## PELEUS AND HIPPOLYTE CRETHEIS (OR ASTYDAMEIA)

Another story with the same motif is that of Peleus and Hippolyte Cretheis (or Astydameia). The tale in its fullest and clearest version is given by Apollodoros, *Bibl.* III. 12, 6 ff:

διαφέροντος δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι Φώκου, τούς ἀδελφούς Πηλέα καὶ Τελαμῶνα¹ ἐπιβουλεῦσαι· καὶ λαγών κλήρω Τελαμών συγγυμναζόμενον αὐτὸν βαλών δίσκω κατά τῆς κεφαλῆς κτείνει, καὶ κομίσας μετά Πηλέως κρύπτει κατά τινος ύλης, φωραθέντος δὲ τοῦ φόνου φυγάδες ἀπὸ Αἰγίνης ὑπὸ Αἰακοῦ ἐλαύνονται. καὶ Τελαμών μὲν εἰς Σαλαμῖνα παραγίνεται πρὸς Κυγρέα τὸν <Ποσειδώνος καί> Σαλαμίνος τῆς 'Ασωπού...(13) Πηλεύς δὲ εἰς Φθίαν φυγών πρὸς Εὐρυτίωνα τὸν "Ακτορος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καθαίρεται, καὶ λαμβάνει παρ' αὐτοῦ τὴν θυγατέρα 'Αντιγόνην καὶ τῆς χώρας τὴν τρίτην μοῖραν. καὶ γίνεται θυγάτηρ αὐτῷ Πολυδώρα, ἢν ἔγημε Βῶρος ὁ Περιήρους. ἐντεῦθεν ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν τοῦ Καλυδωνίου κάπρου μετ' Εύρυτίωνος έλθών, προέμενος έπὶ τὸν σῦν ἀκόντιον Εύρυτίωνος τυγγάνει καί κτείνει τοῦτον ἄκων. πάλιν οὖν ἐκ Φθίας φυγών εἰς 'Ιωλκὸν πρὸς "Ακαστον ἀφικνεῖται καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καθαίρεται. ἀγωνίζεται δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ Πελία ἀγῶνα, πρὸς 'Αταλάντην διαπαλαίσας. καὶ 'Αστυδάμεια ἡ 'Ακάστου γυνή, Πηλέως έρασθεῖσα, περὶ συνουσίας προσέπεμψεν αὐτῷ λόγους. μή δυναμένη δὲ πεῖσαι, πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ πέμψασα ἔφη μέλλειν Πηλέα γαμεῖν Στερόπην τὴν 'Ακάστου θυγατέρα' καὶ τοῦτο ἐκείνη ἀκούσασα ἀγγόνην άνάπτει. Πηλέως δὲ πρὸς "Ακαστον καταψεύδεται, λέγουσα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ περὶ συνουσίας πεπειρᾶσθαι. "Ακαστος <δέ> ἀκούσας κτεῖναι μέν δν ἐκάθηρεν οὐκ ἡβουλήθη, ἄγει δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ θήραν εἰς τὸ Πήλιον. ἔνθα ἁμίλλης περὶ θήρας γενομένης, Πηλεύς μεν ὧν έγειροῦτο θηρίων τὰς γλώσσας τούτων έκτεμὧν εἰς πήραν έτίθει, οἱ δὲ μετὰ ᾿Ακάστου ταῦτα γειρούμενοι κατεγέλων ὡς μηδὲν τεθηρακότος τοῦ Πηλέως. ὁ δὲ τὰς γλώσσας παρασγόμενος ὅσας εἶγεν ἐκείνοις, τοσαῦτα ἔφη τεθηρευκέναι, ἀποκοιμηθέντος δὲ αὐτοῦ έν τῷ Πηλίω, ἀπολιπών "Ακαστος καὶ τὴν μάχαιραν ἐν τῆ τῶν βοῶν κόπρῳ κρύψας έπανέρχεται. ὁ δὲ έξαναστάς καὶ ζητῶν τὴν μάγαιραν, ὑπὸ τῶν Κενταύρων καταληφθεὶς ἔμελλεν

<sup>1.</sup> In Euripides' play Peleus, and not Telamon, is the murderer of his half-brother Phocos; see Excursus, pp. 147 ff.

άπόλλυσθαι, σώζεται δὲ ὑπό Χείρωνος· οὖτος καὶ τὴν μάχαιραν αὐτοῦ ἐκζητήσας δίδωσι $^1$ .

According to him Peleus and Telamon were brothers. As their halfbrother Phocos<sup>2</sup> excelled in sports, they became jealous of him, plotted against him and, the lot falling to Telamon, he killed him by throwing a quoit at his head as he and Phocos were practising together. Then, with the help of Peleus, he carried Phocos' body into a wood and hid it there. But the murder was discovered, and they were driven into exile by their father Aeacos. Telamon went to Salamis, to the court of Cychreus, son of Poseidon and Salamis, daughter of Asopos... (13) while Peleus fled to Phthia to the court of Eurytion, son of Actor. He was purified by Eurytion and received as his wife Eurytion's daughter, Antigone, as well as a third of the country as his domain. A daughter Polydora was born to them, who was later married by Boros, son of Perieres. One day Peleus went with his father-in-law Eurytion to hunt the Calydonian boar, but, as he threw his spear at the animal, he accidentally hit and killed Eurytion. Therefore, he fled once more and from Phthia came to Acastos at Iolcos and was purified by him. He took part in the games celebrated in honour of Pelias and competed with Atalante. Astydameia, Acastos' wife, fell in love with Peleus and sent him a proposal for a meeting. When she saw that she could not persuade him, she sent a letter to his wife saying that Peleus was going to marry Sterope, Acastos' daughter. When Peleus' wife was informed of that, she hanged herself. Then Acastos' wife accused Peleus to her husband, telling him falsely Peleus had attempted to rape her. After Acastos heard of this, he did not want to kill the man he had purified; he took him to hunt on Mount Pelion, where in a contest they had in connection with hunting, Peleus cut out the tongues of the animals he got and put them into his bag, while the party of Acastos bagged his (Peleus') game and derided him, saying he had not taken any. But he showed the tongues, telling them he had slain just as many animals. When Peleus had gone to sleep on Mount Pelion, Acastos deserted him, hid Peleus' sword in the cows'

<sup>1.</sup> Apollodorus The Library, ed. by Sir James George Frazer (LCL), London 1921.

<sup>2.</sup> Pindar, Nem. V 13 ff. (... βία Φώκου κρέοντος,) δ τᾶς θεοῦ, δν Ψαμάθεια τίκτ' ἐπὶ ῥηγμῖνι πόντου

cf. Antoninus Liberalis, Les métamorphoses, (ed. by Manolis Papathomopoulos), «Les Belles Lettres», Paris 1968, 38,...Φῶκος ἐκ Ψαμάθης τῆς Νηρέως; and Apollod. III. 12, 6 in his account of Aeacos, μίγνυται δὲ αδθις Αἰακὸς Ψαμάθη τῆ Νηρέως εἰς φώκην ἡλλαγμένη διὰ τὸ μὴ βούλεσθαι συνελθεῖν, καὶ τεκνοῖ παῖδα Φῶκον.

dung, and returned home. When Peleus arose and was looking for his sword, he was caught by the Centaurs and would have met his doom if he had not been saved by Cheiron, who searched also for his (Peleus') sword and brought it back to him.

Of equal or even greater importance is the reference which Pindar makes in Nemea V, in his hymn to Pytheas, the Aeginetan man who practised the παγκράτιον. In his digression in praise of the Aeacidae and particularly Peleus, Pindar gives us in brief the essential points of the myth. After Pindar has mentioned the incident of Phocos' murder by his brothers Telamon and Peleus (verses 12 ff.)<sup>1</sup>, he goes into a relatively more detailed narration of the seduction (25 ff.):

... αἱ δἐ (sc. Μοῦσαι) πρώτιστον μὲν ὕμνησαν Διὸς ἀρχόμεναι σεμνὰν Θἐτιν
Πηλέα θ᾽, ὤς τέ νιν ἀβρὰ
Κρηθεἰς Ἱππολύτα δόλῳ πεδᾶσαι
ἤθελε ξυνᾶνα Μαγνήτων σκοπὸν
πείσαισ᾽ ἀκοίταν ποικίλοις βουλεύμασιν,
ψεύσταν δἐ ποιητὸν συνέπαξε λόγον,
ὡς ἦρα νυμφείας ἐπείρα
κεῖνος ἐν λέκτροις ᾿Ακάστου

εὐνᾶς τὸ δ' ἐναντίον ἔσκεν·
πολλὰ γάρ νιν παντὶ θυμῷ
παρφαμένα λιτάνευεν.
τοῖο δ' ὀργὰν κνίζον αἰπεινοὶ λόγοι·
εὐθὺς δ' ἀπανάνατο νύμφαν,
ξεινίου πατρὸς χόλον
δείσαις· ὁ δ' εὖ φράσθη κατένευσέν τἐ οἱ ὀρσινεφὴς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ
Ζεὺς ἀθανάτων βασιλεύς, ὥστ' ἐν τάχει
ποντίαν χρυσαλακάτων τινὰ Νηρεξδων πράξειν ἄκοιτιν.

The story continues in Nemea IV 54 ff.:

Παλίου δὲ πἄρ ποδὶ λατρίαν Ἰαολκόν πολεμία χερὶ προστραχών Πηλεὺς παρέδωκεν Αἰμόνεσσιν

<sup>1. 14:</sup> αἰδέομαι μέγα εἰπεῖν / ἐν δίκα τε μὴ κεκινδυνευμένον, πῶς δὴ λίπον εὐκλέα νᾶσον, / καὶ τίς ἄνδρας ἀλκίμους / δαίμων ἀπ' Οἰνώνας ἔλασεν.

δάμαρτος Ίππολύτας 'Ακάστου δολίαις τέχναισι χρησάμενος. τῷ Δαιδάλου δὲ μαχαίρα φύτευέ οἱ θάνατον ἐκ λόχου Πελίαο παῖς' ἄλαλκε δὲ Χίρων, καὶ τὸ μόρσιμον Διόθεν πεπρωμένον ἔκφερεν' πῦρ δὲ παγκρατὲς θρασυμαχάνων τε λεόντων ὄνυχας ὀξυτάτους ἀκμὰν καὶ δεινοτάτων σχάσαις ὀδόντων

έγαμεν ύψιθρόνων μίαν Νηρεΐδων.

It comes to its end in *Isthmia* VIII 42 ff.; Themis determines that the very pious Peleus shall marry Thetis:

τὸ μὲν ἐμόν, Πηλέϊ γέρας θεόμορον ὁπάσσαι γάμου Αἰακίδα, ὅν τ' εὐσεβέστατον φάτις Ἰαολκοῦ τράφειν πεδίον·

... εν διχομηνίδεσσιν δε έσπέραις έρατον λύοι κεν χαλινόν ὑφ' ἥρωϊ παρθενίας.

The points dealt with by Pindar generally agree with the account of Apollodoros and with an important fragment from Hesiod (Fragmenta Hesiodea, ed. R.-M.L. Merkelbach-West, Oxford 1967— Γυναιμών Κατάλογος sive 'Ηοῖαι—, pp. 106 f. 209 Schol. Pind. Nem. IV. 95 (III. 80.23-81. 5 Drachmann; post fabulam de Peleo et Acasti uxore scholiis ad Nem. IV. 92 et 95 narratam) de Acasto

ταῦτα δὲ ἱστοροῦσι πολλοὶ μέν, ἀτὰρ δὴ καὶ Ἡσίοδος λέγων οὕτως1.

ήδε δέ οἱ κατὰ θυμὸν ἀρίστη φαίνετο βουλή·
αὐτὸν μὲν σχέσθαι, κρύψαι δ' άδόκητα μάχαιραν
καλήν, ήν οἱ ἔτευξε περικλυτὸς 'Αμφιγυήεις,
ὡς τὴν μαστεύων οἶος κατὰ Πήλιον αἰπὸ
αἴψ' ὑπὸ Κενταύροισιν ὁρεσκώιοισι δαμείη.

The myth in its main outlines, apart from some minor discrepancies mainly in the names<sup>2</sup> of some of the persons involved, seems to be well established in most of the sources. This may well support the supposition that both Sophocles and Euripides, who wrote a tragedy

<sup>1.</sup> Cf. 208 Scol. B Hom. Z 164 (III. 289. 9 Dindorf) = Porphyrius, Quaest. Hom. ad Iliad. pertin. p. 93. 17 Schrader (Homer) συντόμως δὲ τὰ αἰσχρὰ δεδήλωκε (with reference to Beller. a. Ant.) «μιγῆναι οὐκ ἐθελούσηι», ἀλλ' οὐχ ὥαπερ Ἡσίοδος τὰ περὶ τοῦ Πηλέως καὶ τῆς ᾿Ακάστου γυναικὸς διὰ μακρῶν ἐπεξελθών; cf. also 211 P. Argent. 55, ed. Reitzenstein: ... (5) ὡς τε πό]λιν [ά]λάπαξεν ἐὐκτιτον, ὡς τ' ἐτέλεσσεν ἱμερόεν]τα γ[ά]μον...

<sup>2.</sup> See below, pp. 147 ff.

entitled *Peleus*, did not make any great changes in the plot significantly affecting the basic scenes and characters. If they had done so, one would accordingly expect essential variations in the later sources, very likely influenced by the great tragedians. Of course apart from a very few fragments of a very general nature about the Sophoclean and the Euripidean tragedies and a few hints in their other works, we have nothing that can help us in the reconstruction of the play.

In the Troades, verses 1126 ff., Euripides mentions the Peleus theme:

αὐτὸς δ' ἀνῆκται Νεοπτόλεμος, καινάς τινας Πηλέως ἀκούσας συμφοράς, ὥς νιν χθονὸς "Ακαστος ἐκβέβληκεν, ὁ Πελίου γόνος.

The Scholia (A Eur. Tro. 1128) state much the same thing regarding Troades 1128 "Ακαστος ἐκβέβληκεν and also seem to differentiate between the two plays:

δ μὲν Εὐριπίδης ὑπὸ ᾿Ακάστου φησὶν ἐκβεβλῆσθαι τὸν Πηλέα, εἰσὶ δὲ οἴ φασιν ὑπὸ τῶν δύο αὐτοῦ παίδων, ᾿Αρχάνδρου καὶ ᾿Αρχιτέλους, κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν (σκανὸν Α, corr. L. Dindorf) ὃν (ὅτε Schw.) ἔμελλον Ἔλληνες ἐξ Ἰλίου ἐπανιέναι, ἐξεληλάσθαι καὶ ἐλθόντα εἰς ἀπάντησιν τῷ Νεοπτολέμῳ προσελθεῖν διὰ χειμῶνα τῆ Κῷ τῆ νήσῳ καὶ ξενισθέντα ὑπὸ Μόλωνὸς τινος Ἦραντος ἐκεῖ καταλύσασθαι (καταλῦσαι Ε. Schwartz)¹ τὸν βίον.

The emphasis placed by Euripides himself on—καινάς τινας συμφοράς—Peleus' expulsion from the land by Acastos, together with what Horatius says in Epist. 2, 3, 95:

et tragicus plerumque dolet sermone pedestri Telephus et Peleus, cum pauper et exul uterque proicit ampullas et sesquipedalia verba², seems to be something that greatly occupied the poet, who also tried to exploit its dramatic effect on the audience. Aristophanes certainly parodies Peleus, the Euripidean hero, when, in the Clouds 1154 f., he wtites, βοάσομαί τἄρα τὰν ὑπέρτονον

βοάν. ἰώ, κλάετ' ὧ 'βολοστάται,

to which the Scholiasts on Aristophanes add:

1154 b. βοάσομαι RERs <...> τὰν ὑπέρτονον RE: παρὰ τὰ ἐκ Πηλέως Εὐριπίδου³. RVERs ἐπιφέρει γὰρ

<sup>1.</sup> Scholia in Euripidem («εἰς Τρωιάδας» 1128, pp. 371 f.), ed. E. Schwartz, Berlin 1891; cf. Nauck², TGF (Soph. Πηλεύς), pp. 238 f.

<sup>2.</sup> The reference made is doubtless to the Euripidean play; cf. Aristophanes Clouds 1154.

<sup>3.</sup> Εὐριπίδου RERs, σοφοκλέους V; it is much less likely that Aristophanes parodies Sophocles.

ίὼ πύλαισιν ή τις δόμοις. RERs

καὶ Φρύνιχος Σατύροις

βοάσομαί γ' ἄρα τὰν ὑπέρτονον βοάν. ΕRs

From these Nauck obtained fr. 623:

βοάσομαί τάρα τὰν ὑπέρτονον βοάν· ἰώ, πύλαισιν ἥ τις ἐν δόμοις;

The other theme that Euripides stresses in his *Peleus* is the virtuous character of the hero. This is found particularly in plays with a Potiphar motif. We see it in *Hippolytos*, in *Phoenix*<sup>1</sup> and Bellerophon<sup>2</sup>, and it appears even more prominently in *Peleus* where, as we have seen, it finds its full expression.

Aristophanes in the Clouds 1063 ff. parodies the hero Peleus, making the Δίκαιος (or Κρείττων) and the "Αδικος (or "Ηττων) Λόγος argue about what brings good to man. The "Αδικος Λόγος, based on the common people's view that virtue and σωφροσύνη (taken mostly as moral qualities here, something like goodness and decency with honesty) do not often help one in one's practical life, particularly when they are carried to excess—a point of discussion that prominently arises in Plat. Gorg. 483-487 between Socrates and Callicles and in the ἀγῶν λόγων between Amphion and Zethos in the Antiope of Euripides—comically distorts this point by maintaining that these qualities ought not to be aspired to by young men and asks the Δίκαιος Λόγος to give concrete examples of persons who did well in life by having those qualitie:

$A\delta$ .	σὐ διὰ τὸ σωφρονεῖν τῷ πώποτ' εἶδες ἤδη 1061
	άγαθόν τι γενόμενον; φράσον, καί μ' ἐξέλεγξον εἰπών.
$\Delta \iota$ .	πολλοῖς. ὁ γοῦν Πηλεὺς ἔλαβε διὰ τοῦτο τὴν μάχαιραν.
Aδ.	μάχαιραν; ἀστεῖόν γε κέρδος ἔλαβεν ὁ κακοδαίμων.
	Υπέρβολος δ' ούκ τῶν λύχνων πλεῖν ἢ τάλαντα πολλὰ
	εἴληφε διὰ πονηρίαν, ἀλλ' οὐ μὰ Δί' οὐ μάχαιραν.
$\Delta$ ι.	καὶ τὴν Θέτιν γ' ἔγημε διὰ τὸ σωφρονεῖν ὁ Πηλεύς.
Aδ.	κἄτ' ἀπολιποῦσά γ' αὐτὸν ῷχετ' οὐ γὰρ ἦν ὑβριστὴς
	ούδ' ήδύς ἐν τοῖς στρώμασιν τὴν νύκτα παννυχίζειν
	γυνή δε συναμωρουμένη χαίρει.

An interesting piece of evidence about the Euripidean play comes from Tzetzes, Scholia on Lycophron<sup>3</sup>, 175:

<sup>1.</sup> See «Phoen. a. Cl.», and «Beller. a. Sthen.».

<sup>2.</sup> The hero in Stheneboea.

<sup>3.</sup> Lycophronis Alexandra, ed. Ed. Scheer (II, scholia continens), Berlin (Weid-

... κατὰ δὲ Εὐριπίδην, ὅτι | διωκομένη ὑπὸ Πηλέως ἡ Θέτις μετήλλαττεν ἑαυτὴν | ... ἐκεῖ δὲ κατέσχεν αὐτὴν ἐν σηπίας μορφῆ καὶ ἐμίγη αὐτῆ, ὅθεν καὶ || Σηπιὰς χωρίον Μαγνησίας | Θετταλικῆς.

This piece of evidence is corroborated by the scholion on Euripides Andromache 1265 έλθων παλαιᾶς χοιράδος: χοιράς πᾶσα πέτρα έξέχουσα καὶ περικλυζομένη θαλάσση, πέτραν οὖν φασί τινα σπήλαιον ἔχουσαν ἐν ῷ εἰώθει διατρίβειν έκ θαλάσσης ἀνιοῦσα ἡ Θέτις. Σηπιὰς δὲ τόπος περὶ τὸ σπήλαιον ὅπου τὴν Θέτιν ἥρπασεν ὁ Πηλεύς εἰς σηπίαν μεταβληθεῖσαν: - MNOA¹.

Where, how and by whom this was related in the play we cannot say. We are completely in the dark regarding the scenes and the arrangement. It seems more like an attion that comes to explain the name of the place. One can think of it only as being reported towards the end of the play.

How the particular situations of the plot were handled in dramatic scenes and acts we have no idea. The rough sketch drawn here is not intended to be taken as more than a conjecture.

All the details regarding Peleus' ancestry and previous life must have been given in the exposition, that is, mainly in the prologue and the early scenes. Thus Phocos' murder, the exile from Aegina, the reception and purification of Peleus by Eurytion, his marriage to Antigone and the birth of Polydora apparently formed merely the introduction of the drama proper. So possibly did the story of the Calydonian boar and the misfortune Peleus had in striking and unintentionally killing his father-in-law Eurytion.

The plot would have exploited situations and incidents after Peleus' arrival at Acastos' court, particularly the seduction attempted by Hippolyte Cretheis (or Astydameia). It is likely that Euripides here used a Trophos (Nurse) as an intermediary, as he did in Stheneboea. The accusation and the treacherous plan of Acastos to do away with him, must

mann) 1958; cf. Eur. Andromache 1265 f.: έλθών παλαιᾶς χοιράδος κοΐλον μυχόν / Σηπιάδος ίζου; and 1277 f.: καὶ τόνδε θάψας εἴμι Πηλίου πτυχάς, / οὕπερ σόν εἴλον χερσὶ κάλλιστον δέμας.

<sup>1.</sup> Scholia in Euripidem, Ed. Schwartz. See Aristophanes Clouds, ed. K. J. Dover (Oxford 1968) on 1067 (p. 226) Θέτιν: «Cf. Hes. fr. 211. 4 ff. on men's envy of Peleus. The marriage was not, however, simply a reward for σωφροσύνη. According to Kypria fr. II (Allen) and Hes. fr. 210 the reason was Zeus's spite against Thetis. Pi. I. 8. 27 ff. represents Zeus and Poseidon as rivals for Thetis; but they learned from Themis that it was fated that Thetis's son should be 'mightier than his father', and they prudently married her off to a virtuous (8.40) mortal. Even so, she was hard to catch, and Hdt. VII. 191. 2 suggests a story in which she was boldly carried off by Peleus, not presented to him.»

have been dealt with in actual scenes, as seems to be the case in Sthene-boea. But things such as the hunt on Mount Pelion and the abandoning of Peleus in the forest, while he was sleeping, the hiding of his sword in the cows' dung and his exposure to the danger of being killed by the Centaurs may have constituted part of his speech of defence made to Acastos and to the Chorus<sup>1</sup>. By this he likely tried to justify himself for the punishment he had inflicted (or was seeking to bring about). This is what Bellerophon does and we may assume that Peleus did something similar<sup>2</sup>. He is the one who had personally experienced all these things, and nobody else was in a position to relate these details, except of course a deus ex machina, who, supposing there was one, might also have brought the theme up very succinctly at the end of the play<sup>3</sup>.

On the other hand Peleus' marrying Thetis because of his  $\sigma\omega\rho\rho\sigma\sigma'$  $\nu\eta^4$ , the way he could achieve this, and the means by which he would exact satisfaction from Acastos for what he (Acastos) had done to him may be among the terms dictated by the *deus ex machina*, assuming that there was one in the play to help the noble hero out of the difficult situation into which he was put<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1.</sup> See «Beller. a. Sthen.», pp. 45 ff.

<sup>2.</sup> See above, p. 141.: Παλίου δὲ πὰρ ποδὶ λατρίαν Ἰαολκὸν/πολεμία χερὶ προστραχών / Πηλεύς παρέδωκεν Αἰμόνεσσιν; the view that Peleus on his return to Iolcos slew Acastos and Hippolyte looks more like a natural happening than the end of a tragedy of Euripides.

<sup>3.</sup> One expects here, as in the other tragedies of the same motif, that Peleus' revenge was primarily taken upon Acastos' wife, while Acastos himself had to suffer indirectly and in the long run the consequences of his evil-doing. The Centaur Cheiron, who had helped him in finding his sword, is a possible candidate for the role of the deus ex machina, though Euripides may well have used Hermes instead of (or in addition to) Cheiron; see Excursus.

<sup>4.</sup> Cf. Hesych. Alex. Lex. Πηλέως μάχαιρα παροιμία, ἢν ἐχ πλήρους ᾿Αριστοφάνης ἀναγράφει οὕτω μέγα φρονεῖ μᾶλλον, ἢ ὁ Πηλεὺς τῷ μαχαίρα, ἐδόκει γὰρ σωφροσύνης γέρας εἰληφέναι; cf. Schol. in Aristoph. I. 3.1 (Schol. vetera in Nubes, ed. D. Holwerda), W.J.W. Koster, Groningen 1977: 1063c. ἐν τοῖς ἐπὶ Πελία ἄθλοις διὰ τὴν σωφροσύνην ἔλαβεν ἡφαιστότευχτον μάχαιραν ὁ Πηλεύς. V; 1063 d. ...οἱ θεοὶ δεδώκασιν αὐτῷ (sc. τῷ Πηλεῖ) ξίφος πρὸς ἄμυναν τῶν θηρίων. ...

<sup>5.</sup> See above, n. 3.

## **EXCURSUS**

Here one can see some of the problems that arise from our sources, which are ambiguous mainly with regard to the person who killed Phocos; the man who purified Peleus after his flight from Aegina; the name of his daughter by his first marriage and the name of Acastos' wife, who tried to seduce Peleus and who, after being rebuffed, accused Peleus of rape or attempted rape.

As to the first Apollod. Bibl. III. 12, 6 states: διαφέροντος δὲ ἐν τοῖς άγῶσι Φώκου, τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς Πηλέα καὶ Τελαμῶνα ἐπιβουλεῦσαι· καὶ λαχὼν κλήρῳ Τελαμὼν συγγυμναζόμενον αὐτὸν βαλὼν δίσκῳ κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς κτείνει, καὶ κομίσας μετὰ Πηλέως κρύπτει κατά τινος ὕλης.

Scholia on Euripides Andromache 687 (quoting verses from the Alcmaeonis). In the Andromache 685 ff. Menelaos tells Peleus,

> εί δ' εἰς πρόσοψιν τῆς ἐμῆς ἐλθὼν ἐγὼ γυναικὸς ἔσχον μὴ κτανεῖν, ἐσωφρόνουν. οὐδ' ἄν σὲ Φῶκον ἤθελον κατακτανεῖν:

and the Scholiast writes, ὤσπερ ἐγὼ οὐκ ἐφόνευσα τὴν Ἑλένην, οὕτως οὐδὲ σὑ ὤφελες τὸν Φῶκον ἀνελεῖν. καὶ ὁ τὴν ᾿Αλκμαιωνίδα πεποιηκώς φησι περὶ τοῦ Φώκου [frg. 1].

ένθα μιν ἀντίθεος Τελαμὼν τροχοειδέι δίσκφ πληξε κάρη, Πηλεύς δὲ θοῶς ἐνὶ χειρὶ τινάξας ἀξίνην ἐύχαλκον ἐπεπλήγει μέσα νῶτα: — MNOA

άλλως: Ζεύς συνελθών Αἰγίνη τῆ θυγατρὶ ᾿Ασωποῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ γεννῷ Αἰακόν Αἰακὸς δὲ λαβών γυναῖκα Ἐνδηίδα τὴν Σκίρωνος τεκνοῖ Τελαμῶνα καὶ Πηλέα. εἶτα πάλιν μίγνυται Αἰακὸς Ψαμάθη τῆ Νηρέως εἰς φώκην ἡλλαγμένη διὰ τὸ μὴ βούλεσθαι συνελθεῖν αὐτῷ καὶ τεκνοῖ ἐκ ταύτης παῖδα τὸν Φῶκον δν ὁ Πηλεὺς ἀνεῖλεν ἐπιβουλεύσας διὰ τὸ ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι διαφέροντα αὐτὸν εἶναι Πηλέως καὶ Τελαμῶνος: — Α

Scholia vetera in Pindari carmina, Nem. V 25 a. (ed. A. B. Drachmann, Leipzig - Teubner-, 1927) · ...φασὶ γὰρ Πηλέα καὶ Τελαμῶνα ἐν γυμνασίοις ἀνελόντας Φῶκον, τὸν μὲν δίσκφ τύψαντα, τὸν Πηλέα, τὸν δὲ Τελαμῶνα σιδήρφ τὰ μετάφρενα, καὶ οὕτω τὸ μύσος φεύγοντας τῆς Αἰγίνης ἐκπεσεῖν, καὶ τὸν μὲν Τελαμῶνα εἰς Σαλαμῖνα τὴν πρὸς τῆ ᾿Αττικῆ, τὸν δὲ Πηλέα εἰς Θετταλίαν μετοικῆσαι · ὡς καὶ ᾿Απολλώνιος ἐν τῷ καταλόγφ φησί (I 93)·

Τελαμών μὲν ἐν ᾿Ατθίδι νάσσατο νήσω, Πηλεύς δ᾽ ἐν Φθίη ἐριβώλακι ναῖε λιασθείς.

b...οίδεν οὖν ὁ Πίνδαρος τὸν Φώκου θάνατον, ἀλλ' ἐκτρέπεται εἰπεῖν. | μήποτε δὲ καὶ τὸ παρὰ Καλλιμάχω (fr. 136):

έκλυε, τῶν μηδὲν ἐμούς δι' ὀδόντας ὀλίσθοι, Πηλεύς,

ούτως ἀποδοτέον, ὅτι αἱ γυναῖκες ὤνείδιζον αὐτῷ τὸν Φώκου θάνατον.

Pausanias II. 29. 9.. καὶ ἡνίκα Φῶκον Τελαμὼν καὶ Πηλεύς προηγάγοντο ές ἀγῶνα πεντάθλου καὶ περιῆλθεν ἐς Πηλέα ἀφεῖναι τὸν λίθον—οὖτος γἄρ ἀντὶ δίσκου σφίσιν ἦν—, ἐκὼν τυγχάνει τοῦ Φὤκου. ταῦτα δὲ ἐχαρίζοντο τῆ μητρί αὐτοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἐγεγόνεσαν ἐκ τῆς Σκίρωνος θυγατρός, Φῶκος δὲ οὐκ ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀδελφῆς Θέτιδος ἦν, εἰ δὴ τὰ ὄντα λέγουσιν "Ελληνες.

Lycophronis Alexandra, vol. II. 175 ( εἰς Λυκόφρονα Σχόλια , rec. Eduard. Scheer, Berlin - Weidmann - 1958): Οἰνώνη ἐκαλεῖτο ἡ Αἴγινα, ἀφ' ἢς ἔφυγεν ὁ Πηλεὺς φονεύσας τὸν | ἴδιον | ἀδελφὸν Φῶκον | ... ἄλλοι ...φασὶν ὅτι Πηλεὺς ἀνελὼν τὸν ἴδιον ἀδελφὸν ἔφυγε... φυγὰς ὁ Πηλεὺς : || Αἰακοῦ γὰρ καὶ Ἐνδηίδος παῖδες Τελαμὧν καὶ Πηλεὺς καὶ Φῶκος ἀδελφὸς αὐτῶν ἐκ Ψαμάθης μιᾶς τῶν Νηρηίδων | ὃν Φῶκον ἐν γυμνασίφ Πηλεὺς δίσκφ πλήττει, Τελαμὼν δὲ τὸ μετάφρενον ξίφει καὶ ἀνεῖλον αὐτόν | ὅθεν παρ' Αἰακοῦ διώκονται τῆς Αἰγίνης.

Antoninus Liberalis, Les métamorphoses 38 (Λύκος)¹: [ἱστορεῖ Νίκανδρος Ἑτεροιουμένων α΄] ... τοῦτον (sc. τὸν Φῶκον) ἐφίλησε περισσῶς Αἰακός, ὅτι καλὸς κἀγαθὸς ἦν ἀνήρ. 2 Πηλεὺς δὲ καὶ Τελαμὼν φθονήσαντες αὐτῷ κτείνουσι θανάτῳ κρυφαίῳ· καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἐξελαθέντες ὑπ' Αἰακοῦ τὴν Αἴγιναν ἐξέλιπον.

Diodorus of Sicily IV. 72. 6 (ed. C. H. Oldfather, LCL, London 1939, repr. 1961): τούτου δ' ἐγένοντο υίοὶ Πηλεὐς καὶ Τελαμών. τούτων δὲ Πηλεὺς δίσκω βαλών ἀπέκτεινεν ἀκουσίως Φῶκον ὁμοπάτριον ἀδελφόν, ἐξ ἄλλης δὲ μητρὸς γεγενημένον. διὰ δὲ τὸν φόνον Πηλεὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς φυγαδευθεὶς ἔφυγε τῆς νῦν Θετταλίας καλουμένης εἰς Φθίαν, καὶ καθαρθεὶς ὑπὸ "Ακτορος τοῦ βασιλέως διεδέξατο τὴν βασιλείαν, ἄπαιδος ὄντος τοῦ "Ακτορος.

Ovidius Metamorphoses, ed. W. S. Anderson (Teubner) 1977, XI 266 ff.:

Felix et nato, felix et coniuge Peleus, et cui, si demas iugulati crimina Phoci, omnia contigerant. fraterno sanguine sontem expulsumque domo patria Trachinia tellus accipit.

Hyginus Fabula 14: Peleus et Telamon Aeaci et Endeidos Chironis filiae filii ab Aegina insula. qui ob caedem Phoci fratris relictis sedibus suis diuersas petierunt domos, Peleus Phthiam, Telamon Salaminam quam Apollonius Rhodius Atthida uocat. 9.

Lactantii Placidi qui dicitur commentarios in Statii Thebaida et com-

<sup>1.</sup> Ed. Manolis Papathomopoulos, «Les Belles Lettres», Paris 1968.

mentarium in Achilleida (rec. Ricardus Jahnke, Leipzig - Teubner - 1898) II. 113:

Pollutus placuit id est: Tydeus aduersum te pactus est foedus. pollutus autem sanguine Melanippi fratris sui, quam in uenatu incautus occiderat ut Peleus Phocum, unde reiecta post terga manu pingitur.

VII. 344 *Phocida* a Phoco, Aeaci filio, quem Peleus et Telamon occidisse feruntur.

XI. 281 Phocidos sonorae a Phoco, Aeaci filio, quem Peleus et Telamon occidisse dicuntur, ciuitas nomen accepit.

Plutarch, Parallela minora 25 A. Φώκου ὅντος ἐκ Ψαμάθης Αἰακῷ καὶ στεργομένου, Τελαμὼν ῆγεν ἐπὶ θῆραν καὶ συός ἐπιφανέντος κατὰ τοῦ μισουμένου ἐπαφῆκε τὸ δόρυ καὶ ἐφόνευσεν. ὁ δὲ πατῆρ ἐφυγάδευσεν ὡς Δωρόθεος ἐν πρώτω Μεταμορφώσεων (*Plutar. Chaer. mor.*, G. Bernardakis); W.-J.B. Nachstädt - Titchener, Leipz. (Teubn.) 1934.

From a comparison of our source-data we obtain the following picture:

According to Apollodoros and the author of *Alcmaeonis*, Telamon first hits Phocos on the head with a quoit and then Peleus comes to help Telamon kill Phocos. According to the Scholiast on Pindar and Tzetzes on Lycophron, it happens the other way round: Peleus hits Phocos first with the quoit, and then Telamon kills him.

Antoninus Liberalis, Hyginus, and Lactantius Placidus at two places in his scholia on Statius, Thebais, make both Peleus and Telamon equally responsible. But the great majority of the sources, Euripides in Andromache, the Scholiast on Andromache, Pausanias, Tzetzes on Lycophron, Ovid, and in one place Lactantius Placidus make Peleus the intentional murderer of his half-brother, while Diodoros speaks of an accidental killing. Only one piece of evidence, Dorotheos quoted by Plutarch, makes Telamon alone the murderer of his brother Phocos, whom he kills with his spear during a boar hunt. Perhaps this version resulted from a confusion of the incident of the murder of Phocos with the accidental killing of Eurytion.

Apollodoros himself (Bibl. III. 12, 6) gives an account of the genealogy of the Aeacidae. He mentions immediately after that, however, the authority of Pherecydes<sup>1</sup>:

γαμεῖ δὲ Αἰακὸς Ἐνδηίδα τὴν Σκείρωνος, ἐξ ἦς αὐτῷ παῖδες ἐγένοντο Πηλεύς τε καὶ Τελαμών. Φερεκύδης δέ φησι Τελαμῶνα φίλον, οὐκ ἀδελφὸν Πηλέως εἶναι, ἀλλ' ᾿Ακταίου παῖδα καὶ Γλαύκης τῆς Κυχρέως.

<sup>1.</sup> One should also take into account that Apollodoros often mentions Pherecydes (e.g. I. 5, 2, III. 8, 2 etc.) and in a number of cases probably relies on him.

It is probable that the account of the parentage of Telamon, which the old writer Pherecydes (first half of the 5th century B.C.) gives us, is earlier than the one Apollodoros adopts. According to his authority then, Telamon was a Salaminian and not an Aeginetan, for Cychreus (Apollod. III. 12, 7) was a king of Salamis, and the later life of Telamon was certainly associated with Salamis. If then one accepts Pherecydes' evidence that denies any blood relationship between Peleus and Telamon, it becones easy to explain why in the original tradition Peleus, and not Telamon, must have been the murderer of Phocos. This view seems to agree with the majority of the sources. And what I think important is that Euripides in the *Andromache* and his Scholiast on 687 speak of Peleus as the one who killed Phocos.

Regarding the accidental killing that Peleus seems to have committed during the boar hunt after his purification, we find in Apollodoros' account (III. 13, 1) Eurytion [and also (I. 8, 2) Eurytion] son of Actor from Phthia. The Scholiast on Aristophanes Clouds 1063 calls him Eurytos son of Actor; Tzetzes, Scholia on Lycophron 175 (according to Pherecydes), Peleus was purified by Eurytos<sup>1</sup>, son of Actor, whose daughter Antigone he received as his wife, Antoninus Liberalis 38 calls the killed man Eurytion son of Iros, and Diodoros IV. 72, 6 calls him Actor, king of the country, who died childless and bequeathed his kingdom to him (Peleus). Many of these sources do not explicitly mention the hunt of the Calydonian boar, but some of them do mention a boar hunt or a general hunt. The more prevalent view seems to be that of Pherecydes and the Scholiast on Aristophanes<sup>2</sup>, who call the man Eurytion (or Eu-

<sup>1.</sup> See the Scholiast on Homer (Scholia Greaca in Homeri Iliadem, scholia vetera, H. Erbse, Berlin 1975-vol. IV-) Π 175 c<sup>1</sup>. where Pherecydes calls him Eurytion: ...Φερεκύδης (FGrHist 3, 61 b) δὲ ἐξ ᾿Αντιγόνης τῆς Εὐρυτίωνος, Σουίδας (FGrHist 602, 8) ἐκ Λαοδαμείας τῆς ᾿Αλκμαίωνος, Στάφυλος (FGrHist 269, 5) ἐξ Εὐρυδίκης τῆς Ἅκτορος. Ζηνόδοτος (FGrHist 19, 5) δὲ Κλεοδώρην φησίν, Ἡσιόδου (fr. 213 Μ.-W.) καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Πολυδώρην αὐτὴν καλούντων. Τ.

<sup>2.</sup> Scholia in Aristophanem (I 3¹ Scholia vetera in Nubes, ed. D. Holwerda), W. J.W. Koster, Groningen 1977, 1063 a.: ὁ Πηλεύς Φῶκον τὸν άδελφὸν κατὰ πατέρα σύν Τελαμῶνι δολοφονήσας φεύγει εἰς Φθίαν πρὸς Εύρυτον τὸν "Ακτορος, ὑφ' οὕ καὶ καθαίρεται. ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν τοῦ καλυδωνίου κάπρου ἐλθών Εὐρύτω ἐντυγχάνει καὶ κτείνει τοῦτον ἄκων. πάλιν οῦν ὁ Πηλεύς ἐκ Φθίας φυγών εἰς Ἰωλκὸν πρὸς "Ακαστον ἀφικνεῖται, καὶ καθαίρεται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. 'Αστυδάμεια δἐ, ἡ 'Ακάστου γυνή, ἐρασθεῖσα Πηλέως καὶ μὴ πείσασα αὐτόν διὰ σωφροσύνην συνελθεῖν αὐτῆ καταψεύδεται αὐτοῦ πρὸς "Ακαστον ὡς ἀποπειραθέντος αὐτῆς. ὁ δὲ κτεῖναι μὲν δν καθῆρεν οὐκ ἡβουλήθη, α. ἄγει δὲ αὐτὸν εἰς θήραν εἰς τὸ Πήλιον. ‹ἀποκοιμηθέντα δὲ αὐτὸν› "Ακαστος καταλιπών καὶ τὴν μάχαιραν ὑπὸ τὴν κόπρον τῶν βοῶν κρύψας ἐπανέρχεται. ὸ δὲ ἐξαναστὰς καὶ μὴ εὐρών τὴν μάχαιραν ἡμελλεν ἀπόλλυσθαι καταληφθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν Κενταύρων, σώζεται δὲ ὑπὸ Χείρωνος δς καὶ τὴν μάχαι-

rytos) son of Actor. Apollodoros tells us that Peleus had by his wife Antigone a daughter called Polydora<sup>1</sup>. This account agrees completely with Homer Il.  $\Pi$  (XVI) 173-8:

τῆς μὲν ἰῆς στιχὸς ῆρχε Μενέσθιος αἰολοθώρηξ, υἰὸς Σπερχειοῖο, διιπετέος ποταμοῖο 
δν τέκε Πηλῆος θυγάτηρ, καλὴ Πολυδώρη, Σπερχειῷ ἀκάμαντι, γυνἡ θεῷ εὐνηθεῖσα, αὐτὰρ ἐπίκλησιν Βώρῳ, Περιήρεος υἰι.

Heliodoros, Aethiop. II. 34, 6 (ed. R. M. - T. W. Rattenbury-Lumb, Héliodore les éthiopiques, Paris - «Les Belles Lettres», 1960): καὶ ἄλλως δὲ ἑαυτόν ἐγγράφει τοῖς Αἰακίδαις Μενέσθιον ἑαυτοῦ προπάτορα καταφέρων τὸν Σπερχειοῦ παῖδα καὶ Πολυδώρας τῆς ἐκ Πηλέως.

From a comparison of the evidence of Pherecydes as it is presented in Tzetzes, Scholia on Lycophron and in the Scholia on Homer Il. II (XVI) 175 and from the account of Apollodoros, one can see that Apollodoros' testimony coincides with that of Pherecydes and, since the former often mentions the latter as an authority, it is likely that he followed hin at this point.

With reference to the Acastos' wife, Pindar calls her Cretheis Hippolyta, that is Hippolyte daughter of Cretheus, or simply Hippolyta. His Scholiast calls her Cretheis, daughter of Hippolytos (Nem. V 46 a) and Cretheis, daughter of Hippolyte (Nem. IV 92). The Scholiast on Apollonios Rhodios (Argon. 224-226a) and to some extent the Scholiast on Aristophanes (Clouds 1063 a, 1063 b) point out the existence of at least two versions of the account regarding the name of Acastos' wife and the person who gave Peleus the ἡφαιστότευχτον μάχαιραν, the sword wrought by Hephaestos:

Α 224 - 26 α. οὐδὲ μὲν οὐδ' αὐτοῖο πά<ις>: "Ακαστος Πελίου υἱὸς ἔγημεν Κρηθηίδα ἥ, ὥς τινες, Ἱππολύτην. ἡ δὲ Πηλέως ἐρασθεῖσα ἀπήτει συνελθεῖν. ὡς δὲ ἀπετύγγανεν, προβαλοῦσα τὸν Πηλέα τῷ ἀνδρὶ κατηγόρει, ὅτι ἤθελεν

ραν ἐκζητήσας δίδωσιν αὐτῷ. Ε—1063b. ὁ οὖν Πηλεὺς ἔλαβε διὰ τοῦτο τὴν μάχαιραν Μ: ὁ Πηλεὺς ἐγἐνετο σωφρονέστατος καί ποτε Ἡπολύτης τῆς γυναικὸς ᾿Ακάστου ἐρασθείσης αὐτοῦ καὶ μὴ δυνηθείσης πεῖσαι, ἀλλὰ διαβολῆ χρησαμένης, ὡς ὅτι ἐπεχείρει βιάσασθαι αὐτήν, ὁ Ἦκαστος μαθών, καὶ λαβὼν αὐτὸν εἰς ἐρημίαν καὶ τῶν ὅπλων γυμνώσας, ἀφ-ῆκεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἀνεχώρησεν ΕΝΜΝρ είπών εἰ δίκαιος εἶ, σωθήση, ὡς δὲ ἔμελλεν ὑπὸ τῶν θηρίων διαφθείρεσθαι, οἱ θεοὶ μάχαιραν αὐτῷ ἐχαρίσαντο ἡφαιστότευκτον δι᾽ Ἑρμοῦ καὶ οὕτως ἔφυγε τὸν κίνδυνον. ΕΝΝρ οἱ δέ φασιν, ὡς Ἅκαστος τὴν Πηλέως μάχαιραν ὑπὸ κόπρον βοῶν ἔκρυψε, Χείρων δὲ ταύτην εὐρὼν δίδωσιν αὐτῷ. Ε.

<sup>1.</sup> In III. 13, 4 of his *Library* Apollodoros seems to have become confused and calls Polydora the wife of Peleus: γαμεῖ δὲ ὁ Πηλεὺς Πολυδώραν τὴν Περιήρους, ἐξ ἡς αὐτῷ γίνεται Μενέσθιος...

αὐτῆ συνελθεῖν. ὁ δὲ δεξάμενος τὸν Πηλέα ὡς ἐπὶ θήραν εἰς τὸ Πήλιον κατέλειψεν ἄοπλον, ἴνα ὑπὸ θηρίων διαφθαρῆ. ἐπιστὰς δὲ Ἑρμῆς ἡ, ὡς τινες, Χείρων ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ ἡφαιστότευκτον μάχαιραν. καὶ τὰ ἐπιτυγχάνοντα θηρία ἀναιρῶν ἡλθεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἀνεῖλεν "Ακαστον αὐτόν <τε> καὶ τὴν τοῦ 'Ακάστου γυκαῖκα¹; while the Scholiast on Aristophanes calls her (1063 a) Astydameia and (1063 b) Hippolyte. As in the case of Anteia—Stheneboea² and possibly Phthia—Clytia, there is probably also here a change of the name from Astydameia into Hippolyte Cretheis. If we assume that Euripides used in Peleus, as we hinted above, the contrivance of the deus ex machina, then what the Scholiasts on Apollonios Rhodios and on Aristophanes say with regard to Hermes may come from Euripides³. It is possible that the newer version that used the name Hippolyte Cretheis instead of Astydameia also used the role of the god Hermes instead (or possibly in addition to that) of Cheiron.

Scholia ex cod. Paris. in Apollonii Argonaut. I.

V. 224 - 226. Οὐδὲ μὲν οὐδ' αὐτοῖο. "Ακαστος, Πελίου υίός, ἔγημε Κρηθηΐδα, ἢ Ίππολύτην, ἤτις ἐρασθεῖσα Πηλέως, ἀπήτει συνελθεῖν αὐτἢ. ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἤθελεν\* ὁ Πηλεύς, κατηγορεῖ αὐτὸν διαβάλλουσα πρὸς "Ακαστον, ὡς βουληθείη συγγενέσθαι αὐτἢ. "Ακαστος δὲ ἐξαγαγών αὐτὸν ὡς πρὸς θήραν, κατέλιπεν ἄοπλον εἰς τὸ Πήλιον, ἵνα ὑπὸ τῶν θηρίων διαφθαρἢ. 'Ερμῆς δέ, ἤ,ὤς τινες, Χείρων προσελθὼν αὐτῷ δίδωσιν 'Ηφαιστότευκτον μάχαιραν, ἢ τά τε ἐπιδντα τῶν θηρίων ἀνἤρει, καὶ εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐπανελθών τὴν τοῦ 'Ακάστου γυναῖκα ἀνήρηκεν ὡς δὲ τινες, καὶ τὸν "Ακαστον.

<sup>\*</sup> Ruhnkenius enotavit ἤλθεν.

<sup>1.</sup> C. Wendel, Scholia in Apollonium Rhodium vetera, Berlin 1935, repr. 1958.

<sup>2.</sup> Scholia Graeca in Homeri Riadem (scholia vetera), H. Erbse, Berlin 1971, Z 160 α. (τῶι δὲ γυνὴ προίτου ἐπεμείνατο) δῖ "Αντεια: ἡ διπλῆ, ὅτι "Ομηρος "Αντειαν, οἱ δὲ νεώτεροι Σθενἐβοιαν, καὶ ὅτι ἀκαίρως τὸ δῖα μάχεται γάρ ἡ μάχλος. Α

<sup>3.</sup> It looks likely that the second account of the Scholiast on Aristophanes Clouds (1063b) stands closer to Euripides' plot than the first (1063a); in any case it agrees in many respects with the account of the Scholiast on Apollonios Rhodios.