Although Conacher disagrees with this interpretation (which he has cited), his own is but a modification of it. For him the "moral disintegration" of Hecuba is best seen in her use and misuse of rhetoric (with which she argues for punishment for Polymestor). Hecuba, he says, "avenges one child by betraying the other," that is, by becoming the debased opposite of her noble daughter, Polyxena (Conacher, 164–65). More simply (and less cerebrally), one may say that Hecuba reaches the breaking point and breaks.

Dares the Phrygian *The Fall of Troy* 43 is one of those noted by Apollodorus who say that Helenus took Hecuba across the Chersonese. For other references to the aftermath of the defeat of Troy, see Frazer, *Apollodorus* 2. 240–41.

Odysseus advised the Greeks to stone Locrian Ajax to death for raping Cassandra (Pausanias 10. 31. 2), advice which, if followed, might have saved the Greeks from death and loss on the sea returning home (see Epitome 6. 5–7 and ch. 12, n. 2).

## CHAPTER TWELVE

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trans. & M. Sompson
(Ambert 1579) 271-90

The Returns, Including Agamemnon's Death and the Return of Menelaus (Epitome 6)

For Orester

Orestes and Hermione: "As a child, Orestes had been betrothed to Hermione, daughter of Menelaus and Helen. This pledge was broken at Troy when Menelaus promised H. to Neoptolemus... After returning from Tauris, Orestes killed N. at Delphi and reclaimed Hermione." Reid s.v. Orestes.

EPIT. 6 After these things, Agamemnon and Menelaus quarrelled in the assembly, Menelaus maintaining that they should sail away while Agamemnon insisted that they remain and sacrifice to Athena. Diomedes, Nestor, and Menelaus all set sail at the same time. Diomedes and Nestor had a safe voyage, but Menelaus ran into a storm and lost all of his ships except five with which he arrived in Egypt.<sup>1</sup>

Amphilochus, Calchas, Leonteus, Podalirius, and Polypoetes left their ships in Ilium and traveled by land to Colophon. There they buried Calchas the seer. For it had been foretold that he would die if he met a seer wiser than himself. They were guests of Mopsus, son of Apollo and Manto, who engaged in a contest with Calchas in the art of divination. When Calchas asked him how many figs were growing on a wild fig tree nearby, Mopsus answered, "Ten thousand and a bushel and one fig over," and the answer turned out to be correct. Mopsus then asked Calchas how many pigs a pregnant sow was carrying in her womb and when was she due to give birth to them. When Calchas answered eight, Mopsus smiled and said, "Calchas, you fall short of true prophecy but I, who am the son of Apollo and Manto, have a wealth of keen vision. I say that there are not eight, as Calchas says, but nine in the womb, all males, and that they will be born tomorrow exactly at the sixth hour." When it turned out to be so, Calchas died of a broken heart and was buried at Notium.

After making a sacrifice, Agamemnon sailed away and put in at Tenedos. Thetis came and persuaded Neoptolemus to wait for two days and to make a sacrifice. He obeyed her, but the others set sail. They ran into a storm at Tenos which Athena begged Zeus to send upon the Greeks, and many ships were lost. Athena also hurled a thunder-bolt at Ajax's ship. As it broke into pieces he climbed on a rock and claimed that he had been saved despite Athena's intention. But Posei-

don split the rock with his trident and Ajax fell into the sea and drowned. When his body washed ashore at Myconos, Thetis buried it.<sup>2</sup> The others were driven at night to Euboea.

Nauplius lit a fire signal on Mount Caphereus, and thinking that it was from some of those who had been saved, they put in for the shore and wrecked their ships on the Capherian rocks. Many men were drowned. The reason for Nauplius' action was that Palamedes, his son by Clymene, daughter of Catreus, had been stoned to death through the plotting of Odysseus. When he learned this Nauplius sailed to the Greeks and demanded recompense for the death of his son. But he came away without it, for they all refused him in order to gratify King Agamemnon, with whose help Odysseus killed Palamedes. Nauplius then sailed along the coast of Greece and persuaded the wives of the Greeks to commit adultery, Clytemnestra with Aegisthus, Aegialia with Cometes, son of Sthenelus, and Meda, the wife of Idomeneus, with Leucus. (But Leucus killed her along with her daughter Clisithyra although she had taken refuge in a temple, and having caused ten cities on Crete to revolt, became tyrant of them. When Idomeneus landed at Crete after the Trojan war, Leucus drove him out.) Nauplius had plotted all of this earlier and, learning later of the return of the Greeks to their native lands, he lit the signal fire on Mount Caphereus (now called Xylophagus). There the Greeks perished, making for shore in the belief that there was a harbor.3

Neoptolemus remained on Tenedos for two days at the suggestion of Thetis, then traveled by land to the country of the Molossians with Helenus. Phoenix died on the way and Neoptolemus buried him. He defeated the Molossians in battle and became their king. By Andromache he had a son, Molossus. Helenus built a city in Molossia in which he lived and Neoptolemus gave him his mother Deidamia for a wife. When Peleus was banished from Phthia by the sons of Acastus and died, Neoptolemus inherited his father's kingdom. After Orestes went insane Neoptolemus carried off his wife, Hermione, who had previously been betrothed to him at Troy. For this reason he was killed by Orestes at Delphi. Some say, however, that he went to Delphi to demand recompense for his father's death from Apollo, stole offerings dedicated there, set the temple on fire, and was killed for this act by Machaereus the Phocian.

After their wanderings the Greeks sailed to and settled in various lands: Libya, Italy, Sicily, the islands near Spain and along the Sangarius River. There are also some who settled on Cyprus. Those who were shipwrecked at Caphereus were scattered in different directions: Guneus came to Libya; Antiphus, son of Thessalus, came to the land of the Pelasgians, which he gained control of and called Thessaly, and

Philoctetes came to the land of the Campanians in Italy. Phidippus settled with the Coans in Andrus, Agapenor on Cyprus, and others elsewhere.<sup>5</sup>

Apollodorus and the rest say the following: In Libya, Guneus left his ships and went to the Cinyps River to live. Meges and Prothous lost their lives at Caphereus in Euboea with many others. When Prothous was shipwrecked at Caphereus, the Magnesians with him were carried to Crete and settled there.

After the sack of Ilium, Menestheus, Phidippus, and Antiphus, Elephenor's people, and Philoctetes all sailed together as far as Mimas. Menestheus then went to Melos and became king after Polyanax, the king there, died. Antiphus, son of Thessalus, came to the land of the Pelasgians which he took control of and called Thessaly. Phidippus with the Coans was driven first to Andros and then settled on Cyprus. Elephenor died at Troy and his people were shipwrecked in the Ionian Gulf and settled at Apollonia in Epirus. Tlepolemus' people put in at Crete, then were driven by winds to the islands of Spain and settled there. The people of Protesilaus were castaways on Pellene near the plain of Canastrum. Philoctetes was driven to Campania in Italy and, after making war on the Lucanians, settled at Crimissa near Croton and Thurium. After he ceased wandering he built a temple to Apollo the Wanderer to whom he also dedicated his bow, according to Euphorion .

The Navaethus is a river in Italy. It was so named, according to Apollodorus and the rest, because after the capture of Ilium, the daughters of Laomedon (who were sisters of Priam), Aethylla, Astyoche, and Medesicaste, being in that part of Italy with the rest of the female prisoners from the war and fearing slavery in Greece, set fire to the ships. As a result the river was called Navaethus ["Burning Ship"] and the women were called Nauprestides ["Ship-burners"]. The Greeks with them, having lost their ships, settled there.8

Demophon put in with a few ships at the land of the Thracian Bisaltians. Phyllis, the daughter of the king, fell in love with him and was given to him in marriage by her father with the kingdom as her dowry. But he wished to go away to his own country and, after much pleading and swearing to return, he departed.

Phyllis accompanied him as far as the place called the Nine Roads and gave him a basket which she said contained an object sacred to Mother Rhea. He was not to open it until he had given up hope of returning to her. Demophon went to Cyprus and settled there. When the time appointed for his return had passed Phyllis cursed Demophon and killed herself. Demophon opened the basket and was overcome with fear. He mounted his horse and spurred it on so violently that

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the horse stumbled. He was thrown and fell upon his sword and so lost his life. Those with him settled on Cyprus.

Podalirius came to Delphi and asked the oracle where he might live. The god said that he should settle in a city where he would suffer no harm if the sky around it fell. He then settled in a region of the Carian Chersonese [southern Asia Minor] which is surrounded by a ring of mountains.

Amphilochus, son of Alcmaeon, who, according to some, arrived later at Troy, was driven by a storm to the home of Mopsus. Some say they fought in individual combat over the kingdom and killed each other.<sup>9</sup>

The Locrians returned to their own country with difficulty and, when Locris was afflicted by a plague three years later, they received an oracle telling them to propitiate Athena at Ilium and to send as suppliants two young girls each year for a thousand years. The first ones, chosen by lot, were Periboea and Cleopatra. When they arrived at Troy, they were pursued by the inhabitants and ran into the temple. They did not approach the image of the goddess but swept the temple and sprinkled water on the floor. They did not go out of the temple but had their hair cut off, wore only tunics, and went barefoot. When the first two died, the Locrians sent others. They entered the city at night in order not to be killed, as they would be if they were seen outside of the sacred area. The Locrians later sent babies with their nurses. They stopped sending the suppliants after a thousand years had passed and after the Phocian War.<sup>10</sup>

When Agamemnon arrived back in Mycenae with Cassandra, he was killed by Aegisthus and Clytemnestra. She gave him a tunic without sleeves or neck and murdered him while he was trying to put it on. Aegisthus became king of Mycenae. They also killed Cassandra. Electra, one of Agamemnon's daughters, stole away her brother Orestes and gave him to Strophius the Phocian to rear. He brought him up with his son Pylades. When he was grown Orestes went to Delphi and asked the god if he should avenge himself on the murderers of his father. The god gave him permission, so he went to Mycenae secretly and killed both his mother and Aegisthus. Shortly thereafter, afflicted with madness and pursued by the Furies, he came to Athens and was put on trial in the Areopagus by the Furies, according to some, or by Tyndareus, as others say, or by Erigone daughter of Aegisthus and Clytemnestra, according to still others |. Since the votes at the trial were evenly divided he was acquitted.<sup>11</sup>

When Orestes asked the oracle how to be freed from his disease, the god replied that he could be healed if he went to the land of the Taurians and brought back from there the wooden image. The Taurians were a part of the Scythians and they murdered strangers and cast their bodies into a sacred fire. This fire was in a sacred grove and was carried up from Hades through a rock. Orestes, therefore, went to the land of the Taurians with Pylades. They were discovered, caught, and led bound to Thoas the king, who sent both of them to the priestess. Recognized by his sister [Iphigenia] who was the priestess among the Taurians, Orestes carried away the wooden image and fled with her. He brought it to Athens, where it is now called the image of Tauropolus. But some say that Orestes was carried by a storm to the island of Rhodes and that the image was enshrined in a wall in accordance with an oracle. He went to Mycenae and there married his sister Electra to Pylades, while he himself married Hermione or as some say, Erigone and had a son, Tisamenus. He was bitten by a snake and died at Oresteum in Arcadia.

Menelaus and five ships put in at Sunium, a promontory of Attica. Driven from there to Crete, he was again carried a great distance by winds and wandered through Libya, Phoenicia, Cyprus, and Egypt, collecting great sums of money as he went. According to some he discovered Helen at the court of Proteus, king of Egypt. Until that time Menelaus possessed only an image of her made from clouds. After wandering for eight years, he sailed home to Mycenae and found Orestes who had avenged his father's murder. He then went to Sparta and regained possession of his kingdom. He was made immortal by Hera and went with Helen to the Elysian Fields. 15

NOTES (Epitome 6)

The title of the chapter repeats that of the work in five books by Agias (or Hagias) of Troezen known as the *Nostoi* or *Returns*, which was part of the Epic Cycle. Proclus' very brief summary of the poem along with *testimonia* from various sources can be found in Hugh G. Evelyn-White, ed., *Hesiod*, the Homeric Hymns and Homerica (Cambridge, Mass. and London, 1936), 525, 527, 529. The genre was known to the Homer of the *Odyssey* (and that poem belongs to it), for the bard at Odysseus' palace sings of the "disastrous return of the Achaeans" (1. 326–27).

Nestor tells Telemachus at *Odyssey* 3. 130–94 that Athena was responsible for the quarrel between Agamemnon and Menelaus, who assembled the chieftains at the unheard of time of sunset when many were drunk. Menelaus wanted to sail at once, Agamemnon to sacrifice to Athena before sailing in order to placate Athena's wrath. The as-

sembly split over the issue and the two sides quarrelled through the night. At dawn, half of the army stayed with Agamemnon; the other half, including Nestor, Menelaus, Diomedes, and Odysseus, put out to sea. They sailed to Tenedos where Odysseus turned around and took his fleet back to Agamemnon on the Trojan shore. Nestor, Diomedes, and Menelaus continued on. Diomedes reached Argos in four days, and Nestor sailed with a continuing fair wind to Pylos. He later heard, Nestor says, that Achilles' men, Philoctetes, Idomeneus, and Agamemnon, all arrived safely home, although Agamemnon's homecoming was hardly safe for him.

Nestor has no information about Odysseus but tells Telemachus (3. 276–300) that Menelaus lost his helmsman off Cape Sunium and stopped with his fleet to bury him. Back on board their ships and underway again, Menelaus and his crew ran into a storm off Malea (the promontory at the tip of the finger of the Peloponnese which forms the eastern coast of the Laconian Bay). The fleet was divided: Part was driven to Crete while Menelaus arrived with some ships in Egypt.

Two chieftains were lost at sea, Proteus tells Menelaus in Egypt (Homer Odyssey 4. 496–511), one of whom lives on somewhere (Odysseus), the other, Locrian Ajax, was driven by Poseidon (not Athena) onto the rocks of Gyrae (variously located off Myconos, Tenos, or southeast Euboea; see W. B. Stanford, ed., The Odyssey of Homer, 2 vols. [London and New York, 1959], 1. 281–82, comment on 4. 500–01). Despite Athena's hatred for him as the rapist of Cassandra, Locrian Ajax would have been saved but for his arrogant boasting. For Poseidon heard him and split with his trident the rock on which Ajax had found refuge. The part on which he was perched fell into the sea, carrying him with it, and he drowned.

Virgil Aeneid 1. 36–45 gives a version of the death of Locrian Ajax which agrees with Apollodorus'. Juno complains that she is forbidden to keep the Trojans from Italy while Pallas (i.e., Athena) burned up the Argive fleet and drowned the men because of the criminal lust of Ajax. Athena herself (Juno says) hurled one of Jove's thunderbolts, split their ships, and whipped up the sea with gale winds. Ajax she carried off in a whirlwind and impaled on a sharp rock where he gasped out flame from his pierced breast. (His death was thus a kind of rape and so a fitting punishment for his crime.)

Aeschylus created one of his most striking images in the herald's description of the violent storm which attacked the heroes returning from Troy: After a night of crashing waves, stormwind, and driving rain, the ships spinning out of control in darkness, those who survived saw in the morning sun the Aegean sea blossoming with corpses of

Achaeans and floating bits of ships (*Agamemnon 648–60*). See Frazer, *Apollodorus 2. 246–47* for additional references to the death of Locrian Ajax.

Apollodorus first refers to Nauplius at 2. 1. 5. For the death of his son Palamedes, for which Nauplius sought vengeance, see Epitome 3. 6–8 and ch. 11, n. 3. Hyginus Fabulae 116 tells us that Nauplius killed any Greeks who made it to shore after their ships were wrecked on the rocks to which his treacherous beacon had lured them. Odysseus, alas, was carried by wind to Marathon (Hyginus says). In Euripides Helen 766–67 Menelaus mentions Nauplius' beacons as one of the hazards of the return from Troy. See also Seneca Agamemnon 557–78.

For another version of Idomeneus' return to Crete from Troy, see Frazer, Apollodorus 2. 394-404, appendix 12, "The Vow of Idomeneus." After Alexander's death Helenus and Deiphobus contended for marriage with Helen. She chose Deiphobus and Helenus exiled himself to Mount Ida. He was captured by Odysseus and brought to the Greek camp in order to reveal the oracles which Calchas said he knew, the fulfillment of which was necessary for Troy's capture. One of them required Neoptolemus to join the Greek forces (Epitome 5. 9-10). Servius on Aeneid 2. 166 implies that Helenus was happy to betray the Trojans-concerning the Palladium at least-for he hated them because he was denied Helen. Apollodorus follows Agias, Returns, in saying that Thetis warned Neoptolemus to return home by land (see Evelyn-White, Hesiod, 527). But Servius (again on Aeneid 2. 166) says that Helenus warned Neoptolemus of the shipwreck at sea awaiting the returning Greeks because of their desecration of the Palladium and urged him to travel home overland.

Neoptolemus was awarded Andromache after the fall of Troy (Epitome 5. 23). She then accompanied Helenus and Neoptolemus on the latter's homeward journey. At Virgil Aeneid 3. 294–336 Aeneas finds, much to his surprise, that Helenus is married to Andromache and rules the Greek city Buthrotum (in northwest Greece on the coast of Epirus, opposite modern Corfu; the area was also known as the land of the Molossians, the way by which Apollodorus refers to it). Andromache tells Aeneas how this strange state of affairs came about: After she gave birth to Neoptolemus' child, as his slave, not his wife, he left her and went to steal away Hermione from Orestes, putting her (Andromache) in the hands of Helenus, also his slave. Orestes killed Neoptolemus out of jealousy and maddened by the Furies (for the murder of his mother) at Achilles' altar at Delphi (see Servius on Aeneid 3. 332). At Neoptolemus' death Helenus acquired a part of his kingdom. But Servius on Aeneid 3. 297 begins further back than

Andromache does, saying that Neoptolemus, dying at Delphi at the hands of Orestes, willed Andromache and his kingdom to Helenus in gratitude for the earlier warning Helenus gave him to return from Troy by land and not by sea.

The marriage of Helenus to Deidamia, Neoptolemus' mother (3. 13. 8), hardly makes sense and, as Frazer, Apollodorus 2. 251 notes, was apparently not mentioned by any other writer.

The feud between Peleus and the family of Acastus may have originated in Astydamia's false accusation of him to her husband, Acastus, when Peleus rebuffed her advances. A particularly nasty woman, Astydamia told Peleus' wife that her husband was going to marry a daughter of Acastus, hearing which the poor woman hanged herself (3. 13. 3; see also ch. 7, n. 35). Euripides Trojan Women 1126-30 says that Neoptolemus left Troy hurriedly for home, taking Andromache with him, because he had received word that Acastus had exiled Peleus.

See Dictys of Crete The Trojan War 6. 7-9 for a much longer version of this story.

The story of the marriage of Hermione, first to Orestes and then to Neoptolemus, and the death of the latter, is somewhat tangled. Virgil's narration of these marriages (in Aeneid 3) was described above, although Virgil omits the detail, given by Apollodorus, that Hermione was betrothed to Neoptolemus while the latter was at Troy. See also Ovid Heroides 8, Hermione to Orestes, begging him to rescue her from Neoptolemus who has carried her off.

Homer Odyssey 4. 1-9 relates that Menelaus betrothed Hermione to Neoptolemus at Troy and conducted their wedding when he returned to Sparta. At Euripides Andromache 966-81, Orestes tells Hermione that Menelaus promised her to him before he went to Troy, but while there he promised her to Neoptolemus if he would capture Troy. When Neoptolemus returned Orestes begged him, he says, to give up his claim to Hermione and let him marry her, since his mental and social condition (due to his matricide) made marriage with someone outside the family difficult. Neoptolemus insulted him for the murder of his mother and mocked his madness. Beaten down, suffering, yet he endured and went away against his will without her. Later at Delphi, however (1085-1165), he persuades the Delphians to kill Neoptolemus who, he tells them, has come to rob the temple. (He had in fact come to make restitution to Apollo for earlier demanding recompense from the god for his father's death. See also 49-55 and Euripides Orestes 1654-57.) At the altar of the god a band of men attacks him, he fights furiously, but a Delphian man (not Orestes) finally kills him.

Pindar, writing some sixty years before Euripides' Andromache, gives

a version of Neoptolemus' death in one poem which he "cleanses" in another. In Paean 6. 109-20 the poet says that Apollo swore that Neoptolemus would never arrive happily home from Troy, nor live to old age, because he murdered Priam at the altar in his courtyard (see Epitome 5. 21 and ch. 11, n. 28). The god killed him while he was wrangling with attendants over proper dues to be paid, in his (Apollo's) own precinct beside the omphalos ("navel" of the earth). Pindar apparently offended the Aeginetans with his poem, for Neoptolemus, a great-grandson of Aeacus, was one of their heroes. In Nem. 7, written for an Aeginetan victor and possibly to be dated to 485 B.C., Pindar includes a "passage intended as a palinode to soothe their [the Aeginetans'] feelings" (Lewis Richard Farnell, Critical Commentary to the Works of Pindar [Amsterdam, 1965], 294): Neoptolemus came to Delphi with good will—and lies buried there—after he sacked Priam's city. He went there to sacrifice to the god the first fruits of the spoils from Troy. There he got involved in a fight over the flesh of the sacrifice and a man drove his sword in him. The hospitable Delphians were deeply saddened. But his death there was proper, for it was fated that a descendant of Aeacus be within the ancient grove beside the temple and there dwell as a divine overseer of processions and sacrifices to heroes (33-47). These accounts of Neoptolemus' death at Delphi should serve to

emphasize once again the freedom Greek and Roman authors used in drawing upon their mythology.

For variants and additional details about Neoptolemus' return from Troy to his death, see the very full notes in Frazer, Apollodorus 2. 250-57.

- Epitome 6. 15 a-c do not occur in the text of the Epitome but are taken from the Scholia on Lycophron (902, 911 and 921 respectively) by Johannes Tzetzes, the twelfth-century A.D. Byzantine polymath. These paragraphs narrate more fully the wanderings described in Epitome 6. 15 which precedes them, and Frazer, Apollodorus 2. 257 conjectures that Tzetzes drew upon the full text of Apollodorus rather than upon the Epitome.
- There is a lacuna in Tzetzes' text after the sentence, "Meges . . . others." Meges, Prothous, and the others (unnamed) who lost their lives at Caphereus were, no doubt, lured on to the rocks there by the beacon of Nauplius (Epitome 6. 7-11).
- Menestheus, the Athenian chieftain (Epitome 3. 11), took no share of the spoils of Troy, having come with Acamas and Demophon, sons of Theseus, for the sole purpose of recovering Theseus' mother, Aethra, if we may believe Arctinus of Miletus, author of the Sack of Ilium (a poem in the Epic Cycle), or rather the Scholiast on Euripides

Trojan Women 31, who quotes him (see Evelyn-White, Hesiod, 523). Aethra went to Troy with Helen (see ch. 9, n. 10). Demophon and Acamas did in fact take away their grandmother after the capture of Troy (Epitome 5. 22). But Menestheus, Apollodorus here tells us, after the war went to the island of Melos and became king. Why did he not return to Athens? Demophon went to Cyprus (Epitome 6. 16-17). It was then left to Acamas to escort his grandmother back to Athens. The "returns" of the Greek chieftains, with the exception of the more important ones, sound more like a Diaspora in the Apollodorus-Tzetzes account. Such a resettling of Greeks in the Mediterranean world after the Trojan War (if such in fact happened) would have helped to lay the groundwork for the national Greek consciousness which arose centuries later.

There is a lacuna in Tzetzes' text after the sentence, "Tlepolemus' ... there."

An incident similar to the ship-burning of the captive Trojan women occurs in the Aeneid (5. 604-771) while Aeneas and the men celebrate in Sicily the anniversary of the death of his father, Anchises. Instigated by Juno and weary of endless voyaging, the Trojan women set fire to the ships, all but four of which are burned up. Since there are too few vessels for all to sail in, a decision is made that those who wish may stay behind and some do so, as here in the Apollodorus-Tzetzes text.

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At Epitome 6. 2-3 Apollodorus says that Amphilochus and others traveled by land from Troy to Colophon where they were guests of the seer Mopsus. Colophon is near the coast of Asia Minor, north and slightly east of the island of Samos. In a note to the present passage Frazer, Apollodorus 2. 265-67, refers to the tradition that Amphilochus and Mopsus went to Cilicia where they founded the town of Mallus (in the northeast corner of the Mediterranean). Pausanias 1. 34. 3 confirms this tradition by saying that the oracle of Amphilochus at Mallus was the most infallible one of his time (second century A.D.). Frazer, Apollodorus 2. 265-67, discusses the controversy over which of the two Amphilochi was the oracular one.

The Locrian plague was probably due to Locrian Ajax who, at the time of the capture of Troy, pulled Cassandra from a statue of Athena to which she was clinging and raped her (Epitome 5. 22). Ajax died for this crime (Epitome 6. 5-7 and n. 2), but the Locrians apparently continued to pay for it.

The story of the return of Agamemnon, his murder, Orestes' revenge and its aftermath is incorporated in or the subject of more surviving Greek literature than any other myth. It was told in Agias'

Returns, a poem in the Epic Cycle (lost, but summarized by Proclus; see Evelyn-White, Hesiod, 527).

As a theme in counterpoint to the events of Homer's Odyssey and announced by Zeus at the very beginning of the poem (1. 28-43), the tragic return of Agamemnon both creates much of the poem's dramatic tension and gives immediacy to it. For as it appears in the Odyssey, it is a completed action which is known to the major characters (for whom it has different meanings) and against which the return / 50 of Odysseus unfolds. Odysseus-Agamemnon, Penelope-Clytemnestra, Telemachus-Orestes and the suitors-Aegisthus are the pairs whose members are or ought to be like or unlike each other: Telemachus should be like Orestes and do to the suitors what Orestes did to Aegisthus (Odyssey 1. 298-302; 3. 193-200, 247-310; cf. 4. 514-37). Penelope is no Clytemnestra, the ghost of Agamemnon tells Odysseus on his journey to the underworld, or at least he hopes for his sake that she is not: One can never be too careful (11. 385-456).

The suitors both are and are not like Aegisthus: They are only potential usurpers. No one of them can get past Odysseus' banquet hall and into Penelope's bed, as Aegisthus got into Clytemnestra's bed, because of Penelope's fidelity to the absent Odysseus. But neither does Penelope have the hatred for Odysseus which Clytemnestra has for Agamemnon because of the murder of their daughter Iphigenia (see ch. 11, n. 10). The suitors have no particular grudge against Odysseus except perhaps for his absence and the deaths of their relatives in the Trojan War. Aegisthus, however, sought vengeance against Agamemnon for the horrible murder of his brothers by Agamemnon's father, Atreus, who served the children as a meal to their (and Aegisthus') father, Thyestes (Epitome 2. 10–14, ch. 10, n. 6, and Aeschylus Agamemnon 1577-1611). Finally, Odysseus proves himself to be unlike Agamemnon by returning secretly to his palace disguised as a beggar rather than openly and in pomp (Aeschylus Agamemnon 782/3-957), kills the usurpers, re-establishes himself in his kingdom, and puts it in order (Odyssey 22-24). His triumph, in fact, lends a happy outcome to the return of Agamemnon long after the fact, for Agamemnon is gladdened when the suitors arrive in Hades and he hears the cause of their death. He momentarily forgets his own treacherous murder as he vicariously enjoys Odysseus' victory over the men who had sought to murder him. Even his faith in women is partially restored because of Penelope (Odyssey 24. 98-202). The account here given of the Agamemnon theme in the Odyssey is only a sketch and by no means conveys the skill with which Homer has orchestrated it into his poem.

Orestein

Pindar Pyth. 11. 17–37 gives a compact rendition of the myth in twenty-one lines (of a sixty-four line poem): Orestes' nurse, Arsinoë, snatched him from death at the very moment Clytemnestra was murdering Agamemnon and Cassandra with an axe. The poet asks: Was it the sacrifice of Iphigenia which gnawed at her and incited such wrath, or did the nights she spent yielding and docile in another man's bed lead her astray? (He does not answer the question, at least not directly.) Agamemnon, returning home victorious, died and also caused the death of Cassandra, after he had burned and plundered Troy for Helen. But Orestes came to Strophius, who lived at the foot of Parnassus, and in time killed his mother and Aegisthus. Pindar gives no more. The relation of the myth to the poem has been much discussed, but most ably and correctly by David C. Young, Three Odes of Pindar (Leiden, 1968), 1–26.

Aeschylus' Oresteia, produced in 458 B.C. and the only dramatic trilogy to survive antiquity, presents the most complex literary version of the myth extant. In the first play, the Agamemnon, Agamemnon returns victorious from Troy and is killed by Clytemnestra with the complicity of her lover, Aegisthus. Her motive is his sacrifice of their daughter Iphigenia at Aulis ten years earlier to appease Artemis and end contrary winds preventing the expedition from sailing to Troy (see Epitome 3. 21–22 and ch. 11, n. 10). Aegisthus' motive is vengeance for the banquet which Agamemnon's father, Atreus, served to his father, Thyestes, and which consisted of the flesh of Thyestes' children, Aegisthus' brothers (see Epitome 2. 10–14, ch. 10, n. 6, and Aeschylus Agamemnon 1577–1611).

In the second play, the *Choephoroe* ("Libation Bearers"), Orestes returns to Argos from Phocis where he was taken as a child to Strophius to be reared (Apollodorus here, Pindar Pyth. 11. 34–37, and Aeschylus Agamemnon 877–86). Apollo has commanded him to avenge his father's death by killing Aegisthus and Clytemnestra (Choephoroe 269–305, 555–59, 900–02, 1029–32) which he does (in that order) and is almost at once set upon by Furies, both avengers of matricide and other shedding of kindred blood and symbols of madness (1048–62).

In the third play, the Eumenides ("Kindly-Minded Ones"), Orestes has taken refuge from the Furies (who form the Chorus of the play) at the Altar of Apollo at Delphi, although they remain close by. Apollo puts them to sleep, enabling him to escape from them, and instructs him to go to Athens where he will be tried on the Areopagus for matricide. The ghost of Clytemnestra awakens the Furies, who find Orestes gone and quarrel with Apollo. He defends Orestes for the matricide which has brought the Furies upon him, since he was

avenging Clytemnestra's murder of her husband. (That murder was not the shedding of kindred blood and so does not interest the Furies.) At 235 the scene changes to Athens where Orestes is tried for murder. The Furies prosecute; Apollo defends. Judges and jury are twelve Athenians (following the Athenian practice of combining these two functions). The trial initiates Athens' highest court, the Areopagus, meeting on the "hill of Ares" (681–710; but see ch. 8, n. 3 for a different tradition of the origin of the Areopagus). Athena votes with the jury and since she is male-born (from Zeus) she casts her vote, she says, for the male, for she is male-oriented in everything except marriage, and to her, Clytemnestra's murder of Agamemnon is a more serious crime than Orestes' murder of Clytemnestra (734–43). Since the twelve jurors are evenly divided (752–53), Athena's vote for Orestes decides the case.

The Furies, whose rights have been overridden, threaten vengeance until Athena persuades them to become Eumenides, "Kindly-Minded Ones," goddesses of Persuasion, and promises them the power to make Athenian households flourish (895) and in general to mediate peace and prosperity to Athens (902–1020).

This simple synopsis does not convey the interweaving of themes and imagery, interdependent and interacting throughout the trilogy, to form a web of literature as complex and difficult as any other in extant Greek literature. A list of themes would include love versus hate; conflict between male and female and between Olympian (patriarchal) and native or earlier earth (chthonic) divinities (matriarchal); conflict between right and right; learning by suffering; the transformation of passionate, family vendetta into public, communal, and dispassionate justice; the progressive evolution of (Athenian) society into a more humane form; and celebration of Athens. The image which informs the work (and which is also a theme) is that of a sacrifice, according to Anne Lebeck, *The Oresteia* (Cambridge, Mass., 1971), 7 and passim. A good place for the Greekless reader to begin is Richmond Lattimore's Introduction to his translation of the *Oresteia* in the Chicago series.

The synopsis also does not touch upon two major problems of interpretation which, most simply stated, are the cause(s) of the events in the trilogy (presented in the *Agamemnon*) and the resolution of those events (presented in the *Eumenides*). Aeschylus is a brilliant poet and was famous in antiquity for his spectacular dramaturgy. But as a theologian attempting to justify god's ways to men—and most critics agree that the subject of the trilogy is human justice derived from Zeus—he fails. He fails because being Greek he viewed "reality" (the sum of his perceptions) as definable in terms of cause and effect relations. His thought system (the Greek language) presented and articu-

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lated reality as a system of cause and effect. As Lebeck says in The Oresteia, "The first drama of the trilogy is marked by a concern with causality. It attempts to dispel the darkness that surrounds events, making them appear a series of unrelated points rather than a line whose course is as unswerving as it is predictable. When the moment of retribution comes at the end of the drama, every causal factor falls into place and is seen as part of a divine plan" (25). The "concern with causality" is indeed there. But, alas, "every causal factor" does not "... [fall] into place." Surely every reader of the plays will agree that Aeschylus saw the problem as deeply as his thought system allowed him to: Cause and effect are the basis for the nature of things. Break the relation between cause and effect and chaos results. Yet conflict arises between human beings, not conflict of right against wrong, but of power against power, right against right (Choephoroe 461). Continue the cause and effect relation in these conflicts in an eye-for-aneye and a tooth-for-a-tooth mode ("the principle of like for like," Lebeck, The Oresteia, 14) and soon everyone is eyeless and toothless. Interrupt the cause and effect relationship, however, and the world, physical, social, moral, will fall into chaos. But Aeschylus could not resolve the issue. He could have resolved it with the concepts of grace and faith ("For by grace are ye saved through faith") as St. Paul resolved it: see the book of Romans in the New Testament (the quotation is from Ephesians 2:8). But Aeschylus could not adopt these concepts because they were not part of his intellectual and/or religious tradition and because to do so would have meant throwing cause and effect out the window.

The problem is brought into sharpest focus in the description of the sacrifice of Iphigenia in the parodos ("first choral ode") of the Agamemnon. Analysis of it begins with the attempt to determine the reason(s) for the sacrifice. The description of it is preceded by a simile of vultures wheeling above their robbed nest, screaming for their stolen young, and then by reference to an event which occurred at Aulis: Twin eagles in sight of the army swooped down upon a pregnant hare and devoured her and her unborn young. That event is read as an omen by the seer Calchas. It angers the goddess Artemis who in return changes the winds to detain at Aulis the Greek expedition bound for Troy to recover Helen. It is on the point of disintegrating when Calchas then divines the solution: Artemis will be appeased if Agamemnon's daughter, Iphigenia, is sacrificed to expiate the crime of the eagles. (Artemis is the goddess of animals and of the young and is thus revolted by such animal savagery-although it occurs constantly in the natural world.)

If Aeschylus had written the parodos simply thus we would ques-

tion his intelligence (as Denys Page has done in his Introduction to John Dewar Denniston and Denys Page, eds., Aeschylus: Agamemnon [Oxford, 1957], xv: "... the faculty of acute or profound thought is not among his [Aeschylus'] gifts"). But Aeschylus is much more complex: past, present, and future seem to be linked in the parodos by cause and effect, but not in a conventional, chronological way. It is here, though, that one questions him most seriously. Lebeck, perhaps the most brilliant American critic of the Oresteia, attempts to elucidate simile, omen, and the sacrifice of Iphigenia but with only partial success. The vulture simile "reflects the paradox of right and wrong that runs throughout the trilogy. Paris is guilty of stealing Helen; Agamemnon is no less guilty" (9), i.e., because he has taken a child (Iphigenia) from its parent. But the crimes of Paris and Agamemnon cannot be equated or placed side by side in parataxis: The first was freely committed for the benefit of its perpetrator and made him happy (if only temporarily); the second was caused by the first and grimly carried out with great personal loss after much agonizing.

"The simile and the omen showed that just vengeance can become unjust transgression. They also illustrated the principle of like for like" (Lebeck, The Oresteia, 14). Whose transgression (in addition to Paris')? Agamemnon's? It has not as yet occurred. "An omen of eagles devouring a helpless creature stood for Agamemnon's vengeance and transgression" (15). If the omen is a symbol for Agamemnon's future transgressions (the deaths of Iphigenia and of innocents at Troy) can it at the same time be a cause for the death of Iphigenia, which becomes punishment in advance of Agamemnon's later crimes at Troy? This makes no sense. Lebeck's acknowledgement of Aeschylus' concern with causality was noted above. But something has gone wrong. Richness of imagery can obscure incoherence of thought, but it cannot serve as a substitute for coherence of thought.

Again, "In Calchas' prophecy Artemis requires payment for a transgression of which the omen is a symbol (135–137, 144).... By demanding the sacrifice of Iphigenia she brings about the sacrifice of Agamemnon..." (Lebeck, *The Oresteia*, 22). And again, one must ask, what is the transgression "of which the omen is a symbol" and why must Agamemnon be sacrificed? He dies because of Iphigenia's death—or so his murderess, Clytemnestra, says (*Agamemnon* 1377–81, 1412–21, 1431–33, 1521–29)—which was itself *caused* by an omen which is a *symbol* of his transgression before it happens.

A clue comes: "In the *Oresteia* man's fate is determined by two principles: first, like for like, and second, the belief that an impious father begets a son destined to commit a kindred impiety.... Thus on the level of imagery Agamemnon's death duplicates the two crimes for

grace .

which he is responsible" (Lebeck, The Oresteia, 33). What two crimes? The answer is that "In the simile and omen of the parodos, the child victims of Agamemnon and Atreus are simultaneously evoked.... Through the image of mourning for lost young, the wrong which Agamemnon suffers (theft of Helen) calls up both the wrong which he inflicts on Clytemnestra (murder of Iphigenia) and that which his father inflicted upon the children of Thyestes. The simile is a prelude to the omen" (Lebeck, The Oresteia, 33). (But to repeat: The wrong which Agamemnon "inflicts on Clytemnestra" is caused by the omen.) To continue: "The death of the hare and her unborn young symbolizes first the destruction of Troy and all within it.... Thus the omen includes not only the destruction of Troy and the sacrifice of Iphigenia but the banquet served Thyestes as well. This is the threefold significance of the murdered young" (33-34). Finally, Calchas sees that the omen means "that Artemis is angered by the crime of Atreus, that by this crime the normal course of nature was disturbed[.] In order that Agamemnon atone for the guilt of his father she demands 'another sacrifice' and renders him guilty of his father's crime" (35).

It is true that the banquet of Thyestes weighs as a cause of doom in the *Agamemnon*, in lines spoken by Cassandra (1090–92, 1095–97, 1183–97, and 1217–26), by the Chorus (1242–45, in response to Cassandra's insistent revelation of her knowledge of the past crimes of the house of Atreus), by Clytemnestra (1500–04), and by Aegisthus (1577–1611), for whom Agamemnon's murder (which he did not perform) avenges that monstrous banquet. But these lines, it should be observed, are far from the *parodos* where the simile, omen, and sacrifice of Iphigenia, which set the trilogy in motion, are described.

Thus in a trilogy "marked by a concern with causality" (Lebeck, The Oresteia, 25) what we have is this: Zeus (= justice in the order of things) and Artemis (fitted somehow into justice in the order of things) punish Agamemnon (1) for his father's crime (this is sufficiently orthodox Greek theology); and (2) for the sacrifice of Iphigenia and for the deaths of innocents at Troy. But the sacrifice of Iphigenia is caused by Artemis' anger at eagles killing and eating a pregnant hare. Taken literally, this equates the life of a hare with the life of a human being. This concept of deity (which is man-made in every culture under the sun) is crazy. Taken symbolically, the omen of the eagles in Lebeck's interpretation refers to Atreus' crime for which Agamemnon shall pay. This is fair enough, if true; but a symbol which justifies a punishment for a crime causes that crime (Iphigenia's death). At the same time the symbol (the omen of the eagles) stands for crimes-to-come at Troy, as punishment for which Iphigenia's death is demanded in advance.

Lebeck, it should be said, is representing Aeschylus faithfully, and with extreme penetration, except, perhaps, in her insistence that the omen of the eagles is to be linked to the banquet of Thystes. The problems lie with Aeschylus.

Eduard Fraenkel, ed., Aeschylus: Agamemnon, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1950), seems to have assessed the problem correctly (see 2. 96–99): "... we are not told anywhere in the ode [parodos] why the wrath of Artemis is directed against the Atridae [= Agamemnon and Menelaus, sons of Atreus]." He repeats what every classicist knows: "... the poet does not want us to take into account any feature of a tradition which he does not mention" (97). "Aeschylus... makes it clear [in the parodos] that all the evil that is to befall Agamemnon has its first origin in his own arbitrary decision" (99). No payment for Atreus' crime here, all mention of which Fraenkel omits (including Atreus' refusal to sacrifice to Artemis the golden lamb: Epitome 2. 10–12). Aeschylus solves the problem (which is that the parodos gives no indication why Artemis is angry with the Atridae) by boldly overriding coherence with high-flown poetry (99).

The problem of the resolution (the freeing of Orestes) in the *Eumenides* is that it is arbitrary. Apollo's argument that Orestes did not kill his parent because the true parent is the father (657–66), although he can point to Athena as living proof, is still specious. Athena breaks the jurors' tie in favor of Orestes because she favors the male (734–43). Thus the foundation of justice in Athens in the court of the Areopagus.

Aeschylus in the *Oresteia* used a myth to create a myth for Athens. His myth had the task all myth has, "... of giving an historical intention a natural justification, and making contingency appear eternal.... What the world supplies to myth is an historical reality, defined... by the way in which men have produced or used it; and what myth gives in return is a *natural* image of this reality" (Roland Barthes, the essay entitled "Myth Today" in *Mythologies* [New York, 1972], 142). The Athenian audience no doubt returned home from viewing the *Oresteia* confirmed in the belief, as many have often been confirmed, that the *ad hoc*, random particulars of their history were part of a system, divinely ordained.

Euripides and Sophocles both wrote plays entitled *Electra*, the basis for their plots being the return of Orestes to Argos to avenge the death of his father. Euripides' *Electra* is thought to have been written and produced prior to Sophocles' *Electra*, the former dated ca. 418, the latter ca. 413 (see J. H. Kells, ed., *Sophocles: Electra* [Cambridge, Eng., 1973], 1, n. 2, in agreement with T. B. L. Webster, whom he cites). The issue is by no means closed, however, and D. J. Conacher, *Eurip-*

idean Drama: Myth, Theme and Structure (Toronto, 1967), 202, n. 9 thinks that Sophocles' play was prior to Euripides'.

From their titles it is obvious that both playwrights have sought to focus attention on the sister of Orestes who has remained near (Euripides) or at (Sophocles) home for many years, waiting for Orestes' return and longing to avenge their father's murder.

Other plays using the Agamemnon myth: Euripides' Orestes, his Andromache (touching tangentially on it: Orestes rescues Andromache from the clutches of Menelaus) and Seneca's Agamemnon.

In the twentieth century the myth has particularly attracted playwrights, viz., Eugene O'Neill, Mourning Becomes Electra; T. S. Eliot, The Family Reunion; Jean Giraudoux, Electre; and Jean Paul Sartre, The Flies. (See Philip Mayerson, Classical Mythology in Literature, Art, and Music [Waltham, Mass. and Toronto, 1971], 433-36 for other works.) Michael Cacoyannis filmed a version of Euripides' Electra in 1963 with Irene Pappas in the title role.

Orestes' final release from the Furies, gained by bringing the wooden image of Artemis from the land of the Taurians (in the Crimea), is the subject of Euripides' Iphigenia in Tauris. In Aeschylus' Eumenides Orestes was acquitted of his mother's murder in a trial on the Areopagus. Euripides produced a kind of harmony between his own and Aeschylus' earlier version of the myth by making the divided Athenian jurors of the Eumenides the Furies themselves. Those who did not accept the verdict continue to pursue him (Iphigenia in Tauris 939-75; see Cedric H. Whitman, Euripides and the Full Circle of Myth [Cambridge, Mass., 1974], 26-27).

In one version of the myth of Iphigenia she was not sacrificed at Aulis but magically carried to Tauris by Artemis where she became the goddess' priestess (see Epitome 3. 21-22 and ch. 11, n. 10). As such in Euripides' play she presides over the sacrifice of all strangers who come to the land of the Taurians. Orestes and Pylades arrive there to retrieve the image of the goddess (kept in the temple where Iphigenia serves the goddess and where the human sacrifices occur), are captured by Taurian herdsmen, and brought to Iphigenia to be sacrificed. An elaborate recognition scene between brother and sister, each of whom supposed the other dead, occupies the middle third of the play (Iphigenia in Tauris, 472-935). In the final third (979 to the end) Orestes, Iphigenia and Pylades by a ruse remove the image of Artemis from the temple to the seashore and then escape from Tauris.

Anne Pippin Burnett, Catastrophe Survived (Oxford, 1971), 48, observes that the play "tells a story of two fraternal pairs, one divine and one mortal, a group of four who have so assorted themselves that the brother god, Apollo, is the patron of the mortal brother, Orestes,

while his sister, Artemis, stands in the same relation to the mortal sister, Iphigeneia. The final achievement of the play is double, as each brother rescues his sister in a mirroring pair of actions that are simultaneous and interdependent..." The fine writing on this play continues in Cedric H. Whitman's

comment that it is "a tale of divine power roused and active, but somehow stayed; of tragedy suffered, but rounded into peace" (Euripides and the Full Circle of Myth [Cambridge, Mass., 1974], 2-3). There is a lacuna in the text after the clause, "But . . . Rhodes." 13 For the marriage of Pylades to Electra, see Euripides Electra 1249-50; Iphigenia in Tauris 695-99, 716-18, 915, 922; and Orestes 1658-59. As to the marriage of Orestes and Hermione, see Epitome 6.

14 and n. 4.

The body of Orestes was buried at Tegea in Arcadia. The Spartans were once told by an oracle that in order to be victorious in war with the Tegeans they must recover Orestes' bones. A certain Spartan named Lichas discovered that they were buried in a blacksmith's shop. The blacksmith told Lichas that in digging a well in his shop he had dug up a coffin ten feet long. When he opened it he learned, to his surprise, that the body had been ten feet long, too (Herodotus 1. 67-68).

Menelaus sailed in company with Nestor as far as Sunium (the 15 tip of Attica) where his helmsman suddenly died. Menelaus stopped to bury him and Nestor sailed on. Back at sea after the funeral, Menelaus and his fleet were driven by storm winds to Crete where all but five ships were wrecked on reefs. Those five sailed on and eventually came to Egypt where Menelaus made a large fortune and wandered (probably trading) among foreigners. So Nestor tells Telemachus (Homer Odyssey 3. 276-302).

For Menelaus' discovery of Helen at the court of Proteus in Egypt (the subject of Euripides' Helen), see Epitome 3. 5 and ch. 11, n. 2. Homer Odyssey 3. 303-12 says that Aegisthus ruled Mycenae for seven years after he (sic) killed Agamemnon. In the eighth year Orestes came back from Athens and killed Aegisthus. (In the tragedians Orestes returns from Phocis.) On the very day that Orestes held a funeral-feast for Aegisthus and Clytemnestra (Homer has omitted direct reference to Orestes' matricide), Menelaus returned, ships laden with riches.

The sea god Proteus in Egypt prophesies to Menelaus that he is fated not to die in Argos. Rather, the gods will send him to the Elysian Fields where there is no snow, but winters mild and rainstorms never. There soft zephyr-winds from the ocean blow continually to refresh mankind. This life is Menelaus' because he married Helen and thus is Zeus' sonin-law (Homer Odyssey 4. 561-69). Notice that Homer does not

mention Helen as Menelaus' companion in the Elysian Fields. Euripides *Helen* 1666–77 is ambiguous: The Dioscuri, Helen's brothers, say that she will be called a goddess and will share with them men's libations and hospitality. The gods have destined wandering Menelaus to dwell in the Island of the Blessed.

## CHAPTER THIRTEEN

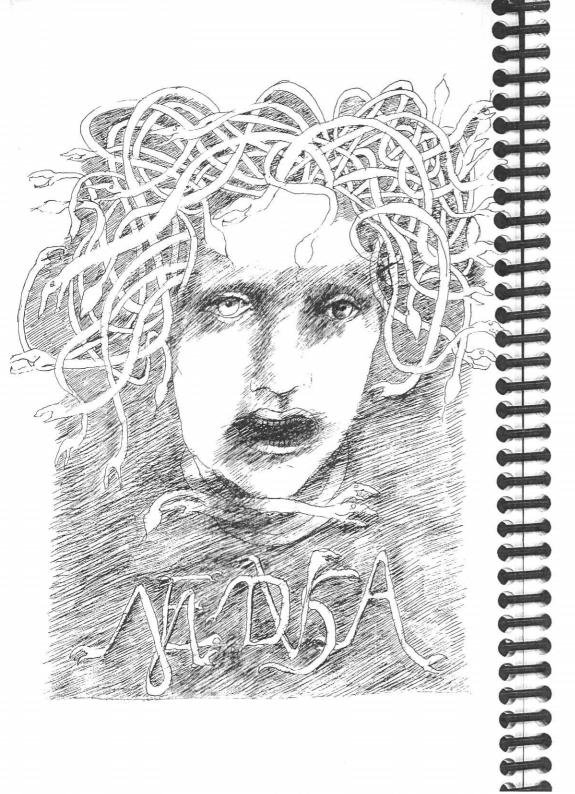
The Return and Death of Odysseus (Epitome 7)

EPIT. 7 | Odysseus, as some say, wandered through Libya, or as others say, through Sicily, or as yet others say, over the ocean or over the Tyrrhenian Sea. |

After he sailed from Ilium he put in at Ismarus, a city of the Cicones, captured it in a battle and plundered it, sparing only Maro, a priest of Apollo.¹ The Cicones living on the mainland learned of this and came in arms against him. After losing six men from each ship, he put to sea and fled. He landed in the country of the Lotus-eaters and sent some of the crew to learn about the inhabitants. A pleasant fruit called lotus grew in the land which made anyone who tasted it forget everything. After tasting the lotus the men stayed there. When Odysseus realized what had happened, he made the rest of his men wait and forced those who had tasted the lotus to return to the ships. He then sailed away to the land of the Cyclopes.²

Leaving the other ships at the island nearby, he approached the land of the Cyclopes in his own and went ashore with twelve companions. They entered a cave near the water, taking with them a skin full of wine, which Maro had given to Odysseus. The cave was inhabited by Polyphemus, son of Poseidon and a nymph Thoosa, a huge wild cannibal with one eye in his forehead. They started a fire, sacrificed several of the kids, and ate them. The Cyclops returned, driving his flock into the cave, and put a huge stone over the entrance. When he saw the men he ate some of them. Odysseus gave him a taste of Maro's wine. After he drank he asked for more and, after drinking a second time, he asked Odysseus his name. When he said that his name was Nobody, Polyphemus threatened to eat them all and Nobody last of all, that being the guest-gift he promised him. But he became drunk from the wine and fell asleep. Odysseus found a stake lying in the cave and with four companions sharpened one end of it, heated it in

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## Gods and Heroes of the Greeks:

The Library of Apollodorus

Translated with introduction and notes by Michael Simpson

Drawings by Leonard Baskin

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