that is to say he helped when the enemy attacked.<sup>89</sup> [ChR, MR]

---

<sup>87</sup> The Greek may be purposefully ambiguous; literally, “after the murder of her children had been perpetrated,” which may be a nod to the alternate tradition that the Corinthians were responsible for their deaths.

<sup>88</sup> Some sources make Peleus and Patroclus' father Menoitios brothers (Hes. *Cat.* 212a MW = fr. 147 Most).

<sup>89</sup> See 3.325 for another story explaining the origin of Paris' name.

**Schol. (D) *Il.* 12.231 Poulydamas, I no longer like what you're saying to me (Πουλυδάμα, σὺ μὲν οὐκέτ' ἔμοι φίλα ταῦτ' ἀγορεύεις)**

After Heracles sacked Troy, Priam son of Laomedon, having received the kingship, sent men to Delphi to consult the oracle about his present situation. When they got there, they not only received an oracular response, they also brought back Panthous, one of the Delphians, so that he would continue to give prophecies to Priam. He married Pronome, Clytios' daughter, fathered Poulydamas, and instructed him in the art of prophecy. It is said that both Hector and Panthous were born on the same night. [JC, AP, ChR, CR]

**Schol. (D) *Il.* 12.397 Sarpedon took hold of the rampart with his stout hands (Σαρπηδῶν δ' ἄρ' ἔπαλξιν ἑλών χερσὶ στιβαρῆσιν)**

When Zeus saw Europa daughter of Phoinix picking flowers with other young girls in a meadow, he desired her. He went down to the field, transformed himself into a bull, and exhaled saffron from his mouth; having deceived Europa in this way, he took off and carried her to Crete, where had sex with her. Then, just like that, he gave her hand in marriage to Asterion, the king of the Cretans. Pregnant, she gave birth to three children, Minos, Sarpedon, and Rhadamanthys.<sup>90</sup> This is the story in Hesiod (fr. 140 MW = fr. 89 Most) and Bacchylides (fr. 10 Snell-Maehler). [CR]

**Schol. (D) *Il.* 13.1 when Zeus [had driven] the Trojans and Hector (Ζεὺς δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν Τρῳάς τε καὶ Ἑκτορα)**

He [Homer] has separated Hector from the rest of the Trojans for prominence. After the sack of Troy, Hector son of Priam received honor from the gods even after his death. When the Thebans in Boiotia were facing difficult times, they consulted an oracle about their deliverance, and the response that was given to them was that the difficulties would end if they brought the bones of Hector from Ophryinion in the Troad to the place the Thebans called "Zeus' Birthplace." When they did this and were freed from their troubles, they held Hector in honor and, in urgent times, would call upon him to appear. The story is in Aristodemus (*FGrHist* 383 fr. 7). [RSS]

---

<sup>90</sup> The Greek may imply here that Asterion was the biological father of the three children, but this would be a radical variant to the typical story, where Zeus is the father.

**Schol. (D) *Il.* 13.66 of the two, Aias, the swift son of Oileus, recognized first (τοῖν δ' ἔγνω πρόσθεν Ὀϊλῆος ταχὺς Αἴας)**

Aias was Locrian by birth, from the city of Naryx, and his father was Oileus. This man was responsible for the destruction of the Greeks after the sack of Troy. This is because he raped Cassandra daughter of Priam in the sanctuary of Athena although she had taken refuge there under the protection of the goddess—an act that caused the goddess to turn the eyes of her statue toward the roof. So when the Greeks were making their return and were off the coast of Euboeia, the goddess whipped up great storms, resulting in the destruction of many of them. After Aias swam to the so-called Gyraian Rocks,<sup>91</sup> he said that he had survived even against the will of the gods. Poseidon got angry, split the rock in two, and delivered Aias unto the waves. When Thetis found his corpse washed up on shore, she buried him out of pity. But not even then did Athena relent from her wrath: for a thousand years she forced the Locrians to send maidens chosen by lot to Troy. The story is the first book of Callimachus' *Aitia* (fr. 35 Harder), and cursorily told by Homer in the fourth book of the *Odyssey* [4.485–511]. [RSS]

**Schol. (D) *Il.* 13.218 ruled the Aitolians (Αἰτωλοῖσιν ἄνασσε)<sup>92</sup>**

Aitolos was the son of Endymion. After committing an unintentional homicide,<sup>93</sup> he fled to the area named after him, Aitolia, and there he fathered Pleuron, after whom the city in Aitolia, Pleuron, was named. Pleuron had two sons, Coures and Calydon, after whom two other cities in Aitolia were named.<sup>94</sup> [RSS]

---

<sup>91</sup> Following the reading of manuscript Y; Z and others have *choriades* “Sunken Rocks,” which is a proper name of other islands but in the wrong location; it may just be a descriptive note about the treacherous nature of the rocks. The *Odyssey*, which this summary follows closely, gives the rocks as “Gyrai.”

<sup>92</sup> An ostrakon (a pot fragment with writing on it) contains the remnants of just the first sentence before breaking off (PSI 8.1000 = van Rossum-Steenbeek #51).

<sup>93</sup> Schol. (T) on this line provides the name: Apis son of Phoroneus.

<sup>94</sup> Schol. (T) ascribes this story to Deimachus (*FGrHist* 65 fr. 1).

**Schol. (D) Il. 13.302 or with the stout-hearted Phleggyans (ἡὲ μετὰ Φλεγύας  
μεγαλήτορας)<sup>95</sup>**

The Phleggyans living around Gyrtion<sup>96</sup> lived a life of lawless banditry. They would overrun the neighboring peoples and mistreat them cruelly. The Thebans, being nearby, had lived in fear for quite a long time until Amphion and Zethos, the sons of Zeus and Antiope, fortified Thebes with walls. For Amphion had a lyre that had been bestowed on him by the Muses, with which he charmed even stones, such that they moved on their own accord toward the building of the wall. While these two were still alive, the Phleggyans were unable to do any harm to the Thebans. But once they were dead, they marched against Thebes with their king Eurymachos and took the city. Since they were performing many unjust and cruel acts, by the will of Zeus they were destroyed by Apollo.<sup>97</sup> The story is in Pherecydes (fr. 41c Fowler; EGM 2.365). [RSS]

**Schol. (D) Il. 13.459 he went for Aineias (βῆ δέ μετ' Αἰνεΐαν)<sup>98</sup>**

After Troy was captured Aineias took his father Anchises and fled. Near Mt. Athos he suffered shipwreck and was cast ashore with his father. Anchises died at Mt. Calauros, next to the Anthemios river; Aineias buried him where there is now the place called the Tomb of Anchises.<sup>99</sup> In accordance with the will of his mother, Aphrodite, he founded the city that was called “Aineias” after him. When he died, the son who was born of her<sup>100</sup> secretly went back to his father’s realm and rebuilt a city there. Then he gathered an army, migrated to Italy and founded a city, Rome. [RSS]

---

<sup>95</sup> P.Oxy. 3003 (van Rossum-Steenbeek #52) offers the following readable bits: “<wi>th the stout<-hearted> Phleggyans: the Phle<gyans>...<liv>ing...kept plundering their neighbors. Because the Thebans were fearful of them, those <under Zeth>os and Amphion fortified the city with walls...<Am>phion <had> a golden lyre from the Muses...he persuaded the stones. So the Phleggyans no longer came until, after Zethos and his companions died, they marched with Eurymachos, their king...Apollo threw them into Tartaros.”

<sup>96</sup> The manuscripts unanimously transmit “Gortyna,” which is a city in Crete, but this is certainly a mistake for Gyrtion(e), a city in Thessaly, where the Phleggyans are usually located. Schol. (T) gives Gyrtion as the location.

<sup>97</sup> One manuscript (A) adds “These burned down the temple of Apollo in Delphi.”

<sup>98</sup> A papyrus (P.Oxy. 3003 = van Rossum-Steenbeek #52) offers the following readable bits: “After <Troy> was taken Aineias sailed away with his <fa>ther and suffered shipwreck along the bountiful land around Athos...when they...it happened that Anchises died because of old age and exhausted...by his son Aineias where...the so-called <Tomb> of Anchises. It happened...along the prow, he says, with a *suax* [a kind of fish?]....he stopped there and on the orders of his mother Aphrodite he founded a city...”

<sup>99</sup> Several manuscripts add “in Pyane,” an otherwise unknown place.

<sup>100</sup> According to the transmitted Greek, this is a child of Aineias and Aphrodite, which is very unlikely. Either the text is corrupt, or something has fallen out of the text.

**Schol. (D) *Il.* 14.119 my father, after wandering, came to dwell in Argos (πατήρ δ' ἐμὸς Ἄργεϊ νάσθη πλαγχθείς)**

As, presumably, Zeus and the other gods willed it. Diomedes elegantly passes over his father's exile. For after Tydeus killed his own sons, Lycopoeus and Alcatheos,<sup>101</sup> he went into exile. The following story has more truth: Tydeus son of Oineus was Aitolian by birth, and he was the strongest of his peers. While he was still young, he watched as his father, because he was old, was kicked out of his kingship by the sons of Agrios. Tydeus killed his cousins<sup>102</sup> because of this, but he also unintentionally killed his brother <Olenias> at the same time.<sup>103</sup> He fled to Argos and its king, Adrastus, where he was purified by him and received his daughter Deipyle. The story is in Pherecydes (fr. 122 Fowler; *EGM* 2.410). [RSS]

**Schol. (D) *Il.* 14.226 Pieria (Πιερίην)**

A land in Macedonia, but some say it's a mountain. Macedon, the son of Zeus and Thyia,<sup>104</sup> gained possession of the land, which was part of Thrace, and named it after himself. He married a local woman and fathered two sons, Pieros and Amathos, after whom two cities in Macedonia were named, Pieria and Amathia. The story is in Marsyas (*FGrHist* 135 fr. 13). [RSS]

**Schol. (D) *Il.* 14.255 Cos (Κόων δέ)**

When Heracles was making his return home after sacking Troy and was on the Aegean Sea, he was held up by a violent storm by the will of Hera. He was driven to Cos Meropis, but he was prevented from disembarking on the island by its king, Eurypylos, the son of Poseidon. But he resorted to force like a pirate: he disembarked anyway, killed Eurypylos and his sons, and slept with his daughter Chalcioppe, fathering Thessalos. The story is in Pherecydes (fr. 78 Fowler; *EGM* 2.314).<sup>105</sup> [RSS]

---

<sup>101</sup> Normally these two are the brothers of his father Oineus and so Tydeus' uncles, and there is likely a mistake in the text, or some material has fallen out before this detail (see *Apd. Bibl.* 1.62).

<sup>102</sup> Agrios was Oineus' brother.

<sup>103</sup> Some manuscripts simply repeat the word "cousin" here, while others give "brother." Apollodorus (1.76 = 1.8.5), giving multiple possibilities for the murder that sent Tydeus into exile, cites Pherecydes (as the scholiast here), who reports that he killed his own brother Olenias. See Fowler *EGM* 2.409–10.

<sup>104</sup> The manuscripts offer the name as *Aithria* or *Aithyia* (both unlikely); we follow the name as given by Hesiod (fr. 7 MW = fr. 7 Most).

<sup>105</sup> Many details of this story can be found above at *Il.* 1.590.

**Schol. (D) Il. 14.295 just like the first time we slept together (οἶον ὅτε πρῶτον ἐμισγομέθα)**

When Hera was being raised by her parents, one of the Giants, Eurymedon, raped her and made her pregnant. She gave birth to Prometheus. Zeus later married his sister [Hera], and when he found out what had happened, he threw Eurymedon into Tartaros, and hung Prometheus up in chains (he used the fire as a pretext<sup>106</sup>). The story is in Euphorion (fr. 99 Powell). [RSS]

**Schol. (D) Il. 14.319 Not even when [I loved] Danae (οὐδ' ὅτε περ Δανάης)<sup>107</sup>**

Danae daughter of Acrisios slept with Zeus and gave birth to Perseus. For when Acrisios, he says,<sup>108</sup> consulted the oracle about fathering male children, the god said that his daughter would give birth to a son who would kill him. Afraid of this, Acrisios built a bronze bedroom under ground and kept Danae under guard. But, as Pindar (fr. 284 Pfeiffer) and others say, she was seduced by her uncle, Proitos, and this is what caused the falling out between the two.<sup>109</sup> But some say that Zeus changed into gold and slept with Danae by flowing through the roof into her lap. When Acrisios later learned that she had given birth to Perseus, he refused to believe that she had been seduced by Zeus, put his daughter into a chest along with her son, and threw it into the sea. They survived, landing on the island of Seriphos; her son was raised at Polydectes' court or, as some say, by Polydectes' brother, Dictys. When Acrisios later was driven into exile, Perseus became king of the Argives. [RSS]

**Schol. (D) Il. 14.323a Not even when [I loved] Semele (οὐδ' ὅτε περ Σεμέλης)**

Zeus desired Semele, the daughter of Cadmos, and was sleeping with her without Hera's knowledge. But Semele was tricked by Hera:<sup>110</sup> when Zeus had agreed to do everything she asked of him, Semele asked him to come to her just as he came to Hera when he was wooing her. Unable to refuse her, Zeus came into her bedroom on a chariot with lightning and thunder and hurled a thunderbolt. Semele died from fright, but Zeus snatched out of the fire the six-month old

---

<sup>106</sup> That is, Prometheus' theft of fire.

<sup>107</sup> A fragmentary papyrus (*P.Oxy* 3003, van Rossum-Steenbeek #52) contains traces of a story, which appears similar in content, but in different Greek: “**fair-ankled <Da>nae**: King of Argos...her fath<er>...judged. He got ang<ry and> put her in a chest...sea...island...the kingdom...<some traces of words> they were put to flight...”

<sup>108</sup> This story is drawn from Apollodorus' *Library* 2.34–35 (2.4.1–2) despite the lack of a reference.

<sup>109</sup> That is, between Acrisios and Proitos.

<sup>110</sup> The summary is compressed: Hera told Semele that, if her lover really were Zeus, she should make him prove it by coming to her as he does to Hera. Semele makes Zeus swear an oath to do what she wants him to do.

fetus that had been miscarried and sewed it into his thigh. The story is in Euripides' *Bacchae*.<sup>111</sup>  
[RSS]

**Schol. (D) Il. 14.323b Nor when [I loved] Alcmena in Thebes (οὐδ' Ἀλκμήνης ἐνὶ Θήβης)**

Alcmene, the daughter of Electryon and Anaxo daughter of Alcaios, was desired by Amphitryon, who, after killing Electryon in a dispute over cattle, went into exile from Argos to Thebes. Alcmena went with him. They were received hospitably by the rulers of the city, Creon and Henioche, and they were greatly honored there. But Alcmena did not want to get married until the Teleboans, the murderers of her brothers, had been killed. So Amphitryon, taking with him allies from Boiotia, Locris, and Phocis, fought against them and won after a year-long siege. When he returned from campaign he celebrated his wedding to Alcmena, but on that very night Zeus desired her and, taking the form of Amphitryon, slept with her, fathering a son. Amphitryon did the same later in the same night. Nine months after the sexual encounter, Heracles was born from Zeus, Iphicles from Amphitryon. They say that when Zeus was sleeping with Alcmena he persuaded the sun not to rise for three days. This is why Zeus, having slept with her for three nights, fathered “three-evening” Heracles. [RSS]

**Schol. (D) Il. 15.229 But come, take [the aegis] in your hands (ἀλλὰ σύ γ' ἐν χείρεσσι ἄγε)<sup>112</sup>**

When Cronos received an oracle that his own son would dethrone him, he swallowed his children as soon as they were born. But when Rhea gave birth to Zeus, she wrapped a stone in swaddling clothes and gave it to Cronos to swallow instead of him. She took her child to Crete and gave him to Themis and Amaltheia (this was a goat {*aig-*}) to raise. Whenever the Titans looked upon this goat, they grew afraid. It nourished the child by offering its teats to him. When Zeus grew up, he dethroned his father; when the Titans went to war against him, Themis advised him to use the skin of Amaltheia as a cloak, since it was always a terrifying bugbear. Zeus followed the advice and conquered the Titans. Because of this, they say, Zeus got the name “Aegis-bearing.” [RSS]

---

<sup>111</sup> Despite the reference to Euripides' famous play, the text is nearly word for word the same as that in Apollodorus, *Library* 3.26–27 (3.4.3).

<sup>112</sup> A papyrus (*P.Oxy.* 3003 = van Rossum-Steenbeek #52) contains a few bits of the story, where “gave birth to Zeus” can be read, as well as the names Themis and Amaltheia.

**Schol. (D) *Il.* 15.256 Phoibos Apollo of the golden *aor* (Φοῖβον Ἀπόλλωνα χρυσάορον)**

Hermes, the son of Zeus and Maia daughter of Atlas, invented the lyre. He stole Apollo's cattle but was discovered to be the thief by the god through his power of divination. While Apollo was threatening him, Hermes stole the bow right off his shoulders. The god smiled and gave him his prophetic staff, which is why Hermes is called "golden-wand." Apollo got the lyre from him, and this is why he is called "Chrysaor" from the strap [*aortēr*] of the lyre.<sup>113</sup> [RSS]

**Schol. (D) *Il.* 16.14 They say that Menoitios is still alive (ζῶειν μὲν ἔτι φασὶν Μενόιτιον)**

Aiacos, the son of Zeus and Aigina, married Endeis daughter of Cheiron and had two sons, Peleus and Telamon. He also slept with Psamathe, the Nereid, and fathered Phocos. Peleus killed Phocos which led him to go into exile in Magnesia in Thessaly and stay with Cheiron. Telamon for his part accidentally killed one of his fellow hunters during the Calydonian Boar hunt and went in exile to Salamis, where he married Eriboia daughter of Alcatheos and fathered Aias. Menoitios moved<sup>114</sup> to Opous and fathered Patroklos, who also killed someone involuntarily, Cleisonymos, son of Amphidamas. He fled to Peleus in exile <...three words uncertain...><sup>115</sup> who raised him with Achilles. The story is in Philostephanus (*FHG* fr. 35). [RSS]

**Schol. (D) *Il.* 16.36 If you in your mind are avoiding some destiny (εἰ δέ τινα φρεσὶ σῆσι θεοπροπίην ἀλεείνεις)**

When Thetis was forced by Zeus to marry Peleus, she kept putting the children she gave birth to into fire in the belief that she could burn up the mortal flesh in it while preserving the immortal part. She destroyed six children this way. Achilles, the seventh, she likewise put into the fire, but Peleus saw her do it, rescued the child, and brought him to Mt. Pelion, giving him over to Cheiron to raise. Because Cheiron nourished him on the marrow of lions and bears, he called the boy Achilles.<sup>116</sup> After teaching him the art of medicine and how to play the lyre and sing, he returned him to his father. Thetis, meanwhile, was angry and left Peleus, returning to the sea. But when Achilles was heading off to fight against Troy, she forewarned him: if he

---

<sup>113</sup> This epithet is conventionally translated "of the golden sword" (*aor*), but this has always been curious because Apollo's weapon is the bow.

<sup>114</sup> Although Menoitios is not named at the beginning of the story as a son of Aiacos, he seems to be treated here closely with Peleus (and Telamon) as going into exile after the death of Phocos—perhaps drawn from the tradition in the Hesiodic catalog that Menoitios was Peleus' brother (fr. 212a MW = fr. 147 Most).

<sup>115</sup> Perhaps ms. L is close to being right, "he was sent by him to Cheiron, who..."

<sup>116</sup> The scholion does not explain why this accounts for Achilles' name, but Apollodorus (3.172 = 3.13.6) is more explicit: Cheiron called the boy, originally named Ligyron, Achilles because he never (*a-*) put his lips (*cheilē*) to a teat.

fought against the Trojans he would possess a short life, but achieve great glory; but if he stayed away from fighting he would live a long life, but without fame. When he learned this, Achilles chose eternal fame over a transitory life and went to war. The story is in Lycophron (*Alex.* 178–179) [RSS]

**Schol. (D) *Il.* 16.140 Only the spear [of Achilles] he did not take (ἔγχος δ' οὐχ ἔλετ' οἶον)**

Homer has, in anticipation, held back only the spear itself because Hephaistos does not work wood.<sup>117</sup> During the wedding of Peleus and Thetis the gods gathered on Mt. Pelion for a feast and brought Peleus gifts. Cheiron cut a thriving ash-tree, fashioned a spear and presented it to Peleus. (They say that Athena planed it and Hephaistos fit it out with a spearhead.) It was with this spear that both Peleus and Achilles after him distinguished themselves in battle. The story is in the poet of the *Cypria* (fr. 3 Davies). [RSS]

**Schol. (D) *Il.* 16.233 Zeus, lord of Dodona (Ζεῦ ἄνα Δωδωναῖε)**

That is, honored in Dodona, a place of the Hyperboreans. What is the account of Dodonaian Zeus and the place that prompts Homer to invoke him in this way? After the flood that happened in his time, Deucalion traveled to Epeiros and consulted the oracle at the oak tree. When the *peleias*<sup>118</sup> gave him the response, he settled the area, gathering together those that had survived the flood, and he named the land Dodona after Zeus and Dodona, one of Oceanos' daughters. The story is in Thrasybulus and Acestorodorus.<sup>119</sup> [RSS]

**Schol. (D) *Il.* 17.53 just like a shoot that a man nourishes (οἶον δὲ τρέφει ἔρνος ἀνήρ)**

Poseidon and Athena contended over Attica. Poseidon struck the Acropolis of Attica with his trident and created a sea-wave, but Athena created the olive tree. Their judge was Cecrops, the king of the region of Attica, and he awarded the land to the goddess, saying that the sea was everywhere, but the olive tree was unique to Athens. The story is in Callimachus (fr. 194 Pfeiffer). [RSS]

---

<sup>117</sup> Hephaistos will make Achilles a new set of bronze armor (book 18) after Hector kills and despoils Patroclus in battle.

<sup>118</sup> This can either mean the prophetic dove of Dodona, or the human priestess (“The Dove”) who delivers prophecies there.

<sup>119</sup> This is a good example how these source references can be compressed and misleading. Stephanus of Byzantion (s.v. *Dodona*) reports that Epaphroditus in his second book of *Causes* states that the name Dodona—according to Thrasybulus—derived from Dodona, one of the Oceanid nymphs. Separately, he reports Acestorodorus' derivation, from Dodon, a son of Zeus and Europa.

### Schol. (D) *Il.* 18.10 the best of the Myrmidons (Μυρμιδόνων τὸν ἄριστον)

Actor was a Locrian by birth. He married Aigina, the daughter of Asopos (the river of Thebes), after she had slept with Zeus <some text missing> and after some months fathered Menoitios.<sup>120</sup> Menoitios returned to his father's homeland, Opous, and fathered Patroclos, whom the poet fittingly called a Myrmidon because his father was born on Aigina.<sup>121</sup> [RSS]

### Schol. (D) *Il.* 18.486(a) Pleiades (Πληϊάδες)<sup>122</sup>

Seven stars lying in the tail of Taurus (or rather where Taurus breaks off, since the bull was not placed in the stars whole, but only up to its haunches). These are the daughters of Atlas and Pleione, whose names are: Maia, Taygete, Celaino, Merope, Electra, Sterope and Alcyone. Atlas, one of the Giants, slept with Pleione daughter of Oceanos and had seven daughters, who prized their virginity and used to hunt alongside Artemis. When Orion saw them he grew desirous and chased after them, wanting to sleep with them. When they were being overtaken, they prayed to the gods to change their form. Zeus pitied them and turned them into doves {*pleiades*} and placed them among the stars.<sup>123</sup> They were called Pleiades after their mother, Pleione. They say that Electra, not wanting to witness the destruction of Troy (because her descendants had built it), left the spot where she had been placed.<sup>124</sup> That's why there are six stars instead of the original seven. The story is in the Cyclic poets (p. 74 Davies). [RSS]

### Schol. (D) *Il.* 18.486(b) Hyades (Ύάδες)

These are the seven stars lying in the horns of Taurus. They are called the Hyades either because of the similarity of their shape to the letter upsilon {Υ}<sup>125</sup> or it is because they are the cause of storms and rainshowers {*hyet-*}. When Dionysos was born from Zeus' thigh, Zeus gave the baby over to the nymphs of Dodona to raise: Ambrosia, Coronis, Eudore, Dione, Phaisyle,<sup>126</sup> Polyxo.<sup>127</sup> After they raised him, they traveled alongside him, bestowing the grapevine discovered by the

<sup>120</sup> The text is problematic; probably missing is Actor's migration to Oinone (= Aigina).

<sup>121</sup> A papyrus (P.Oxy. 4091 = van Rossum-Steenbeek #53) preserves some fragments of two stories at 18.319 and 18.432, but the D scholia do not present any narratives for those lines.

<sup>122</sup> A papyrus fragment (P.Oxy. 4096 fr. 1 +2 = van Rossum-Steenbeek #53, p. 285–286) has some readable bits: “**Pleiades:** Atlas, one of the Giants, slept with Pleione <daughter of Oc>ean and had seven <daughters>...Merope, <Ele>ctra...mother...story... [fr. 2] Zeus piti<ed them and turned them into> doves...because the...one...”

<sup>123</sup> The Greek here is difficult to understand and is perhaps corrupt, either “through the Bears” [reading mss. *arktōn*], when it is obvious they are not, or simply “among the stars” [*astrōn*], following the conjecture of Robert (1878).

<sup>124</sup> That is, one star is very faint and difficult to see with the naked eye.

<sup>125</sup> In Greek the letter upsilon was pronounced with an “h” sound, “hy-.”

<sup>126</sup> Following Barnes' correction of mss. Aisyle to Phaisyle, a name found elsewhere.

<sup>127</sup> The seventh name—probably Phaio based on other lists—is missing from the scholia.

god on humanity. But Lycourgos chased Dionysos to the sea, and Zeus, taking pity on the women, placed them among the stars. The story is in Pherecydes (fr. 90b Fowler; *EGM* 2.371–7). [RSS]

**Schol. (D) *Il.* 18.486(c) Pleiades and Hyades (Πληϊάδας θ' Ὑάδας τε)<sup>128</sup>**

They say that the ones placed among the stars along the brow of Taurus are called the Hyades, while those along its haunches (where Taurus breaks off) are called the Pleiades. The story according to Timaeus (*FGrHist* 566 fr. 91):<sup>129</sup> Atlas, the son of Iapetos and Aithra daughter of Oceanos, had twelve daughters and one son named Hyas. While the son was hunting in Libya, he was killed by a snake. Five of the sisters died while mourning their brother, all of whom<sup>130</sup> Zeus placed among the stars out of pity, giving them the name “Hyades” after their brother. The greater {plei-} number, seven, died later<sup>131</sup> and were called the Pleiades. Yet, as Pherecydes (fr. 90c Fowler; *EGM* 2.371–7) puts it, the Hyades were nymphs of Dodona and the nurses of Dionysos, who entrusted Dionysos to Ino’s care on account of their fear of Hera (this was the same time at which they had been driven off by Lycourgos, too). Of the seven Pleiades, the seventh star is extremely faint. As Aratus says in his funeral poem for Theopropus, when Troy was being sacked, Electra, the mother of Dardanos and one of the Pleiades, fled the company of her sisters; sometimes she appears as a comet, having let her hair {komai} down.<sup>132</sup> Hellanicus in the first book of his *Atlantica* says that six of them had sex with gods (fr. 19 Fowler; *EGM* 2.417–8):

Taygete and Zeus produced Lacedaimon  
 Maia and Zeus produced Hermes  
 Electra and Zeus produced Dardanos  
 Alcyone and Poseidon produced Hyrieus  
 Celaino and Poseidon produced Lycos  
 Sterope and Ares produced Oinomaos  
 Merope and Sisyphos (a mortal, which is why she is faint) produced Glaucos. [...]<sup>133</sup>  
 [RSS]

---

<sup>128</sup> This entry is not in Pagès’ collection and is unlikely to derive from the Mythographus Homericus, but because of the mythographical content we have included it.

<sup>129</sup> Hyg. *Astr.* 2.21 attributes the following to Musaeus, which is more likely.

<sup>130</sup> The Greek τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς (“the remainder”) seems a mistake, anticipating the next sentence. We’ve accepted Wilamowitz’s emendation (ἄς).

<sup>131</sup> The text is problematic, and we give only the general sense (compare Eustathius *Il.* 1155.45).

<sup>132</sup> Comet in Greek is *astēr komētēs*, “long-haired star;” letting one’s hair down was a sign of mourning.

<sup>133</sup> The entry continues with mostly non-mythological etymological explanations. We have omitted the rest here.

**Schol. (D) Il. 18.486(d) The strength of Orion (τό τε σθένος Ὀρίωνος)**

Another way of saying “Orion.” Orion is the biggest star in the heavens, and here is why he was placed there: Hyrieus, the son of Poseidon and Alcyone (one of Atlas’ daughters), lived in Tanagra in Boiotia. Being an excellent host, he once even welcomed gods into his home. Zeus, Poseidon and Hermes were entertained and treated kindly by him, and so they encouraged him to ask them for whatever he wanted. Being childless, he asked for a son. So the gods took the hide of the ox he had sacrificed for them, ejaculated<sup>134</sup> into it, and told him to hide it under the earth and to retrieve it nine months later. When the nine months were up, Ourion was born, so named because it was as if the gods had, so to speak, “urinated” {*ourēsai*}, but later he lost the inauspicious name and was called Orion. While he was hunting alongside Artemis, he tried to rape her. Enraged, the goddess brought up from the earth a scorpion, which stung him in the ankle, killing him. Zeus out of pity lifted him into the stars, and this is why Orion sets when Scorpio rises. The story is in Euphorion (fr. 101 Powell). [RSS]

**Schol. (D) Il. 18.487 The Bear, which they also call the Wagon (Ἄρκτον θ’ ἦν καὶ Ἄμαξαν ἐπὶ κλησιν καλέουσιν)**

Two Bears are shown in the northern regions. This one, the one called the Great Bear, is also called the Wagon because it was placed among the stars in the form of a wagon. The nearby one, the Small Bear, is called the Dog’s Tail because it has a bent tail like a dog’s—but Homer does not mention this one, since it was only later discovered by Thales the Milesian, one of the seven Wise Men. Zeus desired Callisto, the daughter of Lycaon, and slept with her without Hera knowing about it. But when the goddess did find out, she changed Callisto into a bear, and she ordered Artemis to shoot it as if it were a wild animal. But Zeus took her into the heavens and placed her in the stars, his first catasterism.<sup>135</sup> The story is in Callimachus (fr. 632 Pfeiffer). [RSS]

**Schol. (D) Il. 18.493 A large wedding celebration is a foot (πολὺς δ’ ὑμέναιος ὄρωρει)**

[...]<sup>136</sup> Others say that Hymenaios was an Argive man who, when he was sailing past Athens, arrived just as young women from Attica were being abducted by some Pelasgians. When he

<sup>134</sup> Rejecting van Thiel’s correction to *ourēsan* (“urinated”), which is based on the later appearance of that verb in the story (and the obvious etymological connection).

<sup>135</sup> Catasterism is the technical word for a person or object being placed in the heavens.

<sup>136</sup> The scholiast provides other non-mythological explanations of the word “Hymenaios” (wedding-song): 1) from the bride and groom “living together” (*naiein homou*) or 2) from the physical hymen that is broken during the first sexual encounter.

appeared, he was the reason they were not violated since he drove off the Pelasgians. Because of this, women who were legally getting married, as if they were appealing to him, used to sing a certain hymn to him called the Hymenaion. [RSS]

**Schol. (D) Il. 18.590 He wrought a dancing floor on it, etc. (ἐν δὲ χορὸν ποίησε καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς)**

Hephaistos also carefully wrought on [the shield] a dance that has a similar arrangement of dancers as the one that was created by the inventor Daidalos for Ariadne in the city of Knossos on Crete. For the story is told that when Theseus traveled from Aphidnai to Athens, he arrived just as the tributes—the seven boys and seven girls—were being sent to Minos on Crete. The Athenians were performing this tribute as payment for the treacherous murder of Androgeos, Minos’ son, when he was taking part in the Panathenaia festival and kept winning. Anyways, they say that Theseus willingly enlisted with the those heading off, and when he got to Crete he caught the eye of Ariadne, Minos’ daughter. Because of this he was saved by the skill of Daidalos in the following way. Daidalos gave Ariadne a ball of thread and told her to give it to Theseus so that he could attach the end of the thread to the entranceway. That would allow him to unwind the ball as he entered the Labyrinth, and, once he overcame the beast, he would have a simple and easy way back out of the Labyrinth, which had a complex, interwoven set of passages out. When Theseus got out after overcoming the beast, he along with the other boys and girls weaved a choral dance for the gods in such a way that it reflected his intricate weaving in and out of the Labyrinth. It was Daidalos that came up with and created the practice of choral dance. [RSS]

**Schol. (D) Il. 19.113 great oath (μέγαν ὄρκον)**

The water of Styx. Of the children of Ouranos, Styx was the one sister held in the highest honor, and after the battle of the heavenly gods against the so-called Titans, she became the *<oath of the gods>* in the following way. Cronos and the other Titans (the children of Ouranos), the older generation, were preparing to bring war against the younger gods led by Zeus. They determined to do this through an ambush and brought their sister into their counsel,<sup>137</sup> but when she learned of the specifics of their plans, she revealed them to Zeus, betraying her siblings. Zeus and the other gods avoided the ambush, met the Titans in war, and defeated them. Then he honored Styx by making the water of Styx the unbreakable oath of the gods. The story is told in more detail in Hesiod’s *Theogony* (lines 389–403). [RSS]

---

<sup>137</sup> The text for the first part of the sentence here is problematic (something seems to have dropped out), and the manuscripts differ in what follows. We give the general idea, which seems clear enough.

**Schol. (D) *Il.* 19.119 and stopped Alcmena [from giving birth] (Ἀλκμήνης δ' ἀπέπαυσεν [τόκον])**

Zeus slept with Alcmena daughter of Electryon and made her pregnant (how was explained in book 14 [line 323]). When she was about to give birth, Zeus swore in the presence of the gods that the one born from him on that very day would be king. Out of jealousy, Hera paused Alcmena's labor and caused Sthenelos' wife Antibia (some say it was Nicippe), who was six months' pregnant, to deliver Eurystheus. (This is why even babies born prematurely at six months are cared for.) Eurystheus became king and ordered Heracles to complete the labors; when the latter finished them, he was compensated with immortality following the instructions of Athena and Apollo. The story is in Rhianus (fr. 9 Powell = *FGrHist* 265 fr. 51). [RSS]

**Schol. (D) *Il.* 19.326 or my own son, who is being raised on Scyros for me (ἦὲ τὸν ὃς Σκύρω μοι ἔνι τρέφεται φίλος υἱός)<sup>138</sup>**

After Alexander carried off Helen, Agamemnon and Menelaos assembled the Greeks to march against Troy. Knowing that it was fated for Achilles to die in Troy, Peleus went to king Lycomedes on Scyros and put Achilles in his care. Lycomedes put him in women's clothing and raised him along with his daughters as a girl. When the Greeks received an oracle that Troy could not be taken without Achilles, they sent Odysseus, Phoinix, and Nestor to Peleus, who said his son wasn't there with him. So they traveled to Scyros and, suspecting that Achilles was being raised among the young women, followed Odysseus' suggestion: they tossed weapons and baskets filled with other loom-instruments in front of the women's quarters. The girls rushed toward the baskets and other items, but Achilles outed himself when he picked up the weapons and that's how he joined their campaign. Earlier, however, when he was living with the young women, he had seduced Deidameia, Lycomedes' daughter. She bore him Pyrrhos, who later was named Neoptolemos. Though young, he fought with the Greeks after the death of his father. The story is in the Cyclic poets (p. 75 Davies). [RSS]

---

<sup>138</sup> A papyrus *P.Berol.* 13930 (= van Rossum-Steenbeek #54) offers the following bits: "oracle was issued...so <someone> sent...to get an account...Achilles...Odysseus <to find>...they...that at Lycomedes house...came to Scyros...<daugh>ters(?) of Lycomedes asked... being raised (?)...at home...Odysseus...<scattered traces of words>."

**Schol. (D) Il. 20.3 high ground (θρωσμίῳ)<sup>139</sup>**

A lofty place from which one can “spring” {*thor-*} or “leap” down. This place is in Troy, about five stades [= 5/8 mile] in circumference, lying between the Simoeis River and the so-called village of the Ilians. This is also where people think the goddesses were judged in the beauty contest. It is called Callicolone {“Beautiful Hill”}, because it is the most conspicuous landmark in the surrounding area. The story is in Demetrius of Scepsis (fr. 23 Gaede). [RSS]

**Schol. (D) Il. 20.145 to the earthen wall of godlike Heracles, lofty, the one the Trojans and Athena made so that he could slip away and escape the sea monster (τείχος ἐς ἀμφίχυτον Ἡρακλῆος θείοιο ὑψηλόν, τὸ ῥά οἱ Τρῶες καὶ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη ποίεον, ὄφρα τὸ κῆτος ὑπεκπροφυγῶν ἀλέαιτο)<sup>140</sup>**

When Poseidon and Apollo worked as slaves for Laomedon at Zeus’ command, they built the wall for an agreed-upon price. Breaking his oath and promises, Laomedon did not render payment and drove them off. Enraged, Poseidon sent a sea monster against the land, which continually destroyed all the people and growing crops it met. Laomedon consulted an oracle, and the response was this: he was to set out his daughter Hesione as food for the sea monster and in so doing he would be freed of the terror. He set out his daughter and announced that the would give the person who killed the sea monster the immortal horses that Zeus had given Tros in return for Ganymedes. Heracles came and promised to accomplish the challenge, and after Athena built the wall called “earthen” as a protection for him, he crawled into the beast’s belly through its mouth and destroyed its insides. Laomedon made a switch and gave Heracles mortal horses. When Heracles learned about this, he marched against Troy and sacked it, and that’s how he got those horses. The story is in Hellanicus (fr. 26b Fowler; EGM 2.311–3). [RSS]

**Schol. (D) Il. 20.215 First cloud-gathering Zeus fathered Dardanos (Δάρδανον αὖ πρῶτον τέκετο)**

Dardanos, the son of Zeus and Electra (the daughter of Atlas), escaped from Samothrace when great rains came. Building a raft and wrapping himself in a leather sack, he crossed to Mt. Ida

---

<sup>139</sup> A fragmentary papyrus (*P.Berol.* 13930 = van Rossum-Steenbeek #54) offers the same story at line 53, where Homer explicitly names Callicolone. Only some parts can be read: “Callicolone is a place <in Troy>...lofty, in circumference <number missing>...it happened...between...a town <named after> the city. Is is called...because...of the surrounding area...Demetrius of Scepsis.” Given the limited space on the papyrus, it appears impossible that it mentioned of the judgment of the goddesses. See also *P.Oxy.* 4096 fr. 16 (= van Rossum-Steenbeek #53).

<sup>140</sup> Some meager scraps of information are found in two papyri, *P.Berol.* 13930 and 13282 (= van Rossum-Steenbeek #54–55), the latter mentioning the sea monster, the god, Laomedon, his daughter, Heracles and a prize (as well as ribs, which may refer to the “insides” of the monster).

in the Troad. He got off the raft and on Zeus' orders built a city, which he called Dardania after himself. The story is in Lycophron (*Alex.* 69–85).<sup>141</sup> [RSS]

**Schol. (D) *Il.* 20.307 and then the power of Aineias will rule the Trojans (νῦν δὲ δὴ Αἰνεΐαιο βίη Τρώεσσι ἀνάξει)**<sup>142</sup>

When Aphrodite learned of the prophecy that the descendants of Anchises would rule the Trojans after the reign of Priam's family was brought to an end, she slept with Anchises even though he was past his prime. She gave birth to Aineias. Wanting to create a pretext to bring an end to Priam's family, she inspired in Paris a desire for Helen. And after he carried Helen away, Aphrodite only appeared to fight on the side of the Trojans (in reality she was encouraging their defeat) so that they would not give up hope completely and give Helen back. The story is in Acusliaus (fr. 39 Fowler; *EGM* 2.561). [RSS]

**Schol. (D) *Il.* 20.403 as a bull bellows as it is dragged to the Heliconian lord (ὡς δ' ὅτε ταῦρος ἤρυγεν ἐλκόμενος Ἑλικώνιον ἀμφὶ ἄνακτα)**<sup>143</sup>

[...]<sup>144</sup> The story is as follows. Neleus, the son of Codros, having received an oracle, sent out a group of settlers from Athens and Achaian Helice to settle Miletos and Caria. When they got to Caria they built a sanctuary for Poseidon and they called the area “Heliconion” after the sacred area in Helice. Whenever they sacrifice to the god, they think the god is receiving the sacrifice favorably if the bulls bellow; but if the bulls make no sound, they are discouraged since they think the god is angry. The story is in Clitophon (*FHG* fr. 5). [RSS]

---

<sup>141</sup> The story is alluded to obscurely in Lycophon, but the scholia to Lycophron contain a more straightforward and detailed summary of events.

<sup>142</sup> *P. Berol.* 13282 (= van Rossum-Steenbeek #55) contains traces of this story, but the only readable part is “the reign of Priam's family.”

<sup>143</sup> *P. Berol.* 13282 (= van Rossum-Steenbeek #55) contains the following readable parts: “Neleus the son of Codrus, having received an oracle, sent a group of colonists from both Athens and...the land, a sanctuary of Po<*seidon*>...in Achaia...” *P. Oxy.* 4096 fr. 3 (= van Rossum-Steenbeek #53) also contains some of the story: “Neleus the son of Codros, following <*the command*> of Apollo sent...from both Athens and Helice <*in Achaia*> to Miletos...built...of Poseidon...called it ‘Heliconion’...”.

<sup>144</sup> The scholia starts with a discussion whether “Heliconian” refers to Mt. Helicon in Boiotia, or Helice, an island in Achaia sacred to Poseidon.

**Schol. (D) *Il.* 21.1 the ford of the river [Xanthos] (πόρον ποταμοῖο...[Ξάνθου])**

[...] <sup>145</sup> But there is also another story circulating. Once Heracles, in the grips of dire thirst, prayed to his father Zeus to show him a flowing stream. Not wanting him to die, Zeus threw a thunderbolt and revealed a small trickle of water. When Heracles saw it, he dug {*skapt-*} to make it flow more closely to the surface <sup>146</sup> and called it “Skamandros,” as if “Kamandros” since it was the cause of his toil {*kamat-*}. This is why the poet reasonably ties the origin of the river to Zeus. It got the name Xanthos from the fact that the goddesses Hera, Athena and Aphrodite were judged in the beauty contest after having washed in its waters <*text missing*> having blond {*xanth-*} hair. <sup>147</sup> [RSS]

**Schol. (D) *Il.* 21.194 Not even lord Acheloios is his [Zeus'] equal (τῷ οὐδὲ κρείων Ἀχελῷος ἰσοφαρίζει) <sup>148</sup>**

When Heracles descended into the underworld to fetch Cerberos, he encountered Meleagros son of Oineus, who begged him to marry his sister Deianeira. So, when he returned to the light above, Heracles hurried off to Oineus in Aitolia. When he got there, he found that Acheloios, the nearby river, was wooing the girl. Heracles wrestled him even as the river-god took the form of a bull, and during the struggle Heracles broke off one of this horns, thus winning the maiden. They say that Acheloios received a horn <sup>149</sup> from Amaltheia daughter of Oceanos, and by trading that with Heracles, he got back his own horn. The Acheloios is clearly the biggest of all the rivers in Greece, and for this reason they call all water sources by this name. The story is in Pindar (*Dith.* 2; cf. Apollodorus 2.7.5). [RSS]

---

<sup>145</sup> In Homer the Scamandros river is also called Xanthos. The scholion starts with non-mythical explanations as to why the Xanthos is called “Zeus-born.”

<sup>146</sup> Some manuscripts offer *plousiōteron* “more abundantly,” which may be correct.

<sup>147</sup> The text is problematic at the end of the story, and it is unclear exactly who has blond hair (though the participle is masculine).

<sup>148</sup> From *P.Oxy.* 4096 fr. 4 (= van Rossum-Steenbeek #53) we only can make out the words “horn” and “Amaltheia.”

<sup>149</sup> Most manuscripts read *geras* (gift) not *keras* (horn).

**Schol. (D) *Il.* 21.448 You, Phoibos, herded his shambling, crook-horned cattle (Φοῖβε σὺ δ' εἰλίποδας ἔλικας βοῦς βουκολέεσκες)**<sup>150</sup>

They say that Apollo was called “Herder” {*nomios*} for the following reason. Ancient people thought that plagues came from Apollo, but every plague starts with the animals, as Homer says [*Il.* 1.50], “He went after the mules and swift dogs first.” So wanting to entreat the god so that he would turn aside the plagues, they called him herder and guard of the flocks—and this is why Homer says that he shepherded flocks under Laomedon and herded horses for Admetus. This is how Apollodorus tells it (of Athens, *FGrHist* 244 fr. 96). [RSS]

**Schol. (D) *Il.* 22.29 The dog of Orion (ὄν τε κύν' Ὠρίωνος)**<sup>151</sup>

This is how Homer describes the constellation “Dog.” But some say that the dog placed among the stars is not Orion’s dog, but that of Erigone, which was put in the heavens for the following reason. Icaros was an Athenian by birth and had an only daughter, Erigone, who was raising a puppy. Once Icaros hosted Dionysos in his home and received from him both wine and a cutting of a grape vine. Following the god’s instructions, he went around the land publicizing Dionysos’ gift, and he took the dog with him. When he was outside of the city he offered some herders wine, and they all in a group drank their fill. Some fell into a deep sleep, but those who did not thought that the drink was some deadly drug, so they beat Icaros to death. When those who had fallen asleep woke up recovered the next day, they realized their crime and took to flight. But the dog returned to Erigone and indicated what had happened by howling. When Erigone learned the truth, she hanged herself. A plague struck in Athens and the Athenians, following an oracle, started honoring both Icaros and Erigone with yearly honors. They were also placed among the stars: Icaros was called “Bootes” {*Cart-Driver*}, and Erigone “Parthenos” {*Virgin*}. The dog kept the same name. The story is in Eratosthenes (fr. 22 Powell). [RSS]

---

<sup>150</sup> *P.Oxy.* 4096 fr. 5–6 (= van Rossum-Steenbeek #53) is rather fragmentary, but we can see that the order of presentation is different: “they called [reading *keklēkasi* not *beblēkasi*] him ‘Nomios’ according to Apollodorus from this...observing...this one...<starting from?> brute animals...Homer says [the papyrus quotes parts of *Il.* 1.50–53]... wanting... deed... protecting god... calling”

<sup>151</sup> *P.Oxy.* 4096 fr. 7 (= van Rossum-Steenbeek #53) contained the story but only the Homeric lemma is preserved.

**Schol. (D) Il. 23.91 Let a single urn [hold] the remains of us both (ὥς δὲ καὶ ὄστέα νῶϊν ὀμῆ σορός)<sup>152</sup>**

When Hephaistos was on Naxos (one of the Cyclades), Dionysos hosted him and got from him a golden vase as a gift. Later, when Dionysos was chased off by Lycourgos and fled into the sea, he was received kindly by Thetis, and so he gave her the vase that had been made by Hephaistos. And she gifted it to her son, so that after death his remains could be put in it. The story is in Stesichorus (PMG fr. 234). [RSS]

**Schol. (D) Il. 23.144 It appears my father prayed to you in vain, Spercheios, etc. (Σπέρχει' ἄλλως σοί γε πατήρ ἠρήσατο Πηλεὺς καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς)<sup>153</sup>**

It was customary among the ancients to clip the hair of their youth when they reached adulthood and dedicate it to rivers. For they thought that rivers were responsible for nurturing them, and it was for this reason that they brought water from rivers to their wedding celebrations when they take an omen about the birth and raising of children. This is why Peleus too dedicated Achilles' hair to this river—for he was from Pharsalos in Thessaly. The story is in the authors of the *Argolica*.<sup>154</sup> [RSS]

**Schol. (D) Il. 23.346 Not even if you were to drive the colt Areion in front of you (οὐδὲ εἴ κεν μετόπισθεν Ἀρείονα πῶλον ἐλαύνοις)<sup>155</sup>**

When Poseidon desired Erinys, he changed his form into that of a horse and slept with her in Boiotia beside the spring Tilphousa <corrupt word>. Impregnated, she gave birth to a horse, which was called Areion {"better, stouter"} because it was the best. Copreus, who was ruler of

<sup>152</sup> A few words from this story can be made out in *P.Oxy.* 4096 fr. 8 (= van Rossum-Steenbeek #53): "...kindly...a golden vase from Hephaistos...being...Thetis. And she gifted it..."

<sup>153</sup> *P.Oxy.* 4096 fr. 10 (= van Rossum-Steenbeek #53) is very fragmentary until the end (see next note), but includes the words "birth," "Achilles," "reasonably," and "from Pharsalos." For the subscription (i.e., source reference) see next note.

<sup>154</sup> The manuscripts are unanimous in reading *Argolica*, "Argive Matters," which might point to the mythographer Hellanicus. The letters on the papyrus are not entirely clear, but the last letters of the work attributed here seem to be *-alika*, though the alpha and lambda are somewhat open to doubt. If this is correct, it could be expanded to *Thessalika*, "Thessalian Matters" (thus Haslam, van Rossum-Steenbeek), which would fit the context better.

<sup>155</sup> *P.Oxy.* 4096 fr. 10 (= van Rossum-Steenbeek #53) preserves the first part of the story: "<Not even if you were to drive in front of you <the colt Areion> of divine ancestry: when Poseidon desired Tilphousa, the Erinys, he turned his form into that of a horse and slept with her in Haliartos in Boiotia. She was impregnated and gave birth to a horse <some words lost, perhaps "swift"?>. This was called 'Arion' because it was the best.... the king of Hali<artos got> it from Poseidon...Copreus...gave up..."

Haliartos in Boiotia, received this horse as a gift from Poseidon. He, in turn, gifted it to Heracles when the latter stayed with him. It was competing on this horse that Heracles won a horserace against Cycnos, the son of Ares, in the sanctuary of Pagasaian Apollo (this is near Troizen). Later, in another handoff, Heracles gave the colt to Adrastus, and it was because of the horse that Adrastus survived the Theban War, while the others perished. The story is in the Cyclic poets (*Thebaid* fr. 6c Davies). [RSS]

**Schol. (D) *Il.* 23.660 To whoever Apollo grants endurance (ὥ δὲ κ' Ἀπόλλων δώη καμμονίην)**

Phorbas was the strongest man in his day. Thinking himself superior, he practiced boxing, forced passers-by to compete against him, and killed them. But, driven by that outsized sense of superiority, he was accustomed to show the same sort of arrogance even toward the gods. So Apollo came to him, engaged him in a fight, and killed him. And it was because of that fight that the god was also thought to be the overseer of the art of boxing. The story is in the Cyclic poets (p. 74 Davies). [RSS]

**Schol. (D) *Il.* 23.683 a loin cloth (ζῶμα δέ οἱ)<sup>156</sup>**

Originally, it was customary for ancient folks to wear a loin cloth over the genitals when they competed in athletic contests. In the <number uncertain> Olympiad, when Orsippos the Lacedaimonian competed, his loin cloth slipped off and that was the reason for his victory. From that time on it has been custom to run naked. [RSS]

**Schol. (D) *Il.* 23.821 he kept trying to hit his neck [with the point of his] shining [spear] (αἰὲν ἐπ' ἀρχένι κῦρε φαεινοῦ [δουρὸς ἀκωκῆ])**

The story is told that Heracles, who had sailed to the island of Salamis for some reason, arrived at the very moment when Telamon's son Aias was born. So Heracles stopped, picked up the child, and threw his lion cloak around him, at which point he boasted that he would be invulnerable. And when Aias grew up, he was invulnerable all over, except for his neck. For that, apparently, was the body part that the lion skin happened not to cover at the time. [RSS]

---

<sup>156</sup> P.Oxy. 4096 fr. 11 (= van Rossum-Steenbeek #53) contains some bare traces of this entry along with a subscription, the name of the source is lost (“the story according to...”).

**Schol. (D) *Il.* 24.24 They kept urging sharp-eyed Argeiphontes to steal [Hector's body] ([τὸν] κλέψαι δ' ὀτρύνεσκον εὔσκοπον Ἀργειφόντην)<sup>157</sup>**

Zeus desired Maia, the daughter of Atlas, and slept with her secretly without Hera's knowledge. Impregnated, she gave birth to Hermes in Cyllene in Arcadia. He had an appetite for stealing {klept-} things because Zeus cheated on {klept-} Hera when he slept with Maia. Once, for instance, when his mother was bathing with her sisters, Hermes snuck in and swiped their clothes right from under them; they, naked, had no idea what to do. Hermes laughed at this and then gave them back their clothes. He also stole Apollo's cattle. The story is in Eratosthenes (fr. 1 Powell). [RSS]

**Schol. (D) *Il.* 24.251 Deiphobos and Hippothoos (Δηϊφοβόν τε καὶ Ἴππόθοον)**

When Alexander was shot by Philoctetes, Priam set Helen's hand in marriage as a prize for the man emerged victorious in the contest.<sup>158</sup> Deiphobos won, so he got to marry her. The story is in Lycophron (*Alex.* 169–71). [RSS]

**Schol. (D) *Il.* 24.602 For even fair-tressed Niobe remembered food (καὶ γὰρ τ' ἠὔκομος Νιόβη ἐμνήσατο σίτου)<sup>159</sup>**

Niobe was daughter of Tantalos and the wife of Amphion. After she married Amphion she had twelve children, six girls and six boys. Swollen with pride over the number and the beauty of her children, she threw in Leto's face that she only had two children, Apollo and Artemis, and she boasted that she was more blessed in children than Leto was. The goddess, enraged, sent her own children after them: Apollo killed the males while they were hunting on Mt. Cithairon, while Artemis killed the females at home. Niobe grieved inconsolably over her great misfortune. Zeus took pity on her and turned her into stone, which even today can be seen on Mt. Sipylus in Phrygia from every direction, sending forth streams of tears. The story is in Euphorion (fr. 102 Powell). [RSS]

---

<sup>157</sup> *P.Oxy.* 4096 fr. 11 (= van Rossum-Steenbeek #53) contains some parts of the story: “Zeus de<sired> Maia, the daughter of Atlas...since mod<esty>...sisters, slept...Hermes...in Arcadia...mother...sisters...sneaked...”

<sup>158</sup> The scholion tells the story obscurely here: after Alexander was killed, two sons of Priam, Deiphobos and Helenos wanted to marry his widow, Helen. Lycophron refers to a wrestling match.

<sup>159</sup> *P.Oxy.* 4096 fr. 12 (= van Rossum-Steenbeek #53) is extremely fragmentary, but enough can be read to see that this story was included on the papyrus.