

mad because of this (a detail seemingly from Pherekydes), until Zeus cured him. Madness is also an ingredient of the A scholia at *Iliad* 1.268, where Ixion suffers this fate after treacherously burning Deioneus, father of his bride Dia, when the latter comes for the gifts. Purification and dalliance with the cloud follow as usual, but here punishment is said to take place only after death, and the wheel to which Ixion is bound rolls around in the Underworld. Our first datable source for this last idea is Apollonios, who has Hera say that she will protect Iason even if he should descend into Hades to free Ixion from his bronze chains (AR 3.61–63). Hades is his place of torment in Vergil as well, both in the *Georgics* (3.37–39 [where the wheel has snakes]; 4.484) and the *Aeneid* (6.601). The latter passage goes on to describe for both Ixion and Peirithoos the fate normally associated with Tantalos—a rock teetering over their heads and food they cannot eat; either a line with Tantalos' name has fallen out, or Vergil here takes some liberties with the normal tradition. Lactantius Placidus and the Second Vatican Mythographer seem the only sources to say that Zeus struck Ixion with his thunderbolt before the binding to the wheel (Σ St: *Theb* 4.539; VM II 106). His reason, they add, was not simply that Ixion desired Hera, but that after returning to earth he boasted of lying with her (so too, perhaps, ApE 1.20).

Finally, as we saw at the beginning of this section, Zeus in *Iliad* 14 claims that Peirithoos is his son by the wife of Ixion (317–18). Both the A and bT scholia hasten to assure us that this was before her marriage to Ixion, when she was still a maiden. Such a sequence of events is not likely to have been supported by the storytellers who made her father claim bride gifts for his daughter, and the scholiasts may be improvising, but at least they appear ignorant of any story in which Zeus' affair with Dia might have been linked (as motive or revenge) to Ixion's attempt upon Hera. Nonnos has a brief reference to Zeus, Dia, and an equine mating (7.125), and Eustathios cites a tale in which Zeus does in fact mate with Dia in the form of a stallion (as a way of explaining the offspring's name: Eu-Il p. 101); perhaps the story of Kentauros has influenced matters here.

In art we have a few illustrations, but nothing earlier than the fifth century and little that does more than confirm details already known. Earliest are two Red-Figure cup fragments from the beginning of that century showing the central portion of Ixion's body tied to the wheel (Agora P26228; Rome:Forum, no #). From the middle of the same century comes a kantharos by the Amphitrite Painter with a naked Ixion led before Hera by Ares and Hermes while Athena rolls in a wheel with wings attached to it (London E155); the presence of these wings probably guarantees that Ixion and the wheel were here thought to remain in the upper world. The other side of the same kantharos, with a similar figure seeking refuge at an altar as his victim slumps to the ground and is received by Thanatos, has been thought to show the death of Eioneus, the more so as the killer is in the coils of a snake who threatens to bite him.<sup>3</sup> No literary source ever suggests that Ixion was pursued by the Erinyes (although

Timothy Gantz, *Early Greek Myths*  
(Baltimore and London, 1993), 721 - 25  
(with notes)

the notion of his madness could, I suppose, imply this), and as we have seen elsewhere an Erinyes as snake is a questionable concept. But still more difficult are other details: the supposed father-in-law is young and beardless, while the supposed son-in-law does have a beard and holds a drawn sword with which he has clearly wounded his victim (no sign of a fiery pit). This is the same scene that we have previously found interpreted as Laokoon and his sons (or Orestes and Neoptolemos), and its meaning remains a problem.

The end of the century brings us a skyphos on which Hephaistos is finishing construction of the wheel (again winged) while Hera converses with a seated Zeus (Cahn Coll 541). Unfortunately, the rest of the scene is broken away. Still later, a Campanian amphora of the late fourth century shows Ixion (as on the two cup fragments) already bound to the wheel, while Hermes and Hephaistos look on from below (Berlin:PM F3023). Tongues of fire seem to be indicated on the wheel, while coiling around Ixion are several snakes, clearly older in the tradition than their appearance in Vergil; whether their pedigree is originally literary or artistic is hard to say. Likewise unclear is the point at which Ixion and his wheel are brought down into the Underworld. On present evidence this would seem to take place in Hellenistic times and probably represents a simple assimilation to the fate of other transgressors. In any case the shift must involve the loss of his function as an admonisher to others of the dangers of ingratitude.

Last, and in utter contrast to any of the above material, is a tale preserved only in the Cyzicene Epigrams, namely that Ixion slew Phorbas and Polymelos in retribution for the penalty enacted against his mother (AP 3.12). The introduction explains that her name was Megara, and that she had chosen to marry neither of them, whereupon they killed her. We can only presume that this is the Ixion familiar to us; despite the many authorities for his father's name, Diodoros alone identifies his mother, calling her Perimele (DS 4.69.3, as above).

### Orpheus

The name "Orpheus" is not found anywhere in Homer, or the *Hymns*, or Hesiod or the Hesiodic Corpus. The earliest appearance of this figure seems to be, in fact, on the metopes of the Sikyonian *monopteros* at Delphi, where his name painted in guarantees him to have been one of the Argonautai (see chapter 12). One would guess that at some point his musical skills were of special use to the expedition, and indeed in Apollonios he saves the crew by drowning out the song of the Sirenes which would have lured them to their deaths (AR 4.891–911); scholia take this tale back to Herodoros, and add that Cheiron advised Orpheus' inclusion on the voyage for just this purpose (Σ AR 1.23 = 31F43b). The obvious idea that his song could charm savage beasts is first preserved in Simonides, where birds fly overhead and fish leap from the sea in time to the music (567 PMG). It resurfaces probably in Bakchylides 28 (trees and the sea may be involved) and certainly in Aischylos' *Agamemnon* (1629–32). With Euripides at the end of the century we find both trees (*Bkch* 560–64)

and rocks (IA 1211–14) following the singer as well, and one suspects that by this time such magical powers were commonplace for Orpheus.

For the most famous part of his story, however—the descent into Hades to recover his wife and his subsequent tearing apart by Thracian women—the evidence is less plentiful. Nothing whatever survives of either of these tales prior to the fifth century, and even then there is surprisingly little. Difficult in particular is the matter of his appearance in Aischylos' *Lykourgos* production, a set of plays attested as consisting of *Edonoi*, *Bassarides*, *Neaniskoi*, and *Lykourgos*. For the most part these dramas must have related *Lykourgos*' refusal to accept the worship of the newly arrived Dionysos, as *Iliad* 6 recounts (see chapter 2). But Ps-Eratosthenes' discussion of the Lyre constellation opens up other possibilities: after recounting the passage of the lyre from Hermes to Apollo to Orpheus, who won great renown with it, he says,

But having gone down into Hades because of his wife and seeing what sort of things were there, he did not continue to worship Dionysos, because of whom he was famous, but he thought Helios to be the greatest of the gods, Helios whom he also addressed as Apollo. Rousing himself up each night toward dawn and climbing the mountain called Pangaion he would await the sun's rising, so that he might see it first. Therefore Dionysos, being angry with him, sent the *Bassarides*, as Aischylos the tragedian says; they tore him apart and scattered the limbs [*Katast* 24].

If nothing else we can at least say that Orpheus' death was mentioned in the *Bassarides* of Aischylos, and that Dionysos was there responsible. But most likely this was in a choral ode, something recalled by the *Bassarides* briefly as an exemplum or warning to *Lykourgos* not to make the same mistake, rather than in a full dramatization of Orpheus' fate in what was otherwise a tetralogy about *Lykourgos*. If that is the case, we are left to decide how much of Ps-Eratosthenes' account might have been found in such a choral ode. The placement of Aischylos' name, where it is, after specific mention of the *Bassarides*, makes it perhaps more likely that only their role in the story comes from his work, with the rest—descent into Hades, worship of Helios, equation of Helios and Apollo—deriving from elsewhere. But this is just one possibility, and even if correct will not alter the fact that Aischylos and his audience must have known a myth about Orpheus and Dionysos (and Helios?), whether or not he tells all of it. The narrative logic of Ps-Eratosthenes' tale poses another problem, for it is not immediately clear why that which Orpheus sees in the Underworld should turn him away from Dionysos and toward the sun; does the darkness of Hades cause him to appreciate better the sun's light? Hyginus, who in his *De Astrologia* cites Eratosthenes at this juncture, suggests that Orpheus simply forgot Dionysos in his praise of the gods (rather, it would seem, than consciously determining to ignore him: *Astr* 2.7.1).

If the initial part of Ps-Eratosthenes' narrative does come from Aischylos it would mark our first trace of the tale of Eurydike. Otherwise, that honor goes to Euripides' *Alkestis*, where Admetos boasts that if he had the tongue

and voice of Orpheus he would descend to Hades so that having charmed Demeter's daughter and her husband with songs he might take his wife back (*Alk* 357–62). Strictly speaking he does not here say that Orpheus ever did such a thing, only that he could do it if anyone could, but to suppose the audience ignorant of Eurydike would involve a remarkable coincidence. More troubling to some has seemed the fact that Orpheus did not ultimately rescue his wife, so that the parallel is a bit ill-omened. Perhaps Euripides knows a version in which that wife was successfully reclaimed, but Admetos may well mean simply that he would not repeat Orpheus' crucial mistake. Orpheus also formed part of Polygnotos' Nekyia painting at Delphi, as described by Pausanias (10.30.6); here, however, he sits next to a willow tree holding his harp, seemingly one of the shades rather than a visitor, and there is no mention of Eurydike at all. In Plato's *Symposium* the speech of Phaidros includes the claim that the gods, while admiring Alkestis who died for her husband, were not so impressed with Orpheus, who did not die for his wife but contrived to enter Hades while still alive; thus they showed him a *phasma* of his wife but did not allow her to leave (*Sym* 179b–d). The gods' logic here fits the situation too well not to arouse suspicions of Platonic revision, but at least we see a familiarity with the story we know. The first actual mention of the wife's name occurs in the *Lament for Bion* ascribed to Moschos, where the singer hopes that Persephone will restore to him the dead Bion as she once granted to Orpheus Eurydike because of his music (3.123–24). Hermesianax of Kolophon (in a poem to his mistress Leontion) is, by contrast, alone in calling this same wife Agriope (or perhaps Argiope), and has been thought by some to imply that Orpheus succeeds in bringing her back (fr 7 Pow).

Of other Hellenistic and later works, Phanokles' poem *Kaloi* speaks of Orpheus' love for Kalais, son of Boreas, and his death (with his head torn off) at the hands of women who objected to his introduction of homosexuality into Thrace (fr 1 Pow); the poem seems generally devoted to homosexual relationships of Greek heroes, but for Orpheus as so inclined there is supporting evidence elsewhere. In Konon we find first the familiar explanation of Orpheus' failure, that after winning Eurydike back from Plouton and Persephone by his songs he forgot their instructions concerning her and so lost her (26F1.45). The account continues with his death at the hands of Thracian women, either because he now hated all women or because he refused to admit them to certain rites. Diodoros will perhaps have been among those believing that the wife is successfully restored, for he suggests that Orpheus is to be compared with Dionysos, who had brought his mother Semele up from the Underworld (DS 4.25.4). In the *Culex* of the *Appendix Vergiliana*, Eurydike keeps her part of the bargain with Hades and Persephone on the journey upward by looking ahead and maintaining silence, but Orpheus breaks his by turning to seek kisses from her (*Cu* 268–95). Vergil's famous treatment of the star-crossed lovers in the *Georgics* puts much of the blame on Aristaios, son of Apollo and Kyrene, who by pursuing Eurydike with lustful intent caused her to step on a

snake (*G* 4.453–503). Orpheus' descent into Hades to rescue her proceeds as we would expect, but Persephone (no reason given) requires Eurydike to follow her husband up into the light; when he turns at the very edge of the upper world and looks back in his desire she is lost to him. From this point on he does nothing but lament, with no thought of remarriage, and the Thracian women, thinking themselves despised, tear him apart, casting his head in particular into the Hebros River, where it continues to lament.

Ovid's *Metamorphoses* omits any assault on Eurydike, but in his account also she is bitten by a snake (while taking a walk after her marriage: *Met* 10.1–85). The rest evolves as before, with the novelty of a vow by Orpheus that he will remain in the Underworld himself if his prayer is not granted. As in Vergil he is not allowed to look back until he has reached the upper air, but in concern and desire to assure himself that she is there he falters, an error rather more sympathetically treated by Ovid. Subsequently he returns to Thrace, where although avoiding women he does not shun the love of young boys. After several digressions the women of Thrace again dispatch him for his scorn of them, and here too his head thrown into the Hebros retains the power of song (*Met* 11.1–66).

In Apollodoros, who also makes a snake the cause of Eurydike's death (so too  $\Sigma$  *Alk* 357), there is the novel idea that Orpheus was instructed not to look back at his wife until he had reached his own house (*ApB* 1.3.2). He finds the mysteries of Dionysos, and is again torn apart by women (no reason given). Pausanias says simply that the women of Thrace in a drunken state killed him because he had persuaded their husbands to follow him in his roivings; he also adds a version in which the death is by thunderbolt, because Orpheus has revealed the mysteries to the uninitiated (9.30.5). In Hyginus the cause of his death is no fault or act of his own, but rather Aphrodite's anger over his mother Kalliope's decision in the matter of Adonis (*Astr* 2.7.3: see below).

Thus literature offers virtually no early evidence for the story of Eurydike, and the same is true for art. Attic Black-Figure ignores her and the descent to Hades altogether, while Red-Figure does not discover her until the fourth century (in southern Italy); we have already seen that Polygnotos omits her. But the question of the antiquity of Orpheus' journey to the Underworld is a complex one, the more so as later "Orphic" tradition claimed the existence of a *Katabasis* poem describing the event.<sup>4</sup> For Orpheus, far more than for most of the figures in this book, mythic hero becomes subsumed to claimed ancestor of a wide variety of mysteries and cults, while the descent into Hades serves as a crucial proof of his shamanistic powers. Under such circumstances we must be even more cautious than usual in assessing what stories were current (and how widespread) in the Archaic period.

What Red-Figure art of the fifth century does show us vividly, beginning with a cup in Cincinnati (1979.1) and a stamnos (by Hermonax) now in the Louvre (G416), is the death of Orpheus. In all cases women attack the helpless musician, sometimes simply with their bare hands or boulders, other times

with swords and axes. Even the severed head is shown on occasion, clearly with prophetic powers from the intensity with which the bystanders gaze at it (e.g., Basel BS 481). With this much of the later tradition represented in fifth-century art we might suppose the event that led to it—the loss of Eurydike—guaranteed as well. But we have seen that in some sources there is no direct connection between Eurydike and the Thracian women, the cause of Orpheus' death being rather his refusal to share with them mysteries that he had introduced, his scorn of them, or other such reasons.

One final point of concern is Orpheus' parentage. Pindar in *Pythian* 4 appears to say that he is the son of Apollo, but the scholia claim that the poet elsewhere calls Orpheus the son of Oiagros; they then cite Ammonios' suggestion that the preposition *ek* used in *Pythian* 4 means only "drawing inspiration from," for which there are parallels ( $\Sigma$  *Py* 4.313a). Whatever Pindar did mean in this case, Oiagros is clearly one early father, and Asklepiades gives us additional fifth-century authority for Apollo (and Kalliope) as the parents (12F6). Subsequent accounts keep almost entirely to these two options, with Oiagros seemingly representing the majority opinion (Bakchylides, Plato, Apollonios, Diodoros, etc.); the Apollonios scholia specify Oiagros and Polymnia (so "others," in contrast to Asklepiades' view:  $\Sigma$  *AR* 1.23). The late Pergamean historian Charax and the *Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi* do offer a genealogy for this Oiagros: from Aithousa and Apollo was born Linos, from Linos Pieros, from Pieros and Methone Oiagros, from Oiagros and Kalliope Orpheus (103F62; *Cert* 46–48 [Allen 1912]). The name of Pieros reappears in Pausanias, who maintains that a daughter (unnamed) of his was Orpheus' mother (9.30.4). Apollodoros acknowledges the tradition of both fathers, but adds the odd idea that Oiagros was the real father and Apollo the reputed one, when from a mythographer we might expect just the reverse (*ApB* 1.3.2).

#### Lykaon and Kallisto

The tales of Lykaon and his daughter Kallisto and their respective encounters with Zeus are best known to us from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, where the narratives appear as completely separate stories, linked only by the family relationship of the two protagonists. Both tales can be traced back to Eratosthenes, however, and from there, at least in part, to the Hesiodic Corpus in what is a very tangled development. What we know for certain of the Archaic period is that the relationship of the two as father and daughter did appear in Eumelos (fr 14 *PEG*) but was not uniformly agreed upon: according to Apollodoros, "Hesiod" made her one of the Nymphai (Hes fr 163 *MW*), Asios a daughter of Nykteus (fr 9 *PEG*), and Pherekydes a daughter of Keteus (3F157). What Ps-Eratosthenes claims to draw from the Hesiodic Corpus (not necessarily from the same poem referred to by Apollodoros) is a story in which the daughter of Lykaon (presumably Kallisto) follows Artemis in the hunt, and having been made pregnant by Zeus hides the fact from the goddess as long as she can (*Katast* 1: *Arktos Megalê*). Finally, though, her pregnancy is discovered while she is bathing, and Artemis in anger changes her into a bear, in which form

43. According to Pausanias, however, there was also such a statue, brought back by Iphigeneia when she left the Tauroi, at Brauron (1.33.1).

44. So H. Lloyd-Jones, *JHS* 103 (1983) 96.

45. We should remember that Aischylos' *Iphigeneia*—about which nothing whatever is known—*could* have dealt with these same events. Sophokles' *Iphigeneia* seems clearly to have dramatized the sacrifice at Aulis, but his *Chryses* has been suspected as a predecessor of Euripides' plot: see below.

46. The portent consists of finding a land where the houses have iron foundations, wooden walls, and roofs of wool; in Epeiros, Neoptolemos then encounters men who fix their spears in the ground and use their cloaks to form tents.

47. Schwartz in his edition of the *Orestes* scholia accepts the emendation to *Ma-chaireus*; Jacoby in editing Pherekydes restricts it to the *apparatus*.

48. This conclusion will naturally be invalidated if, as some have thought, the controversial scene on London E155 (a Red-Figure kantharos of the early fifth century) does in fact represent Orestes with a just-slain Neoptolemos, rather than Laokoon and his sons, or Ixion. But the man on the altar (with snake and drawn sword) is bearded, while the dead person is not, and this is surely an impossible way in which to present the relationship between Orestes and a man his senior who has fought at Troy.

49. On the vexed question of what the contestant was supposed to shoot at after stringing the bow, see now the survey of views by Fernández-Galiano in Fernández-Galiano and Heubeck 1986.xviii–xxv.

50. See Gantz 1980.151–53.

51. Catalogue and discussion of the *Odyssey* in art in Touchefeu-Meynier 1968; see also the valuable compilation in Brommer 1983.56–109. For Polyphemos, Fellman (1972) now offers a separate study.

52. Against Scheffold's view (1978.267–68) that this could be a non-Homeric version of the Odyssean tale see Amyx and Amandry 1982.113–15.

53. The eye of this rapidly falling Seiren seems clearly closed, leading to the suggestion that she is dead or dying, perhaps because in some accounts these creatures were fated to die when someone successfully resisted them: see Arafat 1990.1.

54. For this identification of the scene (cautiously advanced), see C. Weickert, *RM* 60/61 (1953–54) 56–61; he supposes the piece to be of Corinthian Late Geometric fabric.

55. Zancani Montuoro and Zanotti-Bianco 1954.301–15. The interpretation as Odysseus originates here (Zancani Montuoro). The same scholar argues her case in more detail in *PP* 14 (1959) 221–29.

56. For the theory (already noted in chapter 15) that the figure could be Tantalos, and a good discussion of other turtle riders in art, see Van Keuren 1989.139–46.

57. Earlier Pausanias also speculates that a scene on the topmost panel of the Chest—a man and woman on a couch in a grotto surrounded by attendants—represents Odysseus and Kirke (5.19.7); this he admits is wholly a guess on his part, and in this case at least we might think of numerous other possibilities.

58. So West (1966.433–36), arguing that this notion will derive from the sixth century, since before that time the Etruscans would not have been of sufficient interest to the Greeks, and after 510 B.C. Etruscans and Latins would have been more clearly differentiated. West also supposes the line mentioning Telegonos interpolated into this section, since it interrupts the link between the first two sons and their dominion.

59. According to the *Odyssey* scholia, Hephaistos makes this spear for Telegonos (at the request of Kirke) from a ray that Phorkys had slain; the shaft had parts of adamantine and gold.

60. H. Lloyd-Jones, in *CR* 14 (1964) 247, suggests that the words *ek touto* in the third line of the quote might mean “after this” (the depositing of excrement) rather than “from this.” The idea is attractive (and Sextus perhaps had no more evidence than we do), but in that case one must wonder that Aischylos would leave such an unfortunate ambiguity in his text.

61. See Sadurska 1964.24–37, in particular 29 (description of scenes in question), 30 (inscriptions), and 32–35 (survey of the [widely divergent] previous opinions and discussion of the problem). Her own conclusion, that the artist of the tablet has followed earlier pictorial models without introducing significant new elements, is not in my opinion compelling, nor does it take into account the fact that most (perhaps all) of the elements in question will be earlier than the *Aeneid*. A more properly skeptical analysis (on which many of the following arguments are based) appears in Horsfall 1979a.26–48; see also Galinsky, who suggests (1969.106–13) that Stesichoros may have left Aineias' westward goal quite vague, thus opening the door for later writers and artists to attribute an Italian (or Sicilian) landing to him. Most scholars seem now agreed that Stesichoros is not likely to have used the actual word *Hesperia*.

62. For these see S. Woodford and M. Loudon, *AJA* 84 (1980) 30–33, 38–39; K. Schauenburg, *Gymnasium* 67 (1960) 176–90.

63. In favor of the receptacle see Alföldi 1965.284–86; of the suitcase Horsfall 1979a.40.

64. Head 1911.214; M. Price and N. Waggoner, *Archaic Greek Coinage: The Asyut Hoard* (London 1975).

65. See Brommer 1967.220–21.

66. The problems in this passage are investigated at length by Horsfall (1979b.377–83), although I am not sure I would agree that Aineias' arrival in Italy with Odysseus means that he left Troy as a captive. Horsfall's final judgment, that Aineias' link to Latium and Rome is probably no older than Timaios, remains the safest conclusion, although F. Solmsen (*HSCP* 90 [1985] 93–110) renews the arguments in favor of Hellanikos.

### Chapter 18. Other Myths

1. See Gantz, *Hermes* 106 (1978) 14–26.

2. A fragmentary inscription from the Athenian Agora listing productions now increases the likelihood that Sophokles did write such a play (see B. Merritt, *Hesperia* 7 [1938] 116–18); the only other evidence is a one-word citation from the Apollonios scholia which some have thought might be in fact from Aischylos' version of the story.

3. For this interpretation see Robert 1881.210–12, subsequently supported by Simon 1955.5–14 and 1967.175–95. Both scholars concede that the victim cannot be Ixion's father-in-law, but argue that some other relative not known to us is intended.

4. See fr 293–96 Kern.

5. Sale (1962.122–31) argues, in fact, that nothing in this account after Kallisto's metamorphosis and the birth of Arkas is from “Hesiod,” in part because Ps-Eratosthenes omits intervening material (the version of Amphis: see below) reported by our Latin derivatives of Eratosthenes. This cannot be certain, but Sale well points out the absurdities of a tale in which Arkas pursues his mother after they have grown up together.