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PHILOSTRATUS

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DISCOURSES

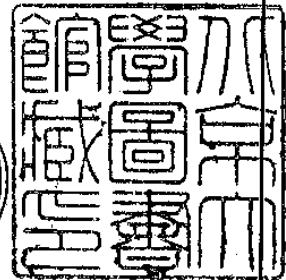
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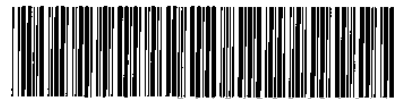
PHILOSTRATUS

HEROICUS GYMNASTICUS DISCOURSES 1 AND 2

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY
JEFFREY RUSTEN
JASON KÖNIG



HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS
LONDON, ENGLAND
2014



北大图书 21101003491400

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First published 2014

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Library of Congress Control Number 2013948585
CIP data available from the Library of Congress

ISBN 978-0-674-99674-8

*Composed in ZephGreek and ZephText by
Technologies 'N Typography, Merrimac, Massachusetts.
Printed on acid-free paper and bound by
The Maple-Vail Book Manufacturing Group*

CONTENTS

HEROICUS

| | |
|-----------------|-----|
| PREFACE | 3 |
| INTRODUCTION | 5 |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY | 71 |
| OUTLINE | 99 |
| <i>HEROICUS</i> | 102 |

GYMNASTICUS

| | |
|--------------------|-----|
| PREFACE | 331 |
| INTRODUCTION | 333 |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY | 387 |
| OUTLINE | 395 |
| <i>GYMNASTICUS</i> | 398 |

DISCOURSES

| | |
|-----------------------------|-----|
| INTRODUCTION | 500 |
| <i>DISCOURSES 1 AND 2</i> | 502 |
| INDEX TO <i>HEROICUS</i> | 511 |
| INDEX TO <i>GYMNASTICUS</i> | 527 |

HEROICUS

PREFACE

With the support of an NEH translation grant for the summer of 1985, I completed an annotated translation based on the excellent Teubner text by de Lannoy (1977) of the then little-known dialogue *Heroicus*, in a naive search for evidence about the continuity of Greek popular religion, the epic cycle and lost tragedies, and the state of the Troad under the Roman Empire—none of which, I eventually discovered, was really to be found there. What I found instead was a construction of great literary, cultural, and ideological sophistication, the full elucidation of whose background demanded a formidable range of expertise, which I could not acquire quickly; since in any case publishers were not interested in the project, I put my translation aside (though it circulated unofficially) and took up other work.

Two decades later the situation had changed: Greek literature from Trajan to Septimius Severus, and Philostratus in particular, had experienced a dramatic surge in scholarly interest from the UK to Europe and the US, and most of the gaps I had felt in the 1980s were splendidly filled in the 2000s with studies of archaeology and the Greek landscape under the Roman empire (Susan Alcock), Roman Iliion (Brian Rose), translations of Physiognomic texts from Arabic (Simon Swain), the historical

context of imperial literature and hero cults under the empire (Christopher P. Jones), the visual and religious sensibility of imperial Greek literature (Jaś Elsner), and the integration of this age into the mainstream of Greek literary studies (Simon Goldhill, Tim Whitmarsh, Froma Zeitlin, and others), with the promise of a new generation of scholarly interest. Attention to *Heroicus* had grown also, resulting in a brave foray into the first published English translation (MacLean and Aitken 2002, with emphasis on its relation to Christianity), an international conference (Aitken and MacLean 2004), and an admirably thorough and careful German translation and scholarly commentary (Grossardt 2006a, with emphasis on its language and allusions to classical literature) to which my debt in the revision has been especially great.

In 2010, the chance to teach Greek imperial literature in a delightful collaboration with Verity Platt (a second-generation of the scholarly movement noted above) encouraged me to think my revised translation and introduction had not been superseded; and I am grateful to Jason König (another of the second-generation) for his willingness to add his *Gymnasticus* to a proposal to complete the Loeb Philostratus and to Jeffrey Henderson for his quick acceptance and support. Cornell's Society for the Humanities funded a collaborative visit of Jason to Ithaca in April 2013, when the final manuscript took shape. Samuel Kurland prepared the index. In the final stage, Christopher P. Jones and Peter Grossardt put me still further in their debt by sharing important forthcoming articles and by reading extensive sections of the proofs and alerting me to many errors not only of typing but also of substance.

J. S. R.

INTRODUCTION

1. *HEROICUS* AMONG THE WORKS OF PHILOSTRATUS

The *Heroicus* presents a conversation at the site of Proteus' hero shrine near Elaious, on the Gallipoli peninsula, between a devout farmer and a skeptical Phoenician sailor about the powers and worship of the Homeric heroes.

Its author does not introduce himself, but the manuscripts and other sources ascribe the work to "Philostratus." There are three authors by that name, all associated with Lemnos, listed in the *Suda*, and of the many titles ascribed to them nine are preserved in manuscripts. The *Suda*'s biographical entries are hopelessly confused,¹ but

Ancient authors and works are abbreviated as in *OCD*.

¹ They are listed in the wrong order, the wrong number of books is given for *Imagines* and *Lives of the Sophists* (of which the latter is assigned to two of the three), and there is a glaring contradiction with the preface of the second set of *Imagines*, where the author claims to be imitating a work of his *grandfather*, not his *uncle*. On problems with homonymous authors in this work, see Welcker (1865, 1.71–72) and A. Adler (*RE* 4.A.1.707). Text and translation of the entries for Philostratus (*Suda* nos. 421–23 Adler) in Anderson (1986, 291–96); discussion in Bowersock (1969, 2–4), Solmsen (*RE* 20.1.124ff.), de Lannoy (1997), and Bowie (2009).

from internal evidence, it seems close to certain that *Heroicus* was written by the Philostratus who began his career under Septimius Severus and who also wrote *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, *Lives of the Sophists*, *Gymnasticus*, and the first work known as *Imagines*. With the last two works, *Heroicus* shares a keen interest in anecdotes of Olympic victors (chs. 14–15)² and physical and artistic ekphrasis (see §11 below, and *Gymnasticus* Introduction §5), but also by the explicit testimony of Menander Rhetor, who speaks of the simple, plain style of “the Philostratus who wrote the *Heroicus* and the *Imagines*.”³

The portrait of the sophist-hero Palamedes, and the biographical style of chapters 25.17–42, seems to prefigure the *Lives of the Sophists*. There we first find articulated the concept of a “Second Sophistic” age;⁴ when the Greeks recovered their prosperity and self-esteem during the relative peace of the later-first through early-third centuries of our era, a new sort of intellectual leader emerged among them, who preserved the past and reinterpreted it for the new age. By profession such men might be rhetoricians, philosophers, or other savants;⁵ but their celebrity entitled them to be called *sophists*, a term coined centu-

² Jüthner (1902).

³ Russell and Wilson (1981, 117, 297).

⁴ Essential is Bowersock (1969); see now Goldhill (2001) and Whitmarsh (2005). On the existence of this and other diverse regional identity groups see most recently Whitmarsh (2010).

⁵ For example, the physician Galen might be reckoned among them (Bowersock 1969, 59–75).

ries before for a varied group of intellectual celebrities of fifth-century Greece.⁶

Some of these figures—such as Dio of Prusa, the friend of Titus and Trajan; the hermaphroditic Favorinus of Arelate, hated by Hadrian; or the rhetorician/memoirist Aelius Aristides—are known through surviving writings. But Philostratus’ biographies include the millionaire Herodes Atticus; Hadrian’s friend Polemon of Laodicea, who dabbled in physiognomy; Antipater of Hierapolis, who taught the children of Septimius Severus; Dionysius of Miletus; Scopelian of Smyrna; Lollianus of Ephesus; and many others.

Utterly different in many respects, these men were nonetheless alike in mastering the heritage of Greek literature, art, history, and religion, combined under the term *paideia*,⁷ and in achieving an unparalleled public recognition in the eastern cultural capitals of Smyrna, Ephesus, and Pergamon, as well as in Athens and Rome. They also all came from privileged families, were deeply (though sometimes reluctantly) involved in politics and public service, and when they needed a patron, sought one no lower than the emperor himself.

The relationship between *Heroicus* and *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana* is especially close, since several episodes in it seem to have inspired the topic of conversation in *Heroicus*.

⁶ See Kerferd (1981). For a survey of the word’s range of meaning in the second and third centuries, see Bowersock (1969, 10–15).

⁷ Essential is Bowie (1974); subsequently Borg (2004), Eshleman (2012), Schmitz (1997).

The chronicler of the sophists was clearly a sophist himself, for there he hints at his own close relationship with the imperial family. Julia Domna, the Syrian wife of Septimius Severus, was a devoted student of philosophy and a patron of sophists, especially after she lost influence at court to the praetorian prefect Fulvius Plautianus in the late 190s (Dio 75.15.3–7);⁸ Philostratus himself says “I belonged to her circle—for she encouraged and supported all rhetorical compositions.”⁹

Julia’s patronage drew him to the life of Apollonius, and perhaps thereby into the study of Greek hero cult also. In 215, Julia’s son, the emperor Caracalla, paused on his expedition through the east at Tyana in Cappadocia to establish a hero shrine (*herōon*) to the first-century philosopher and mystic Apollonius.¹⁰ It was probably about this time that Julia commissioned a biography of this ascetic miracle worker, putting into Philostratus’ hands the unpublished memoirs of a disciple named Damis and instructing him to rework them into a full biography.

How much of the biography comes from “Damis,” from Philostratus’ other research on Apollonius’ career, or

⁸ On Julia Domna as patroness and the evidence for her circle, see Bowersock (1969, 101–9). See in general, Swain, Harrison, and Elsner (2007).

⁹ VA 1.3. Other members are often claimed, but the only one definitely attested is the sophist Philiscus (VS, p. 622). As Whitmarsh (2007a, 32–34) points out, “circle” in Philostratus elsewhere does not indicate a formal association.

¹⁰ Dio 77.18.4.

from free invention, is uncertain,¹¹ but at least one episode suits an interest of Caracalla’s suspiciously well: earlier on the same expedition in 215, Caracalla had paid an extensive visit to Ilion; there he gave special honor to the tomb of Achilles and even began to imitate that hero to the extent of giving a Patrocleian funeral to Festus, a member of his entourage who had just died.¹²

The emperor’s interest in Apollonius doubtless derived from his mother, but his mimicry of Achilles had an entirely different source: an obsessive emulation of Alexander the Great, who had himself honored Achilles at the outset of his Asian campaigns.¹³ In VA 4.11–16, Philostratus manages to combine the two briefly, when he makes the holy man visit Ilion and interview the spirit of Achilles himself. He is allowed to pose five questions on the Trojan War, and every one of the unusual answers he receives corresponds precisely with a statement in the *Heroicus*:¹⁴

- No Muses or Nereids were at the burial of Achilles (51.7)

¹¹ For a range of views, see Bowie (1978), Anderson (1986, 155–74), Jones (2005–6, 4–7), and Platt (2009, 140n33).

¹² Hdn. 4.8.4; cf. Dio 77.16.7. Whitmarsh (2009, 36) notes that the historical accounts do not flatter the emperor and argues convincingly that there is no reason to suppose *Heroicus* supports a Caracallan imperial program of hero cult.

¹³ Ameling (1988).

¹⁴ In addition, Achilles’ anger at the Thessalians for neglecting his cult (VA 4.16, 4.23) is mentioned again at *Her.* 53.8–23 (cf. Huhn and Bethe 1917, 620–21). On the relation of this “interview” to Lucian’s *True Histories* and biographical traditions of Homer, see Grossardt (2009b).

- Polyxena killed herself for love of Achilles (51.3–6)
- Helen was not at Troy (and the Greeks knew it!) (25.10–11)
- Palamedes was omitted by Homer to whitewash Odysseus (24.2)
- Achilles was especially grieved over Palamedes (who was buried opposite Methymna) (33.36 and 33.49)

On the basis of these and several other correspondences between the two works, F. Solmsen suggested that the *Heroticus* is in part an expansion of this episode of the *Life of Apollonius* by the same author, and this is surely correct.¹⁵ And the *Lives of the Sophists*, which explicitly refers back to the Apollonius life (II, ch. 5; Kayser 1870, 570), can be added to this author's writings also. One might therefore expect their relative chronology to be *Apollonius-Heroicus-Sophists*,¹⁶ which is not inconsistent with other evidence: the *Life of Apollonius* is likely to have been completed *after* the suicide of Julia Domna in 217, since it is not dedicated to her. The *Heroicus* might have been written before the athlete Helix had won at the Capitoline games in 219 (see 15.9n), or perhaps after an imperial edict on purple dye under Alexander Severus (222–235, see 53.23n), whereas the *Lives of the Sophists* is dedicated to a certain Gordian, which suggests an appearance in the 220s at the earliest.¹⁷

¹⁵ Solmsen (1940). For the way that the two works interweave their stories, see §§7 and 12 below.

¹⁶ So Solmsen (1940, 572).

¹⁷ Jones (2002) suggests this might even be the emperor Gordian whose reign was 238–244. Jüthner (1902) thought the *Gymnasticus* was later than the *Heroicus*.

These works reveal a man of diverse interests: intellectual history and famous athletes, myths of the Trojan War and mysticism, physiognomy and religious cult. All these topics are reflected in the *Heroicus*, but they are subordinated to a single theme, to which we now turn.

2. THE EARLIEST HERO CULTS TO THE FIFTH CENTURY

Despite its many different themes, *Heroicus* is mainly a discussion of the evidence for belief in the reality of the cults of Greek heroes, especially those from the Trojan War. Greek hero cults are a vast topic; we will touch here mainly on those aspects taken up by Philostratus himself, of which, however, there are many. In fact, much of what we know of hero cult is based not on documents of belief but on literary and philosophical adaptations; this is, indeed, one of the things that made it so appealing to Philostratus.

There are several modern theories for the origins of hero cult: cults of dead ancestors going back to the Mycenaean age,¹⁸ post-Mycenaean co-opting of earlier burials by social or political groups,¹⁹ an eighth-century reflection

¹⁸ Nagy (1979, 114–15), Price (1973), Currie (2005, 48–57), and many older scholars (doxography in Bremmer [2006, 15]). Price notes that the offerings to Erechtheus (*Il.* 2.250–51) resemble hero sacrifices and that the tomb of the Trojan founder Ilos (*Il.* 10.415–16) is like a *herōon*—but neither of these is called a *hērōs* in Homer.

¹⁹ Snodgrass (1982), Antonaccio (1995), Boehringer (2001).

of the popularity of epic poetry,²⁰ or a late sixth-century political-religious-literary invention.²¹ Each relies on different sorts of arguments, and each must concede its supporting evidence is only partial.

The Greek word *hērōs* (pl. *hērōes*) is found already in Mycenaean Greek,²² and especially in Homer. Etymologically, a connection with Hera is likely,²³ and the word occurs in Mycenaean Greek in an apparently religious sense. But in Homer it is used of warriors, without any religious significance whatsoever.²⁴ Hesiod uses the word in the same way, for the warriors of the *Iliad*, together with preceding generations who fought at Thebes (and sailed on the Argo as well), are also called *hērōes* by Hesiod,²⁵ and one can speak of the "heroic verses" of Homer.²⁶

Hero cults in a religious sense can be documented archaeologically. In the Argolid (especially at Mycenae), Attica, Messenia, Phocis, Boeotia, and elsewhere, beginning in the eighth century BC,²⁷ graves of the Mycenaean pe-

²⁰ Coldstream (1976), who follows Farnell (1921).

²¹ Bremmer (2006).

²² Gérard-Rousseau (1968, 32).

²³ Pötscher (1961; 1965); M. L. West (1978, 370–73).

²⁴ Especially in the general formulae "Achaean (Danaan) *hērōes*," and "of men who are *hērōes*" (*andrōn hērōōn*). Aristarchus already assumed it could designate any human; cf. schol. *Il.* 2.110a with Erbse's testimonia, Rohde (1925, 142n 26).

²⁵ *Op.* 156–73, on which see below.

²⁶ So called by Plato (*Resp.* 400b, *Leg.* 958e) and Aristotle (*Poet.* 1459b32, *Rh.* 1408b32).

²⁷ The sensational tenth-century BC burial at Lefkandi (Popham and Lemos 1996) of a male, including the bodies of a woman and two horses (compare Patroclus' burial in *Il.* 23), is

riod centuries before were uncovered and instead of being cleared away were venerated with votive offerings and animal sacrifice.²⁸ It seems that these are not a continuation of a Mycenaean cult of the dead after so long an interval; rather it was the *strangeness* of the newly discovered burials, their revelation of a society so different from geometric Greece, that evoked a religious response.²⁹ These had once been men and were now dead, but they seemed closer to the gods than their discoverers, and so their remains were deemed holy.

The first appearance of these holy remains in literature suggests that they were not originally identified as *hērōes*, or connected with epic poetry. In the *Works and Days*, Hesiod describes four ages of men, of descending quality—gold, silver, bronze, and iron—and interpolates between the last two still another age of *hērōes*, those who fought at Thebes and Troy and were removed by Zeus to everlasting happiness on the islands of the blessed. But of the men of the golden age he says (121–26):

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ τοῦτο γένος κατὰ γαῖα κάλυψε,
τοὶ μὲν δαίμονες εἰσι Διὸς μέγαλον διὰ βουλάς
ἑσθλοί, ἐπιχθόνιοι, φύλακες θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων . . .
πλουτοδόται· καὶ τοῦτο γέρας βασιλῆιον ἔσχου.

often considered to be the earliest *herōon*; but there is no evidence of votive offerings or sacrifice.

²⁸ For a survey of the sites, see Boehringer (2001), Antonaccio (1995), Coldstream (1976).

²⁹ Coldstream (1976, 14) argues that it was in precisely the areas where burial customs had changed that these cults developed.

But now that the earth has covered this race
 They are spirits (*daimones*), by the counsel of Zeus
 the great,
 Of good on earth, and guardians of mortals . . .³⁰
 Givers of wealth: this is their honor, worthy of kings.

To the next generation of silver (which is more violent, and accordingly shorter lived), Hesiod allots a complementary fate (140–42):

ἀντάρ ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦτο γένος κατὰ γαῖα κάλυψε,
 τοὶ μὲν ὑποχθόνιοι μάκαρες θνητοὶ καλέονται,
 δεύτεροι, ἀλλ' ἔμπης τιμὴ καὶ τοῖσιν ὀπηδεῖ.

But now that the earth has also covered this race,
 They are called the blessed mortals beneath the
 earth,
 second in rank, but nevertheless, honor also attends
 them.

Whereas the first group is called “spirits upon the earth,” to distinguish them from gods, the second is “beneath the earth,” to distinguish them from the first.³¹ But they represent two sides of the same belief: that the un-

³⁰ The next two lines (“who guard lawsuits and unjust deeds/wrapped up in mist, wandering all over the earth”) are identical to *Op.* 254–55 and are judged by most editors to be interpolated.

³¹ So M. L. West (1978) on these lines (following Rohde 1925, 85n37); he also notes their relevance to hero cult, as does Mantero (1973, 64–69).

known dead of the distant past retain the power, on earth or under it, to guard³² or punish men of a later day.

By the sixth century, however, the word *hērōs* itself is first used to describe the formerly living recipient of a religious cult. Heraclitus uses it to criticize men who pray:³³

καὶ τοῖς ἀγάλμασι δὲ τουτέοισιν εὔχονται,
 ὁκοῖον εἴ τις δόμοισι λεσχηνεύοιτο, οὐ τι γινώσκων θεοὺς οὐδ' ἥρωας οἴωνές εἰσι

and they pray to these images as if they were chatting with houses, not recognizing what gods or even heroes are like.”

The same author speaks (as Hesiod did of the golden age) of “guardians, wakeful over the living and the dead.”³⁴ Pindar gives a definition of its religious sense in his account of life after death for select mortals (fr. 133):³⁵

οἷσι δὲ Φερσεφόνα πωινὰν παλαιοῦ πένθεος
 δέξεται, ἐς τὸν ὑπερθεῖν ἄλιον κείνων ἐνάτω ἔτει
 ἀνδιδοῖ ψυχὰς πάλιν, ἐκ τῶν βασιλῆες ἀγανοὶ
 καὶ σθένει κραιπνοὶ σοφίᾳ τε μέγιστοι

³² “Guardian” (*phylax*, as in *Op.* 123) is a title of heroes also in Heraclitus (VS B 63) and frequently elsewhere (*Phylakos* at Delphi).

³³ VS 22 B 5, translated by Kahn (1979).

³⁴ φύλακας γίνεσθαι ἐγερεῖ ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν (VS 22 F 63).

³⁵ Cf. Empedocles VS 31 B 146 and Currie (2005, 129–30, and 47–48 on Pindar’s many reference to the cults of heroes).

ἄνδρες αὖξοντ'· ἐς δὲ τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἥρωες ἄ-
γνοιὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων καλῶνται

For those from whom Persephone accepts requital for her ancient grief, she surrenders up their souls again to the upper sun in the ninth year. From these are nurtured haughty kings and men swift in strength and greatest in wisdom; and they are called by men "holy heroes" for the rest of time.

He could also categorize the possible subjects of a victory ode by asking (*Ol.* 2.1–2):

Ἄναξιφόρμιγγες ὕμνοι,
τίνα θεόν, τίς ἥρωα, τίνα δ' ἄνδρα κελαδήσομεν;

Hymns that rule the lyre,
what god, what hero, and what man shall we
celebrate?

"Gods and heroes" is now a standard expression to include greater and lesser divinities,³⁶ and from this age onward the *hērōs* has his full religious significance and becomes a pervasive and highly productive force in Greek religion and society.³⁷ The characteristic features of a "classical" cult of the hero are:

³⁶ *Theoi kai hērōdes*: e.g., Hdt. 2.45.3, 8.109.3; Thuc. 2.74.3, 4.87.2; Xen. *Symp.* 8.28, *Eq.* 11.8; Antiph. 1.27; Bremmer (2006, 18); for Plato, see Reverdin (1945, 136n3), Audollent (1904, 72.10, 76.10), and *SIG* 360, 527, 581.

³⁷ A summary of Pythagoras' thought (Diog. Laert. 8.32) notes that he believed "that all the air is full of souls, and these are considered to be spirits and heroes, and by them are sent dreams and omens of disease and health, not only to mortals but

- a notable career, celebrated in myth;
- a memorable death;
- a tomb which houses the hero's remains,
- where offerings to him are received
- and from which he³⁸ acts to punish or reward those in his sphere of influence.

Yet few heroes seem to have all of these features.

3. PATTERNS OF MYTH AND CULT

Identifications of Heroes

Philostratus (*Her.* 7–8) describes how the discovery of superhuman remains in his own age was followed by an eager search for their identity, and the same seems to have happened in classical Greece: according to their sites, or the cultural or political preoccupations of their finders, they were often identified as the bodies of the heroes of epic—although not exclusively of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Outside Mycenae there is a shrine identified by sixth-century graffiti as the grave of Agamemnon (although in fact there is no body there);³⁹ at Ithaca a cave with Bronze

also to cattle and other animals. And purifications, rites of aversion, prophecy, oracles and the like relate to these." See further, Detienne (1963) and Burkert (1972, 73).

³⁸ Female heroes (*Hērōidai*) are few, though they definitely exist as a type (Larson 1995; *pace* Bremmer 2006).

³⁹ Cook (1953), Coldstream (1976, 15). The sacrifices offered to it on the 13th of Gameleion (until its capture by the Argives in

Age remains was alternately viewed as belonging to the nymphs or to Odysseus;⁴⁰ the bones of Pelops were kept in a chest at Olympia, and the hero's sanctuary received notorious blood sacrifices;⁴¹ the Seven Against Thebes were buried at Eleusis;⁴² Amphion at Thebes.⁴³ Even children's graves had power, like those of Medea's children at Corinth,⁴⁴ Archemoros/Opheltes at Nemea,⁴⁵ and Melicertes/Palaimon at the Isthmus.⁴⁶

But many (if not most) such cults were for heroes without names: "I belong to the hero" is the graffito on a fifth-century shard in grave circle A at Mycenae.⁴⁷ A fourth-century cult-regulation specifies offering to "the hero at the saltworks," "the hero at Antisara," "the hero at Pyrgilion."⁴⁸ Others seem to have been named after their special functions: "the hero doctor," "the hero at the stern," and "the hero general" are all attested.⁴⁹

468 BC) were well enough known to be mentioned in Soph. *El.* 278–81; *FGrHist* 306 (Deinias) F 2.

⁴⁰ Benton (1934).

⁴¹ Paus. 6.22.1; Pind. *Ol.* 1.90–93; Burkert (1983, 93–103).

⁴² See *Her.* 27 and note.

⁴³ Paus. 9.17.4, 7.

⁴⁴ Eur. *Med.* 1378–83.

⁴⁵ Paus. 2.15.2–3; Hyg. *Fab.* 74; and the fragments of Eur. *Hyps.*

⁴⁶ Paus. 2.1.3, 2.2.1; IG 4.203.8–9; Bravo (2006). For other children's cults, see Pfister (1909, 1.313–16) and Pache (2004).

⁴⁷ Jeffery (1990, 174n6, with pl. 31).

⁴⁸ Ferguson (1938, 22–23).

⁴⁹ See Farnell (1921, 71–94, "Functional Heroes and Sondergötter"). Hero doctor: Dow (1985).

Authorization for Hero Cult

When they were known, the stories of the heroes' lives were obviously an important element in their cult.⁵⁰ Yet in contrast to the Christian cult of the saints (with which it is first compared by Augustine⁵¹), these figures did not "earn" their holiness by their deeds in life; in fact more than a few, such as Oedipus, the Seven Against Thebes, or, in historical times, Cleomedes of Astypalaea (Paus. 6.9.6), committed terrible crimes.⁵² It was more often the hero's death that made him holy, at the hands of a god, like Neoptolemus (killed by Apollo) or Hippolytus (by Aphrodite),⁵³ or in some other violent and unseemly way, like Hesiod at Orchomenos,⁵⁴ Medea's children, or Eurystheus at Athens (Eur. *Herac.* 1026–44).

The most impressive heroic end—even though it left no body for veneration—was disappearance (*aphanistos*).⁵⁵ After being disqualified at the Olympics, Cleomedes of Astypalaea (Paus. 6.9.6) killed dozens of schoolchildren in a fit of rage and shut himself into a box in the

⁵⁰ The complex task of classifying the myths of heroes and relating them to cults is addressed by Brelich (1958).

⁵¹ *De civ. D.* 10.21. For a Christian dialogue defending the powers of the saints, see Dal Santo (2012).

⁵² Rohde (1925, 1.178ff.).

⁵³ In each case the dead hero's cult is joined to the god's shrine. Many joint god-hero cults are reflected in divine epithets, in which case the hero might be either friend or enemy: Aphrodite Aineias, Apollo Ptoos, Apollo Hyacinthus, Poseidon Erechtheus, Artemis Iphigeneia, Athena Skiras (derived from Skiron), Artemis Kalliste (fr. Kallisto).

⁵⁴ Scodel (1981).

⁵⁵ Pease (1942).

temple of Athena; when the townsmen pried it open, he was gone. According to some versions, Heracles had disappeared from his pyre during a thunderstorm,⁵⁶ as had Alcmena's corpse from her coffin (Paus. 9.16.7; Pfister 1909, 120n429, 124–25). Finally, the classical version of the establishment of a hero cult, Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus*, culminates in Oedipus' disappearance at a holy site that will remain known only to Theseus and subsequent rulers of Athens.⁵⁷

The ultimate authority for the heroic status of a tomb or recently dead citizen was the Delphic oracle.⁵⁸ Men as diverse as Lycurgus,⁵⁹ Adrastus in Sicyon (Hdt. 5.67), Eurystheus (Eur., *Herac.* 1026–44), the poet Hesiod at Orchomenos (Paus. 9.38.3), and Cleomedes were revealed in this way to be heroes. Once the pattern was established, it was possible to add the recently dead to the heroes also.

In accordance with Homer's frequent assertion (e.g., *Il.* 1.272, 5.304, 12.383, 12.449, 20.287) that men in the past were stronger than their descendants, heroic bodies were assumed to be of fantastic size:⁶⁰ the bones of Orestes, recovered from Tegea and returned to Sparta

⁵⁶ Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.7.7 (160); Diod. Sic. 4.38.4; Eur. *Herac.* 910ff. For disappearance during a storm, note also Romulus, Livy 1.16.1. According to Servius, *Aen.* 3.402, only Philoctetes knew the site of his disappearance.

⁵⁷ Compare the secret tomb of Dirce (Paus. 2.2.2).

⁵⁸ Bouché-Leclercq (1879, 3.143ff.).

⁵⁹ Hdt. 1.65.3; Plut. *Lyc.* 31 (here called loosely "god"; but "hero" at *FGrHist* 90 F 57); cf. Paus. 3.16.6, and Fraser (1972, ad loc).

⁶⁰ For the catalog of such discoveries by the vinedresser and possible sources, see Rusten (2004).

(Hdt. 1.68) were in a coffin seven cubits long, and those of Theseus transferred from Scyros to Athens (see below) were equally large. Thus Philostratus' vinedresser devotes much time to convincing the skeptical Phoenician with stories of such finds.⁶¹ In addition, the presence of snakes near a tomb was considered a sign of heroic status.⁶²

Shrines and Cults

That *hêrôa* were distinct from shrines of gods is usually reflected in their architecture and placement and in the vocabulary of their cult.⁶³ For example, sacrifice to a hero was termed *enagizein* rather than *thuein*, libations called *choai* rather than *spondai*; they were made not on an altar (*bômos*), but on a ground-level hearth (*eschara*) or in a pit (*bothros*).⁶⁴ Many of the oldest *hêrôa* had been round burial mounds (grave circles, or *tholoi*);⁶⁵ perhaps in imi-

⁶¹ *Her.* 7–8, on which see notes. Suetonius (*Aug.* 72) reports that the emperor kept a collection of such relics, and Virgil (*G.* 1.497) predicts that such finds will someday occur again. See in general Pfister (1909, 2.425–28, 507–8) and Frazer (1972, on Paus. 8.29.1).

⁶² E.g., Theophr. *Char.* 16.4; Ogilvie on Livy 1.56.4; Porph. *Plot.* 2; Hdt. 8.41; Plut. *Cleom.* 39; *Suppl. Hellen.* 129 (Archelaus); Verg. *Aen.* 5.84–95. See especially Küster (1913), Harrison (1955, 325–31), Fraser (1972, 1.778ff, 2.1086–89), Rohde (1925, 1.120–21n 2).

⁶³ It is important to remember, however, that these distinctions (basically between Olympian and chthonic cults) are not unbreakable: see Burkert (1985, 199–203) and §12 below.

⁶⁴ Hdt. 2.44; see especially Ekroth (2002).

⁶⁵ Pelon (1976).

tation of these, when shrines were built they tended to be round, like that of Palaemon at Corinth and the hero Phylakos at Delphi; altars were also round.⁶⁶

Since the hero was powerful only in the vicinity of his tomb, tomb placement was important for the sort of cult it enjoyed; at the gate of a city or even within its walls, the hero could defend against invaders.⁶⁷ Public places, especially the agora, were equally popular, and the Athenian agora was thick with *herôa*.⁶⁸ Some of the most famous *hêrôa* shared precincts with gods, with whom they were said to have a special (often antagonistic) association.⁶⁹

4. PATTERNS OF BELIEF

City Cults

To match its diverse origins, hero cult partakes of various patterns of religious belief: heroes can be viewed as intermediaries between god and man, honored ancestors, civic icons and benefactors, or as the anonymous vengeful or grateful dead.

The value of divine powers (however small) whose names, careers, and functions might be invented or manipulated must have been obvious to politicians from the

⁶⁶ Pfister (1909, 445–49, “Gräber auf dem Markt”). Plut. *Sol.* 9, says that, in contrast to temples of gods, *hêrôa* usually face west.

⁶⁷ The Aeacidae moved from Aegina to Salamis during the Persian wars (see on 53.15); Bérard (1970). Similarly, in *Oedipus Colonus*, Creon, aware of the prophecy of Oedipus’ powers, wishes him to be buried at the Theban frontier.

⁶⁸ Broneer (1942) and H. Thompson (1978).

⁶⁹ Pfister (1909, 450–58).

start,⁷⁰ especially at Athens. We are told that Draco and Solon used local heroes in programs of religious or administrative reform⁷¹ and Cleisthenes went even further by choosing (with the help of Delphi) ten heroes to serve as eponyms of his new tribal organization of the city.⁷² The citizen’s loyalty to his family or geographical area of Attica was to be replaced by that to his tribe, represented by the hero. Subsequent leaders who evoked the pride of the city as a whole, like founder-heroes of colonies⁷³ or victorious athletes,⁷⁴ could receive such cults also.

National heroes were also called on for defense.⁷⁵ They were invoked to accompany armies into battle and were often said to appear in moments of crisis.⁷⁶ The presence

⁷⁰ Snodgrass (1982).

⁷¹ Draco: Porph *Abst.* 4.22, p. 380.

⁷² Kron (1976).

⁷³ E.g., Battos in Cyrene, Pind. *Pyth.* 5.95; Brasidas in Amphipolis, Thuc. 5.11; Hdt. 6.38; Rohde (1925, I.175ff); Pfister (1909, 295–302, 445ff.); Farnell (1921, 413–41).

⁷⁴ Brelich (1958, 99n81) is right to protest against the notion that this is a late and degenerate development—he remarks on the irony that two experts on Pindar (Wilamowitz and Farnell) have so little regard for the importance of the athlete. Existing heroes in turn became patrons of athletics: see Fontenrose (1968).

⁷⁵ Ajax and Telamon, see *Her.* 53; Phylakos and Autoonoo at Delphi (Hdt. 8.37), Brennus’ death at Delphi—Paus. 10.23; Justin Trogus, Book 24; cf. Achilles’ rout of the Amazons, *Her.* 57. Perhaps the most bizarre is Cimon in Cition, Plut. *Cim.* 19.5.

⁷⁶ Pfister (1909, 510–11). For epiphanies of heroes in warfare, see in general Pritchett (1979, 3.14–46). Even Xerxes himself had libations offered to the heroes of Troy on his way to Greece (Hdt.

of a hero's bones strengthened his native city: thus Orestes' bones were stolen from Tegea and returned to Sparta, and in 469–468 BC the bones of Theseus were returned to Athens from Scyros and placed in a special shrine.⁷⁷ Disputes often arose between two cities for the right to possess a *hêrôn*.⁷⁸

Cities called on heroes to heal disease or ease famine.⁷⁹ There were special heroes relating to safety at sea;⁸⁰ eventually some hero shrines (especially of Trophonius in Boeotia and Amphilochus in Cilicia) developed reputations for prophecy that rivaled Delphi.⁸¹

*Heroes and the Individual*⁸²

But as a lesser power, more closely tied to a particular place or neighborhood, the hero was even better suited to

7.43), which Alexander did in reverse (to Greek heroes) years later on his way to attack the east.

⁷⁷ Podlecki (1971).

⁷⁸ Pfister (1909, 193–211).

⁷⁹ Kutsch (1913).

⁸⁰ Eitrem (1935, 53–67); Ferguson (1938, 25–27); *FGrHist* 328 (Philochorus) F 111.

⁸¹ Bouché-Leclercq (1879, 3.315–62).

⁸² I pass over here (as not relevant to Heroicus) the abundant inscriptional evidence for the importance of heroes to associations and groups of all kinds (see the many entries in Ascough, Harland, and Kloppenborg 2012). Also omitted are the entertaining stories of the attempts of Empedocles and Heraclides of Pontus to fabricate evidence to make them heroes after their deaths (Diog. Laert. 8.67ff., 5.91).

a personal, individual faith, as in the *Heroicus*. For his protégés, the activities of a “local hero”⁸³ might be rather mundane—guard their buried treasure, keep them safe from disease or financial catastrophe—but his presence was all the more vividly felt. Comic poets, for example, seem often to have taken advantage of the meddlesomeness of the heroes to influence their plots: Menander wrote a play (now lost) called *The Hero*, and no less than five other plays were called *Heroes*, probably after their choruses. The parabasis of one of these is now extant, with a detailed description of the heroes' powers:⁸⁴

Therefore, gentlemen, stay on your guard and worship the heroes, since we are the dispensers of good fortune and bad—we keep an eye on the unjust, the thieves and pickpockets, and give them diseases: enlarged spleens, coughs, dropsy, running noses, psoriasis, gout, insanity, genital infections, chills and fever. That's what we give to thieves.

They probably went on to tell the rewards they gave to the good; yet heroes were distinctly more prone to harm than help, as a fable of Babrius tells:

There was a hero who had a shrine at the house of a pious man; and he, sacrificing there and garlanding the altar, and soaking it with wine, used always to pray, “hail, most beloved of heroes, and bring your neighbor abundant good fortune.” But the hero appeared to him in the middle of the night and

⁸³ Rusten (1983).

⁸⁴ Aristophanes fr. 322 Kassel-Austin.

said “there’s not one hero who can give you good luck—you must ask the gods for that. We are the givers of all the bad things which are man’s lot. So if you want troubles, go ahead and pray; I’ll give you even more than you ask for. From now on, then, whenever you sacrifice you’ll know how things are. (Perry 1965, Fable 63)

A character in a Menandrian play seems to agree (fr. 322 PCG): “The heroes are keener at doing harm than at helping out.” The hero of Temesa (Paus. 6.6.4–11; Callim. *Aet.*, Book 4, fr. 98–99) was known only for violence, and Philostratus’ vinedresser asserts that both Hector (*Her.* 19) and Achilles (*Her.* 56) have killed mortals who displeased them.

Heroes in Hellenistic and Roman Greece

Over subsequent centuries the concept of the hero was bound to undergo some change, and it has been asserted that it became debased.⁸⁵ In numerous known cases the dead could be called heroes and received tomb cult—the most famous case is Hadrian’s favorite Antinous⁸⁶—but the word itself and many of its associations remained intact.⁸⁷ In hellenistic Cnidus, a hero was commemorated in an epigram with an athletic facility, which recalls Protesilaus’ racecourse (ch. 3.6):⁸⁸

⁸⁵ Quotations in Jones (2010, ch. 5).

⁸⁶ Vout and Moore (2006); Vout (2007); Jones (2010, 75–83).

⁸⁷ See especially Jones (2010, ch. 6).

⁸⁸ Merkelbach and Stauber (1998, 1:6).

βαιὸν ὁδοιορίας ἔ[τ]ι λείπεται, ἀλλὰ πρὸς αἶπος
τὴν ὀλίγην ἀνύσειε ἀτραπιτὸν διέπω
χειρὸς ἀφ’ ἡμετέρης λαϊῆς, ξένε, κάμῃ προσείπας
χαίρειν, εἰ στείχεις πρὸς φιλίου τέμενος
ἥρωος Ἀντιγόνου· Μοῦσαι δέ σοι εἴ τι νέμουσιν
ἔσθλον, ἀπάρχεσθαι δαίμοσιν ἐγ μελέτης.
καὶ γὰρ αἰδοῖσιν θυμέλη καὶ σῆκος ὑπ’ ἄγχει
τῷ Ἐπιγόνου κούραι ξυνὸς ὁμνευετίδος
καὶ δρόμος ἠϊθέοισιν ἰδρύνεται ἠδὲ παλαιόστρη
λουτρά τε καὶ ταρσῶι Πᾶν ὁ μελιζόμενος.
ἀλλ’ ἀσυνῆς ἔρχευ καὶ ἀπ’ Ἀρκαδίας τεμενουρὸν
Ἑρμῆν οὐ μέμψι τρηχέος ἐχ Φενέου.

A little way still remains, but at the height
you will soon arrive, following the path
on your left hand, stranger; and once you have bid
me

hello, you enter the precinct of the friendly
hero Antigonus. If the Muses have granted you some
talent, make an offering from your training to the
divinities;

For there is an altar for singers, and down in the
valley a shrine

for the son of Epigonus, shared by his wife.

There is also a running track for youths, and a
palaestra,

baths, and Pan playing on his pipes.

But go without harm, and with the precinct guard
from Arcadia,

Hermes from rough Pheneus, you will find no fault.

Furthermore, in the religious thought of the first to the
third centuries AD, the Hesiodic and Platonic notion of

daimones, intermediate between god and man, was a popular concept. Speakers in two of Plutarch's dialogues (*On the Decline of Oracles* and *On the Face in the Moon*), advance the notion of *daimones* as the earthly servants of the more distant gods, or moon-dwelling spirits of the dead. Maximus of Tyre (*Or.* 9.7, Trapp 1997) extends the concept to the heroes of myth as well:

Not all *daimones* perform all functions, however; now too, as in life, each is given a different job. It is here that we see the role of that susceptibility to the emotions that marks them off from God. They do not want to rid themselves entirely of the natures that were theirs when they lived on earth. Asclepius continues to heal the sick, Heracles to perform mighty deeds, Dionysus to lead the revels, Amphilocheus to give oracles, the Dioscuri to sail the seas, Minos to dispense justice, and Achilles to wield his weapons. Achilles dwells on an island in the Black Sea opposite the mouth of the Ister, where he has a temple and altars. . . . According to the people of Troy, Hector remains on the site of his former home, and can be seen sweeping over the plain, flashing with light. I myself have never seen either Hector or Achilles, but I have seen the Dioscuri, in the form of bright stars, righting a ship in a storm. I have seen Asclepius, and that not in a dream. I have seen Heracles, in waking reality.

The vinedresser in the *Heroicus* has such a personal relationship with one hero, his rustic patron and his informant for the "true story" of the Trojan War, and especially with two other heroes—one the prototype of the sophists and

the other the quintessential warrior, but also a poet, whose rage and cult live on beyond his death.

5. CORRECTING HOMER

In contrast to the first two heroes, who do not appear in Homer at all and whose deeds are new to the Phoenician stranger, Achilles dominates the *Iliad*, and his tomb was a site of pilgrimage since Alexander and, most recently, Caracalla. Yet the vinedresser's account of him is quite different from Homer's, interweaving details from the *Iliad* with sensational novelties, using two different methods of "Homer correction," to which we must now turn.⁸⁹

In the Hellenistic period, writers of mythological romances had fictionalized "sources" for their original compositions: Euhemerus claimed that his revelation that the "gods" were actually just human kings who invented ruler cult was based on an inscription that he had discovered; Dionysius Scytobrachion claimed to have discovered poems of Linus and Thymoitas that authenticated his stories of the mortal Dionysus who ruled in Libya.⁹⁰ Out of this tradition come two works of the first to the second centuries AD, which, like the *Heroicus*, claim to correct Homer's account of the Trojan War based on new sources. In the time of Nero, the "discovery" of a memoir of the Trojan War by a certain Dictys of Crete, the secretary to Idomeneus, was supposedly translated first into Greek,

⁸⁹ See in general Lamberton and Keane (1992), Zeitlin (2001), and Kim (2010).

⁹⁰ Rusten (1982, 102–6). Cf. the sources claimed in Quintilian 1.8.21 or the obscure histories in Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 5.2.7

then Latin, containing a very different account than that of Homer's. The Latin translation is extant in medieval manuscripts, and there was skepticism about a Greek original until its discovery on papyrus.⁹¹ The Greek version is parodied by Lucian (*Ver. hist.* 2.25–26), and *Heroicus* knows it also, since it explicitly corrects the version of Dictys in numerous places (Huhn and Bethe 1917, 618–19):

- ch. 26.10: Thrasymedes was not at Troy with Nestor (cf. Dictys 1.13)
- ch. 30: Idomeneus was never at Troy at all (thereby invalidating the entire premise of Dictys!)
- ch. 48.17: Achilles attacks Hector even though weakened (cf. Dictys 3.15)
- ch. 51: Polyxena died of love for Achilles (cf. Dictys 5.13)

A somewhat later work, known only in Latin translation, purports to be the memoir of Dares the Phrygian, mentioned by Homer (*Il.* 5.9) as a priest of Hephaestus at Troy. It tells the fall of Troy from the other side (Merkle 1996).⁹² These works not only revised Homer, they often replaced him: in the Middle Ages, knowledge of the Trojan War was based entirely on Dictys (preferred in Byzantine literature) and Dares (preferred in the Latin west).⁹³

The conceit of *Heroicus* is more complex. The fact that

⁹¹ Gainsford (2012).

⁹² Cf. the letter of Sarpedon discovered in Lycia by Mucianus, Plin. *HN* 13.88.

⁹³ Homer is also debunked in Lucian, *The Dream or The Cock* 17 (by a cock who claims to have been at Troy in a past life).

the vinedresser relies for much of his information on the hero Protesilaus, and is withdrawn from the rest of the world, results in the paradox that within the dialogue the mythical events have the most immediate authority: an anecdote about Hadrian is oral tradition from one's grandfather (8.1), but for the events at Troy we have "firsthand" evidence. Further, Protesilaus is also a sensitive critic of Homer's poetry (ch. 25). He praises Homer's style and superiority to other hexameter poets and his philosophical treatment of the battles of gods, but he criticizes his tendency to make men more noble than gods, his suppression of the truth of Helen being in Egypt, and his invention of tall tales to magnify Odysseus. Protesilaus also frequently explains the meaning of individual Homeric verses (e.g., chs. 2, 12).

But the vinedresser also frequently corrects Homer on his own account, using the "rationalistic" method of assessing the "plausibility" (*eikos*) of the transmitted story versus an alternative.⁹⁴ This approach to myth had been practiced since the earliest Greek historians, Hecataeus and Herodotus, and it had been brilliantly applied by the late first-century sophist Dio of Prusa in his *Trojan Oration* to deduce that Hector had in fact killed Achilles, and Troy had not been taken by the Greeks.⁹⁵ The vinedresser knows this allegation as well and explicitly corrects it: Achilles *did* kill Hector (ch. 37, Huhn and Bethe 1917, 617, 619n1).

The vinedresser is also a critic of Homer's poetry, but less an aesthetic than a partisan one: he is angered that

⁹⁴ *Her.* 25.10, 33.33, 35.11, 45.8.

⁹⁵ See especially Hunter (2009) and Kim (2010, 85–139).

Homer suppressed the Telephus story, Palamedes, and others to magnify Achilles and Odysseus (ch. 24).

6. THE SETTING⁹⁶

Like the Phoenician—who is originally interested only in finding a good wind to help him sail away—we learn only gradually the unusual qualities of the setting. The moment of greatest surprise is in 5.2, when he cannot contain himself over the spot where he has sat down: the fragrances, the colors, the artful plantings, are for him the perfect spot to talk. In the ancient literary tradition, fragrant flowers and trees, heavy shade, and clear streams were the invariable elements of the perfect natural setting for meeting a divinity (cf. Numa and Egeria, Livy 1.21.3, and especially Pl. *Phdr.*, 230 BC, near a sanctuary of Pan) as well as for holding a long conversation⁹⁷ throughout ancient literature. The hero even keeps his racecourse there.⁹⁸

But beyond the inevitable *Phaedrus* reference,⁹⁹ there is further significance to the landscape. The countryside is a place to return to the simple pleasures of working the land (cf. Dio's *Euboicus*) and to find throwbacks to an earlier age, like Herodes' Agathion (see §11 below). It recalls a neglected philosophical and cultural past to

⁹⁶ See especially Jones (2001) and Whitmarsh (2009).

⁹⁷ Martin (2002) on similarities to the Greek novel.

⁹⁸ For the Hellenistic hero Antigonos' gift of a race course and athletic facilities in Cnidus, see §4 above.

⁹⁹ For *Phaedrus* in particular as a favorite of imperial literature, see Trapp (1990), and for *Heroicus* in particular, Hodkinson (2011).

which the reader feels drawn to make a personal pilgrimage.

The mound of Protesilaus,¹⁰⁰ his shrine,¹⁰¹ and his statue¹⁰² are also at the site. As the vinedresser admits, they are decayed with age and neglected (9.5), as many a Greek sacred site is described by Pausanias—beautiful as the Phoenician finds them, a sanctuary is not supposed to be covered with vines;¹⁰³ and the vinedresser's understated allusion to the shrine's history (9.5) will not conceal its fame in the penultimate episode of Herodotus' Persian wars (see §8 below).

In fact, this sanctuary stands on the crossing between Europe and Asia (Rutherford 2009, 230), the path of invasion (in both directions)¹⁰⁴ and travel. The vinedresser claims it has been frequently visited, even as an oracle and healing shrine.

Across the Hellespont from the vinedresser's territory but closely linked to it ("the sea is like a river for us," ch. 23.1), is the Troad, especially the contemporary town of

¹⁰⁰ Mound: Demangel (1926); Jones (2001); Crossardt (2006a, I, ch. 2, pp. 32–33) (see Strabo 13.1.31).

¹⁰¹ Shrine: The shrine is mentioned as a landmark by Thuc. 8.102 (cited with other travelers' account in Pottier [1915, 141–46]).

¹⁰² Used also to describe his appearance, §11 below.

¹⁰³ Some of the famous sites are covered by vines (Pisa, Paus. 6.22.1; Alcock 1993), like Elaious; many deserted shrines (Frazer 1966, on Pausanias, xiv n6).

¹⁰⁴ Evocative also for Gallipoli; the Elaious necropolis was excavated by French troops during that campaign; Pottier (1915).

Ilion, portrayed as inhabited by shepherds and cowherds amid the still-surviving monuments of the Trojan War:¹⁰⁵ statues of Hector¹⁰⁶ (honored with athletic contests) and other Trojan heroes, but also Greeks¹⁰⁷—near the sea the tomb of Ajax,¹⁰⁸ and especially the mound of Achilles and Patroclus¹⁰⁹—which have attracted regular visits from celebrities, some historical (Alexander,¹¹⁰ Hadrian, Caracalla) some more fictionalized (Caesar, in Lucan; Julian, in a letter [Henning 1874]).¹¹¹

Farther afield the speaker is familiar with the sites of the discovery of large heroic (or gigantic) bones in Sigeiun (8.6) or the islands of the northeast Aegean, south in Cos

¹⁰⁵ The Tübingen-Cincinnati excavations at Ilium show that Roman Ilium was far more developed and prosperous, and the worship of Athena more prominent (athletic contests actually hers) than of the heroes; see the annual reports by Rose. *Heroicus* has the same way of filtering out the contemporary population as Pausanias; see §7 below.

¹⁰⁶ Literary and numismatic testimonia for a statue of Hector in Erskine (2001, 103n44).

¹⁰⁷ Ilians sacrifice to Achilles, Patroclus, even Ajax, but not to Heracles (Strabo 13.1.32).

¹⁰⁸ Monument and temple of Ajax at Rhoetaeum: Strabo 13.1.30, his statue was restored by Augustus after taken by Antony.

¹⁰⁹ The mound of Achilles: *Her.* 51.12; *Hdt.* 5.94; Cook (1973, 177–79); Rose (2000, 65–66); Burgess (2009, 117–26 [114–17 on the literary evidence]); Graninger (2011, 149n141); Alcock (2004, 160–63), on imperial constructions connected with Achilles' tumulus.

¹¹⁰ *Arr. Anab.* 1.12.

¹¹¹ Erskine (2001); Hertel (2003, 199–208 [graves of heroes], 274–301 [Roman Ilium]); Zwingmann (2012, 31–106).

or others (Follet 2004), or the oracle of Orpheus' head on Lesbos (28.8–9) and of special significance in Lemnos, home of the author and a place the vinedresser has visited to confirm a heroic burial discovered by Menecrates of Steiria, a historically attested prominent Lemnian (Follet 1974; 2004). The vinedresser also knows Lemnian lore: the annual fire purification (53.3–7, [Burkert 1970]), the powers of "terra Lemnia" (28.5), and the story of Philoctetes (28 [Masciadri 2008]). Because the port of Elaiou is nearby, the vinedresser also claims knowledge of sailors' stories of Leuke in the Black Sea (cf. §13 below).

7. VOICES OF THE DIALOGUE

The Vinedresser's Voices and Narrative Modes

If the primary setting of *Heroicus* owes something to *Phaedrus*, it also resembles it in being an unframed dialogue with no external narrator, so that it is itself intrinsically resistant to the search for authorial voice, even though it is dominated by one speaker.

This is a familiar problem with the Socratic dialogues, but a new one for Philostratus, and the key character of the vinedresser is an original and productive creation. In him, Philostratus embodies a complex of traits that in a past life has become a *pepaideumenos* but is now in rustic retreat—rusticity, a simple life and occupation, piety and morality, with high education and impeccable Attic speech, narrative and descriptive skill.

Added to this is the vinedresser's unique access to Protesilaus as informant—he is profoundly devoted to his

patron hero (the similarity of this fictional religious relationship to that between Aristides and Asclepius, and the profound differences in the way it is expressed, are instructive for the limits of Philostratus' dialogue), and he can "combine aesthetic and literary sophistication with a profound engagement with lived religion" (Platt 2011, 241).

As an authority on the past, the vinedresser surpasses not only Dictys and Dares with their discovered documents but even the interviews of Apollonius with Achilles, Lucian with Homer in *True Histories* or that of Homer himself with Odysseus (*Her.* 43.12-16), so that he "facilitates a more direct engagement between the reader and the *daimon* that purports to bypass the very sources of information on which the dialogue is based" (Platt 2011, 241). He is the perfect intermediary between the contemporary world of Roman Greece and the literary, religious, and moral world of the Greek heroes.¹¹²

Since one might say he is "talking for two," the vinedresser makes use of ancient Greek's whole range of distancing-markers for indirect speech: accusative and infinitive, *ὡς* with the optative or indicative, but sometimes dispenses with these markers entirely.

But the vinedresser also interjects his own material, posing numerous questions to the Phoenician and giving answers to him in turn about his past life and his relation-

¹¹² Although his relationship to Protesilaus owes something to the rustic "Heracles" of Herodes VS 2.552-54 (§11 below), his setting is indebted to Dio's *Euboicus* as well as Plato's *Phaedrus*.

ship to the hero. He has assembled the catalog of giant bones himself (even in one case verified with autopsy). As noted above (§5), the rationalistic arguments for and against the Homeric stories' truth are often his own, and on Leuke he supplements Protesilaus with travelers' tales he has collected himself.

Further, although the vinedresser is well informed on some things that we do not know (56.5, the famous vase whose story he declines to tell), the setting is made subordinate to his theme of the heroes of the age of Homer; as in Pausanias, the contemporary world is filtered out, and we are left only with what is relevant to his stories, as noted in §6 above.

And the vinedresser is not always a reliable narrator, at least of detail. He makes obvious slips (which are unlikely to be the author's or the result of textual corruption): Nemea for Tegea (8.3), Ariadne for Evadne (11.8), Theseus as founder of the Anthesteria (35.9), "in Troy" instead of "at Aulis" for Telephus' healing of Achilles (23.24), comparing the body of Protesilaus to a herm (10.4). Even in the case of Homer's texts we have obvious slips: at 18.2 ("the story in the *Madness*," as if referring to a section of the *Iliad* or a tragedy that is not known to exist), 51.7 ("in the Second Weighing of Souls" for "Second Nekyia"). Less obvious but still notable is 51.1, where he claims that *Il.* 22.359, which in our texts refers to Achilles' future death at the Scaean gates, is consistent with an ambush at the temple of Thymbraean Apollo, or his claim at 24.1-2 that Homer omitted the story of the battle with Telephus, when it would have been impossible for him to include it in the scope of the *Iliad*. Are we to assume that all these

are the vinedresser's inept adaptations of Protesilaus' correct reports?¹¹³

Once we realize that the vinedresser is not simply to be taken as the voice of the author, we can see that he manipulates his interlocutor by provoking him with an insulting characterization, by planting mentions of stories to elicit further requests, and above all by insisting on his declaration of faith before giving him any more stories.

All this means that the voice of the vinedresser can be that of a Homeric scholar/reinterpreter, teller of tall tales, ekphrast of statues and faces, repository of athletic anecdotes, exegete of cults, finally a witness to personal religion. This appropriation of other narrative modes within the dialogue enables two sophisticated elaborations.

First, the vinedresser's storytelling gives different kinds of narrative.¹¹⁴

¹¹³ One result is that it is futile to attempt to trace Philostratus' "sources" in any case, since every conceivable "source" of Philostratus' is also filtered through the vineyard keeper's mouth (and sometimes through Protesilaus' as well) to remove it still farther from reality, so that the very intractability of the source search is a sign of his aesthetic success. Clearly, to speak of "sources" at all in *Heroicus* is much less valid than it would be for even another work from this fertile period of reworking classical texts.

¹¹⁴ These sometimes enable the vinedresser to mimic some of the rest of Philostratus' works with biography (VS, VA), athletic anecdote (*Gym.*), and ekphrasis (*Gym.* and *Imag.*).

- "biographies" of the heroes
- battle narratives of two kinds (Iliad style, and divine rout of impious foreign invaders)
- Elaborate rituals
- Tales of Faraway uncanny places

Second, the same story can be told from different perspectives in different works:

- The Trojan War corrections come from Achilles to Apollonius in the *Life of Apollonius*, but from Protesilaus to the vinedresser in *Heroicus* (see §1 above).
- The story of Thessalian sacrifices is divided between *Heroicus* (53.8–17) and the *Life of Apollonius* (4.16 and 4.23.1), each from a different perspective: the beginning of the story (the oracle's command, the first sacrifices and subsequent decline) is told by Protesilaus through the vinedresser, then for the middle it shifts to the voice of Achilles through Apollonius (now in the first century AD and with Apollonius in the role of the oracle), before returning to Protesilaus and the vinedresser (53.18–23) for an update.
- Anecdotes about advice to an athlete (14 and 15) are given by Protesilaus as oracle in *Heroicus*, but attributed to trainers in *Gymnasticus*.

On one occasion (56.5), the vinedresser points to an "overlap" himself and declines to retell a story, with which the Phoenician seems to agree. But the story of the golden *kalpis* is a mystery to us; was it really already told, or is this just a tease?

The Phoenician and His "Conversion"

In contrast to the vinedresser, the Phoenician tells us nothing explicitly about his background or his beliefs.¹¹⁵ But the vinedresser himself makes some initial, not flattering observations—on his haste and ignoring of his surroundings (1.2; Alcock 2004, 159), on his luxurious clothing and the reputation of Phoenicians not only for seafaring but also (relying on Homer)¹¹⁶ for greed; in responding to them the Phoenician reveals that he is a merchant, anxious about his Aegean voyage and its profit, and he has had an unsettling dream about heroes that spurred him to this spot. He has heard Greek myths as a child, and seems to know Homer well. But on the heroes, he declares himself a definite skeptic, especially regarding their larger-than-human size.

This traveler is curious—one thinks of Apuleius' Lucius—about what he sees and hears, and the vinedresser exploits this well. Before the vinedresser will proceed to any more stories, he insists first on belief in the heroes' size, and overwhelms the Phoenician with examples from the distant past in distant places to this very region and just last year. This is the first step to the Phoenician's enthusiastic acceptance of the vinedresser's (and Protesilaus') stories, and at the end of the dialogue he is begging for more.

Modern scholars, intrigued by this change of heart,

¹¹⁵ In this way he is very different from the argumentative Phoenician encountered by Paus. 7.23.7, who asserts the superiority of his own religion.

¹¹⁶ Winter (1995).

have been inclined to see this Phoenician as a stand-in for some other political individual or ethnic or religious group that would be obvious to the emperor.¹¹⁷ But Phoenicians are not so rare in imperial literature as to be necessarily allegorical, and along with other stereotypes not in play here (pirates, debauchery, strange rituals) in the novel in particular they are highly Hellenized and thus closer to Greeks than barbarians.¹¹⁸

Even apart from the Phoenician's identity, there is the question of how to interpret his change of heart. Nock (1972, 327) found it profoundly and traditionally religious and compared it with Christianity:

The *Heroicus* of Philostratus illustrates well the concept of *πίστις* in the early third century A.D. A Phoenician visits a vine-tender who believes himself to have a special relation to the hero Protesilaus, who visits him and looks after him. The Phoenician is inclined to disbelieve things mystical, having met no eye-witnesses of their reality (17.9 *φημι γὰρ ἀπίστως διακέεισθαι πρὸς τὰ μυθώδη*) but is sympathetic, having said earlier (3.1) "I'm sure the heroes would be much indebted to you, if I left here believing in them." The vine-tender's narratives convince him, and he says (18.1) "From now on, vinedresser, I shall be on your side, and

¹¹⁷ Champlin (1981); Aitken and MacLean (2004) combine a number of associations with threats to Rome (Syrians, Carthaginians, Eastern religions) tied to eastern campaigns of Alexander Severus promoting Hellenized religion as a means to resist the Persian threat.

¹¹⁸ Briquel-Chatonnet (1992); Millar (1983).

allow no one to doubt such stories." (*Merà σου λοιπόν, ἀμπελουργέ, τάττω ἐμαντὸν καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐπι τοῖς τοιούτοις ἀπιστήσει.*) . . . It is like the effect of an apostolic sermon.

Others have felt the same, pointing to the movement from *ἀπιστος* to *πείθομαι* (σου), and the parallel phrase used to acknowledge Apollonius of Tyana who appeared after his death (VA 8.31).¹¹⁹

The entire phenomenon of literary conversion, naturally better known in Christian texts of this period than in pagan ones, was studied by Nock (1933). The very first Christian conversion-dialogue, from the first decades of the third century, is the Latin work *Octavius* by Minucius Felix, which doubles *Heroicus* in some formal aspects: it begins with a chance meeting on the beach in Ostia, at a beautiful and relaxing spot; a skeptic who is a critic of Christian beliefs is converted after hearing the other side; at the end, he postpones further discussion of the mysteries to tomorrow, because the sun is setting (*Oct.* 40).¹²⁰

To some extent these similarities are misleading: the two speakers are already known to each other (and there exists considerable hostility between them), the skepticism of the converted is of a philosophical kind, and the substance of the dialogue, allowing each to make his case in full in alternation, resembles a Ciceronian dialogue more closely than the Platonic style of *Heroicus*.

¹¹⁹ ἰδρῶτί τε πολλῷ ἔρρειτο καὶ ἐβόα "πέθομαί σου." ἐρομένων δ' αὐτὸ τῶν παρόντων, ὃ τι πέπουθεν, "οὐχ ὀρᾶτε" ἔφη "ἡμεῖς Ἀπολλώνιον τὸν σοφόν . . ."

¹²⁰ Some of these elements occur also in Justin's *Dialogue with Trypho*.

In any case, most scholars of early Christianity and secular literature would agree that it was Christians who adapted the pagan dialogues, not the other way around.¹²¹ The "protreptic" dialogue was a form used by Aristotle and in Cicero's *Hortensius*, both now lost, but their forms are used (or parodied) by Lucian in four dialogues: *Nigrinus* (a conversion to philosophy so effective that even the man to whom the story is told is converted); *Hermotimus* (a student of philosophy is converted to "a normal life" [*κοινὸς βίος*] and abandons philosophy, a sort of "apotreptic" as Schäublin [1985] notes); and two conversions to absurd vocations, the life of the parasite (*de Parasito*) and a love of theatrical dance (*de Saltatione*). As Schäublin (1985) notes, these four dialogues have in common an initial declaration of criticism or disbelief, a willingness to listen to the case for it, and a concluding statement of belief. All these are of course to be found in *Heroicus*. But there is an additional link with a work of Lucian when we consider precisely what it is that the Phoenician embraces: it is not the religion of the heroes themselves, but the highly entertaining *stories* about them that the vine-dresser tells that captivate him. The inability to disbelieve captivating stories is the subject of Lucian's *Lover of Lies*, for which the title *ἀπιστος* is also preserved. There Tychiades (who is the one "converted" in *Parasite*) complains to his interlocutor of a host's insistence on telling him one tall tale after another, until he finally had to leave him in disgust. The tales Tychiades repeats, however, are so cap-

¹²¹ Schäublin (1985). Grossardt (2006a, 41–61) finds at the beginning and the end of *Heroicus* and VA glimpses of an underlying Epicureanism at odds with their purported contents; see also ch. 4.6 n. 15.

tivating that his hearer confesses he himself is in danger of believing them. Now, the tale whose very beginning finally sends Tychiades packing promises to be about an oracle from the hero Amphilochous in Cilicia, mentioned early on by the vinedresser as a hero that the Phoenician probably knows already (17.1). In Lucian's *Assembly of the Gods* 12, Momus includes in his complaint to Zeus the fraudulent divinity of six heroes, all named in Heroicus:

Trophonius, Zeus, and (what sticks in my gorge beyond everything) Amphilochous, who, though the son of an outcast and matricide, gives prophecies, the miscreant, in Cilicia, telling lies most of the time and playing charlatan for the sake of his two obols. That is why you, Apollo, are no longer in favor; at present, oracles are delivered by every stone and every altar that is drenched with oil and has garlands and can provide itself with a charlatan—of whom there are plenty. Already the statue of Polydamas the athlete heals those who have fevers in Olympia, Alcmaeon, son of Amphiaraus; he slew his mother Eriphyle, fled from Argos in frenzy, and never returned. And the statue of Theagenes does likewise in Thasos; they sacrifice to Hector in Troy and to Protesilaus on the opposite shore, in the Chersonnese. (Harmon 1936)

Two of the heroes are oracular, two are healers, and two are worshipped at Troy, including the vinedresser's favorite. Jones (1986, 35–37) suggested very plausibly that such an attack may have contributed to the motives for the *Heroicus* itself, which is in stark opposition to the failed

“conversion” of *Philopseudes*. The vinedresser is a much more sophisticated storyteller, and with gradual revelations, he reels the Phoenician in with apparent indifference to his disbelief, until he is manipulated by the vinedresser into begging for more stories—and renouncing his skepticism. To put the comparison another way, at the end of *Octavius*, Caecilius professes his faith but breaks it off at sunset to hear the rest tomorrow. At the end of *Heroicus*, the Phoenician wants to continue to get stories of the underworld but is put off by the vinedresser because of sunset; he can come again tomorrow if the winds are still against him, but he now prays to Poseidon that this will happen so he can hear more stories. *Heroicus* in different ways has bested Lucian and Christian conversion dialogues alike, since the vinedresser has used neither argument nor conviction, but rather the power of his narrative, to guide the restoration of the power of the heroes.

8. PROTESILAUS (Chs. 8.18–16)

The chief religious presence in the life of the vinedresser, and the source for his information on heroes, is Protesilaus¹²² of Thessaly. As we learn from Homer's catalog of the Greek contingents before Troy, Protesilaus' career had been brief (*Il.* 695–702).¹²³

¹²² His name is an epic form of *Prôtolaos*, “first of the people” (Fick and Bechtel (1894, 408).

¹²³ According to Hesiod's *Catalog of Women* (fr. 199.6), he had been one of the suitors of Helen; on Philostratus' invention of his glorious role in the battle against Telephus in Mysia, see §10 below.

Some lived in Phylake, and flowering Pyrasos
 the holy place of Demeter, and Iton the mother of
 flocks,
 and Antron on the seacoast and grassy Pteleos;
 these warlike Protesilaus commanded
 while he yet lived; but by then the black earth already
 covered him.
 His wife, her cheeks torn with grief, had been left
 behind in Phylake,
 and his house was half-built; but a Dardanian man¹²⁴
 killed him,
 as he leaped from his ship, by far the first of the
 Achaeans.

But the disappointment of his life as a warrior was compensated with posthumous honors and powers. Tradition assigned his burial to the land across the Hellespont—on the Gallipoli peninsula, where in the First World War many youthful invaders would be cut down, as he had been—near the town on its western tip, Elaious (literally, “The town of the Olive,” modern Eski Kale). A neolithic mound there is still known as the tomb of Protesilaus, and there can be little doubt that this is the site where the

¹²⁴ Later writers tried to supply the name of this unspecified Trojan. Most often it was Hector—in the epic cycle and Sophocles’ *Shepherds* (Kullmann [1960, 184–85])—but other possibilities (Achates, Euphorbos, Aeneas) are reviewed in schol. (D) *Il.* 2.701. One ingenious interpreter (*FGrHist* 56 F 1) suggested that Dardanos meant a Greek friend of Protesilaus’ named Dardanos, who “killed him” in the sense that he failed to tell him of the prophecy of Thetis that the first to leave his ship would die.

people of Elaious erected his *herōon* and statue¹²⁵ and where Philostratus’ dialogue is set in a vineyard near his sacred grove.¹²⁶

In the final story of his *Histories*, Herodotus tells of a Persian’s attempt in 480 BC¹²⁷ to desecrate Protesilaus’ shrine and of the hero’s revenge (9.116–21):

The tyrant of this district was a subordinate of Xerxes named Artayktes, a clever and wanton Persian; as the king was marching toward Athens, he had tricked him and stolen the treasures of Protesilaus son of Iphiklos from Elaious. For Elaious in the Chersonnese was the site of Protesilaus’ tomb and shrine, where there was much money, gold and silver goblets, bronze and clothing and other dedica-

¹²⁵ Tutelary deity of Elaious: Paus. 1.34.2. For the shrine see §6 above (Setting). The statue is described at *Her.* 9.5; for coinage depicting it see §11 below (ekphrasis). For shrines in Thessaly (16.4) one at Phylake is known from Pind. *Isthm.* 1.58–9, and Agon for Protesilaus in Thessaly: Schol. Pind. 1.1.11. For mockery of his supposed oracle in Lucian, *Parliament of the Gods* 12, see §7 above (on the Phoenician’s “conversion”).

¹²⁶ Grove, ch. 9.1. The trees surrounding Protesilaus’ mound are described with less detail by Plin. *HN* 16.238; Antiphilus of Byzantium *A.P.* 7.141 (= Gow and Page 1968, Ep. 23); Philip of Thessalonica *A.P.* 7.385 (= Ep. 33); Quintus of Smyrna 7.408–11. As Gow and Page (1968) note, the scene is modeled on the tomb of Eetion, *Il.* 6.419ff. For heroic sacred groves, see Birge (1982, 39–42, 143 [Strabo]); particularly notable was the grove of Anagros, Aristoph. *fr.* 41–66 Kassel-Austin.

¹²⁷ A coin from Scione soon after 480 BC (the time of Artayktes’ desecration), Kraay (1976, 134).

tions, which, with the king's permission, Artayktes stole.

He deceived Xerxes with these words: "Master, here there is the house of a Greek who attacked your country, but received his just punishment and was killed. Give me this man's house, so that all may learn not to attack your land." Obviously such a request was bound to persuade Xerxes to give him the man's house, since he had no inkling of its real meaning: in saying that Protesilaus attacked the king's land, he implied that the Persians consider all of Asia to belong to them and to whoever is their king.

Once the award had been made, Artayktes removed the treasures from Elaious to Sestos and planted the land in the sacred precinct and farmed it, and whenever he made personal visits to Elaious, he had sex with women in the shrine.

[When the Athenians besieged Artayktes at Sestos, he was captured trying to escape and returned under guard.]

It is said by those who live in the Chersonnese that one of Artayktes' guards, when he was roasting some salted fish, saw a portent: the salt fish lying in the fire wriggled and squirmed as if they had been freshly caught. The bystanders were amazed, but when Artayktes saw it he told the man roasting the fish "don't be afraid of this omen; it isn't meant for you. Protesilaus from Elaious is showing me that despite being dead and dried up,¹²⁸ he has power

¹²⁸ *Tarichos* means not only "dried fish" but "mummy."

from the gods to punish an evildoer. I wish, therefore, to offer the following compensation: to pay to the god,¹²⁹ in return for the treasure I took from the shrine, 100 talents; and for myself and my son I shall pay the Athenians two hundred talents, if I am spared."

But his offer did not persuade the Athenian general Xanthippus. The people of Elaious demanded that Artayktes be executed to avenge Protesilaus, and the general agreed with them. They took Artayktes to the shore to which Xerxes had attached his bridge—others say it was the hill above the city of Madytus—there nailed him up onto a plank, and then stoned his son to death before his eyes.

This was the place of Alexander's visit in 334 (Arr. *Anab.* 1.11.5):

When he arrived at Elaious he sacrificed at the tomb of Protesilaus, because Protesilaus seemed to be the first of the Greeks on the expedition against Troy with Agamemnon to disembark; the intent of the sacrifice was for him to have a more successful landing than Protesilaus.

Later in the fifth century, Euripides in his tragedy *Protesilaus*¹³⁰ took up the story again, focusing on the grieving wife, Laodameia (Polydora in the *Cypria*, Paus. 4.2.5). The play is lost, and although it is likely that later mythographic

¹²⁹ The use of "god" for a hero is not uncommon; see Rusten (1983, 289n3).

¹³⁰ Collard and Cropp (2008, 8.106–17).

sources preserve its plot, they also give too many variants for the Euripidean version to be reconstructed with certainty. In one version, Protesilaus is allowed to visit his widow for one day from the underworld, and he persuades her to join him in death. In another, Laodameia turns to magic and attempts to bring a statue of the dead man to life,¹³¹ but her father discovers and burns the statue, whereupon she takes her own life. Whether Euripides told one of these (or a combination of them, or one of the other minor variants) is impossible to say; Philostratus himself only alludes to the story, without giving any details (ch. 2.9–11).

Elaborated romantically by Ovid (*Her.* 13) and satirically by Lucian (*Dial. mort.* 23), Protesilaus' final visit to his wife is a common theme of sarcophagus reliefs.¹³²

For Philostratus, what distinguishes Protesilaus from the other heroes (apart from his usefulness as a source of information) is his early death, which excluded him from receiving his due from Homer; his military greatness without the temperament of Achilles, and *sophia* (4.10) without the aloofness of Palamedes; his moral compass; and

¹³¹ Burkert (1983, 245) stresses the affinity between this statue magic and the women's worship (represented on Lerna vases) of the Dionysus mask and statue; he also compares the story of Philinnion of Amphipolis (*FGrHist* 257 F 36.1): she returned from the dead to visit a young lodger at her old house, until her parents broke in on them, whereupon she died once again, her young lover joining her in grief a few days later.

¹³² Platt (2011, 388); Zanker, Ewald, and Slater (2011, 93–95).

his beneficent attitude to mortals. Protesilaus exercises all the powers characteristic of a local hero (see §4 above): favor (or punishment when merited) to his neighbors, athletic skill, and prophecy.

9. LIVES OF THE HEROES

The Catalog of Heroes

The center of *Heroicus* (chs. 25–51) constitutes a work not dissimilar to that undertaken in the *Lives of the Sophists*:¹³³ a series of biographical sketches, systematically covering a particular occupational type (as of emperors, artists, or poets) of the Greek and Trojan heroes of the Trojan War (interrupted by a biography of Homer himself [43–44]), then finally a biography of Achilles. Bowie (2004, 76–77) gives a “checklist” of items to be included in a sophistic biography, and *Heroicus* too has its standard elements, though of unequal length and emphasis:

- comparative estimates of their talents (including athletics as well as warfare)
- physical descriptions (on which see §11 below)
- anecdotes, especially those with moral value
- critique of Homer's treatment of them, and if necessary “corrections” of it

But Philostratus' favorite heroes receive special treatment, as has Protesilaus already.

¹³³ For Philostratus' methods in *Lives of the Sophists*, see Whitmarsh (2004) and Hägg (2012, 341–51).

Palamedes (Ch. 33)

In this catalog, Philostratus gives special attention to an intellectual hero (*sophistes*, 33.25, *sophos/sophia*, 33.1, 8, 10, 15, etc.). Palamedes had first appeared in the cyclic epic *Cypria* (M. L. West 2013, 102, 123–25), where he angers Odysseus by exposing his feigned madness, and while fishing he is drowned by Odysseus and Diomedes. But by the fifth century, when the development of civilization was seen as a series of technological advances, Palamedes acquired the role of the archetypical inventor, who is as wise, high-minded, and magnanimous as Odysseus is crafty, malicious, and jealous. He was the inventor of writing, games, astronomy, military formations, and strategy, and he was a savior from plague (public health) and famine.¹³⁴

Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides all wrote plays about Palamedes, of which plot summaries seem to be preserved in the mythographers.¹³⁵ They all tell of Odysseus' plot to have Palamedes falsely condemned and executed by the Greek army. In the most elaborate version, Odysseus captured a Phrygian slave carrying Trojan gold, then fabricated a dream in which Athena warned they must move their camp for one night; when Agamemnon ordered this, he buried the gold on the spot where Palamedes' tent had been. Next Odysseus ordered the captured slave to write a letter in Phrygian from Priam to Palamedes and made him carry it back to Troy, seeing to it that he was killed on the way and the letter captured.

¹³⁴ See in general Falcetto (2003), Hodkinson (2011), Romero Mariscal (2008a), Usener (1994a).

¹³⁵ Gantz (1996, 605).

Palamedes was tried for treason; when the gold was discovered under his tent, he was convicted and stoned to death, not only becoming the most famous victim of a kangaroo court but also the first man to be framed using his own invention—writing.

Palamedes thus became the archetype of the innocent philosopher-sophist, martyred by ignorant jurors at the hands of jealous rivals; he is cited as an example in the Socratic apologies of both Plato and Xenophon, and the quintessential sophist Gorgias wrote a fictional defense speech, using arguments from probability to demonstrate the emptiness of Odysseus' charges.¹³⁶ Near the close (chs. 30–31), Gorgias defended his own contributions (Dillon and Gergel 2003):

I might indeed claim, and in doing so I would not be lying, nor could I be refuted, that I am not only blameless but actually a major benefactor of you and of the Greek nation and of mankind in general, not only of the present generation but of all those to come. For who else but I made human life viable instead of destitute, and civilized instead of uncivilized, by developing military tactics, a major contrivance for progress; written laws, the guarantees of justice; writing, the instrument of memory; weights and measures, the convenient means of commercial exchange; number, the guardian of goods; powerful beacons and very swift messenger

¹³⁶ A speech of prosecution by Odysseus is preserved with an ascription to Alcidas; see O'Sullivan (2008).

services—and, last but not least, draughts, a harmless way of passing the time?

Unlike the extended story of Telephus with Protesilaus, the “suppressed” plot to kill Palamedes and his trial itself, as known from Euripides’ play and the defense speech of Gorgias, are not told in full by the vinedresser. We are thus left with a concentrated focus on the man’s character itself, a combination of technological brilliance and political naïveté.¹³⁷

Apollonius of Tyana comes across a boy in India who is the reincarnation of Palamedes (VA 3.22.2); later, when he interviews Achilles at Troy (above, §1), he learns the hidden location of Palamedes’ burial, finds his tomb and statue opposite Methymna, and establishes a shrine to him there (VA 4.33.9).¹³⁸

*Achilles (Chs. 45–51)*¹³⁹

Unlike Protesilaus and Palamedes, Achilles is a major figure in the *Iliad*. The vinedresser’s story of Achilles is

¹³⁷ In Dictys 2.15 by contrast, the Palamedes plot is simple and quick—he is tricked into a well by Odysseus and Diomedes and stoned, in a reminiscence of the Doloneia in *Il.* 10. In Dares (chs. 25–30) Palamedes instigates a revolt and actually replaces Agamemnon as commander (to the anger of Achilles) but is then himself killed in battle by Paris, and Agamemnon re-takes command.

¹³⁸ The shrine is mentioned by Plin. *HN* 5.22, Strabo 13.1.51; cf. Cook (1973, 239); Grossardt (2006a, 604–5).

¹³⁹ For his cults at Troy see §12 below, and for his life on Leuke see §13 below.

marked by frequent corrections of that poem:¹⁴⁰ his anger against the Greeks was the result of Palamedes’ death (48.6–8), he never lost his armor to Hector or received replacement armor from the gods (47.2), he was killed not in battle but in an ambush while expecting to marry Polyxena (47.4, see below). But we hear less about Achilles’ career in war (and nothing about his being honored by Alexander and Caracalla) than about his childhood education in music and poetry (45.5–7) and his youthful mission to Scyros and marriage there (46.2–4). The major themes for Achilles are:

- his parents’ plans for him (Thetis takes him to Aulis to fulfill his fate, and Peleus sends him to Scyros on a commission)
- his highly developed sense of honor in money matters
- his love for Deidameia and Polyxena (Patroclus is not so much in evidence)¹⁴¹
- his volatile temperament, which is the reason for the decision to educate him in music, and is explained by his loyalty to his friends Palamedes and Patroclus, but it surfaces later against the Thessalians, the Trojan girl, and also the Amazons

¹⁴⁰ For comparisons with Dictys, see Huhn and Bethe (1917). For all the extra-Homeric Achilles traditions, see Burgess (2009) and King (1987).

¹⁴¹ For these traditions, see especially Fantuzzi (2012).

10. STORIES EXPURGATED
BY HOMER*Telephus* (Ch. 23)

Onto Protesilaus' revelations Philostratus grafts an extensive narrative of the battle of the Greeks with Telephus of Mysia. The mythographers give four stages of his story.¹⁴²

- illegitimate birth to Auge by Heracles and escape from exposure and execution of his mother by her hostile father
- both Telephus and mother escape to Mysia and Teuthras, where Telephus becomes his adopted son
- battle against the invading Greeks, where he repels them but receives an unhealable wound
- his trip back to Greece in disguise to follow the advice of an oracle that the healer will be the one who wounded him

The first of these was told in Euripides' tragedy *Auge*, the fourth in his *Telephus* (Collard and Cropp 2008, 7:259–77, 8:185–223). The second is known from Hesiod's *Catalogue of Women* (fr. 165 M-W), and may have occurred in various plays by Aeschylus and Sophocles.¹⁴³ The third forms the heart of the vinedresser's epic narrative of how Protesilaus came to possess Telephus' shield.

¹⁴² Gantz (1996, 428–31, 526–80).

¹⁴³ Hyg. 99 and 100 preserve the description of a suspenseful plot in which mother and son recognize each other just as he is about to marry her, and she about to murder him.

But it seems likely that Philostratus is influenced by the recent discussion of Pausanias,¹⁴⁴ and especially by the great Hellenistic frieze at Pergamon, still preserved in Berlin today.¹⁴⁵ The Pergamene king Attalus II viewed Teuthras of Mysia and through him Telephus as an important ancestor,¹⁴⁶ and this frieze tells the entire story of his life, several pictures on which seem to match Protesilaus' descriptions, notably the death of two sons of the Danube and the woman fighter Hiera.

The episodes of the narrative are mostly built on resemblances or contrasts with other aspects of the *Heroicus* or the Trojan War:¹⁴⁷

- the rationalistic dismissal of the notion that the Greeks thought they were at Troy (cf. the refutation of their motives at Troy in 25.12; for the method, see on Dio's *Troicus* and §5 above)
- the fiercely fought landing and leap onto shore by both Achilles and Protesilaus that succeeds here brilliantly, but misfires later at Troy (12.1)
- Protesilaus' stripping of Telephus' shield before his wounding parallels Apollo's of Patroclus (*Il.* 16.802), except that Telephus survives

¹⁴⁴ See Cohen (2001, 98–100), who notes that Telephus has a *herōon*.

¹⁴⁵ Bauchhens-Thüriedl (1971); Dreyfus and Schraudolph (1996).

¹⁴⁶ Robert (1984).

¹⁴⁷ The battle with Telephus figured in Dictys (2.1–7, where Telepolemus is an agent of peace after battle); in Dares ch. 16, Telephus is from the start a Greek ally.

- Haemus, son of Ares, is prominently killed here, as is another of his sons, Ascalaphus, in the *Iliad* (13.518–25, 15.104–42)
- the woman warrior Hiera, who is killed and whose body is so beautiful, is clearly based on Penthesileia, except that she is now Telephus' wife, and perhaps the eponym of Hierapolis

New elements are:

- The Arcadians' ineptitude during the landing (23.15) may be a hit at Pausanias 1.4.6 and Aelius Aristides 23.15, as Grossardt (2006a) notes.
- Ajax's rogue attack (23.22) on the sons of the Danube and use of his shield to make noise to frighten their horses¹⁴⁸ contrasts with (as Grossardt [2006a] notes) the rebuke he has just been described making to Menestheus for lack of obedience.
- The addition of troops from the "northern" Mysians, by an interpretation of *Il.* 13.4–7 (see *Her.* ch. 23.10 note), which allows the entrance of two sons of the river Danube.¹⁴⁹

Although the participation of Hiera and the sons of the Danube is not attested by name before *Heroicus*, two panels of the Pergamon frieze depict two men fighting from a chariot (Dreyfus and Schraudolph 1996, catalog 66)

¹⁴⁸ For which Grossardt (2006a) aptly compares Xen. *An.* 1.8.18, and Philostr. VA 2.11.1, VS 1.21.5; though we should note that in Homer, Ajax's shield is not metal.

¹⁴⁹ For the theme of offspring of rivers fighting at Troy, see Fenno (2005, 482n19).

and a mounted woman attacked by a warrior (*LIMC* Hiera pl. 1).

Achilles and Polyxena (Ch. 51.1)

Philostratus refers to the unusual version of Achilles' death found in Dictys 4.9–10 and subsequently in mythographic scholia (see Frazer 1966, on Apollod. *Bibl. Eptt.* 5.3) and in medieval romances of Troy (King 1987, 196–205): Achilles had been promised Polyxena as his bride by Priam and was lured unarmed to the temple of Apollo Thymbraeus to conclude the bargain, where he was ambushed and killed by Paris and Deiphobus. (*Il.* 22.359–60 refers the death of Achilles to the Scaean gates, and despite Philostratus' claim cannot possibly refer to this story.)

11. VERBALIZING THE VISUAL

The age of the Second Sophistic was greatly interested in the pseudoscience of physiognomy; indeed, the sophist Polemon even compiled a handbook of it (Swain 2007). Although the "science" was completely arbitrary and there was no standardized system, physical descriptions, especially the face, have their regular place in biographies by Plutarch and Suetonius. We would in any case expect the author of the *Imagines* to be ambitious in expressing visual sensations in words. But it is in the *Lives of the Sophists* that we find the closest analogue, where Philostratus gives Herodes' visual description of his rustic friend Agathion (2.552 tr. W. C. Wright):

He says that his hair grew evenly on his head, his eyebrows were bushy and they met as though they were but one, and his eyes gave out a brilliant gleam which betrayed his impulsive temperament; he was hooked-nosed, and had a solidly built neck, which was due rather to work than to diet. His chest, too, was well formed and beautifully slim, and his legs were lightly bowed outwards, which made it easy for him to stand firmly planted.

In *Heroicus* the Phoenician is constantly asking to “see” the heroes, i.e., to have a description of their appearance (see 10.1, 10.5 [Protesilaus], 26.13 [Nestor], 33.38 [Palamedes]). The vinedresser includes in his short “Lives” fifteen physiognomic sketches, mostly of just a few words but especially developed in the cases of his three favorites, and the fullest of these is Achilles (48.2–5). These most commonly describe the hair, nose, brow, eye color and emotions expressed, the neck, and the skin. Rarely are their bodies described, in contrast to *Gymnasticus*.

An occasion for further elaboration is comparison of hero to his statue. Like sophists,¹⁵⁰ proper heroes have statues (*ἄγαλμα*, *ἄνδριάς* used only of the athlete Helix [15.1]), and the descriptions of Protesilaus and Hector interweave consideration of the statue with the hero himself (Platt 2011, 241; Francis 2003). Euphorbus is himself compared to a statue of Apollo (42.3).

But the vinedresser indicates the limitations of ekphrasis in a piquant example (47.5). Protesilaus reports that the *Iliad*'s preeminent ekphrasis, the figures on the Shield

¹⁵⁰ Chart in Bowie (2004, 76–77).

of Achilles, was an evasion. The real shield that Thetis fashioned for him (there was no replacement by the Hephaestus since it was never lent to Patroclus) had no figures on it; rather, it had colors only, which were so far beyond human powers that Homer was forced to substitute one with pictures instead.

12. RITUALS

Descriptions of Greek religious rituals had been part of ethnography since Herodotus on Egypt, and historiography since Thucydides on the public funeral; they are frequently deployed in Plutarch (the Plataean ritual in the *Life of Aristides*) and by such different authors as the mocking Lucian¹⁵¹ and the devout Pausanias.¹⁵² Apollo-nius of Tyana is said to have written a treatise on “how to sacrifice to any divinity appropriately and acceptably” (VA 3.41.2, cf. 4.19).

There are four descriptions of ritual in *Heroicus*; most relate to the chthonic offerings to the heroes or the dead, and all are dense with details of performance, symbolism, and specialized vocabulary.

Funerary Rites of Ajax of Locris (Ch. 31.8–9)

The vinedresser skips the funerals of Patroclus and Achilles, and in the other notable deaths, Ajax and Palamedes, traditional rituals are not allowed: but in this one case there is an unusual procedure, which the vinedresser him-

¹⁵¹ Graf (2011).

¹⁵² Pirenne-Delforge (2001).

self informs us was an improvisation, apparently not traditional or commanded by any god. The unique "Viking burial" for Locrian Ajax might be compared with Egyptian (pyramid of Cheops) and Anglo-Saxon and Celtic (Scyld, *Beowulf* 27–52, and Sutton Hoo) ship burials. It is recounted (doubtless from this passage of *Heroicus*) also by Tzetzes on Lycophron Alexandra 368 (Scheer 1881, 141). Within the Greek world one might compare the *ploiaphesia* in the cult of Isis (Apul. *Met.* 11.17; Huhn and Bethel 1917, 622–24). Grossardt (2006a, 566) also compares a funerary ritual described by Nicolaus of Damascus (*FGrHist* 90 F 118). For the "black ship of death" as a theme in lamentations, see Alexiou (1974, 192).

Ritual of New Fire at Lemnos (Ch. 53.5–7)

The second ritual is told by the vinedresser himself. Burkert (1970) finds it has the ring of authenticity, as part of the lore of nearby Lemnos, still maintained in the current day (a "Philostratus" was a priest of Hephaestus); it relates to purification but still juxtaposed to a sacrifice to the dead.

*Thessalian Ritual for Achilles in Troy*¹⁵³
(Ch. 53.8–23)

There was a cult of Thetis in Thessaly (Burkert 1985, 417n30), but there is no other evidence for one of Achilles.

¹⁵³ See especially Rutherford (2009) and Aitken (2001). The same story is told from a different perspective/authority/date in VA 4.16 (the same mound but no blood sacrifice, anger at Thes-

This ritual begins with the command from an oracle for a double offering to Achilles (53.8), which leads to a sacred voyage with black sails (as at Lemnos) to a hostile country¹⁵⁴ to make elaborate offerings. Their description (53.11–12) evokes terminologically the opposition in sacrifice between offerings to heroes and the dead (*enagizein*, which burns the entire victim) and those to the gods (*thyein*, which sends smoke to the gods, but the meat is consumed by the celebrants—see the note on 53.13). This distinction¹⁵⁵ seems to have been extended from cults of Heracles (Hdt. 1.167.2, 2.44; Thuc. 3.58.4, 5.11.1; Paus. 4.32.3) and applied here to Achilles (though later the Olympian part is abandoned by the Thessalians). Another elaboration of detail is the trenches (*bothroi*) with blood for the hero.¹⁵⁶ Even the cult hymn is reproduced.

This passage is in many ways a model (although not linguistically) for the long description of a Thessalian sacrifice to Neoptolemus at Delphi, including a hymn to Thetis, by Heliod. *Aeth.* 3.35ff. (a work that also alludes to the *Life of Apollonius*). Here there is the same opposition,

saliens but now AD 1 and Apollonius plays the role of the oracle, but no sacrificial description because the rite is forgotten; the punishment-sequel is picked up again in *Heroicus*).

¹⁵⁴ Rutherford (2009) thinks of the ritual of the Locrian maidens, but its rationale seems more like the inverse of that atonement ritual. It is more like relatives from ANZAC armies to the cemeteries of Gallipoli.

¹⁵⁵ Ekroth (2002, 74–128). The distinctiveness of *enagizein* and *thuein* seems however to be absent elsewhere in the dialogue.

¹⁵⁶ Compare the dead in general in *Od.* 11 and *Her.* 43.14, and in Paus. 9.39.6, 9.37.7; see Ekroth (2002, 67).

but now *thusia* for Apollo, *enagismata* for Neoptolemus (Rutherford 2009, 246).

Sacrifices on Leuke

One important feature of the stories of this fantastic island (see next section) is the fact that arrivals need provide no sacrificial victim: there is one standing ready for them at the altar.

Some judge these rituals to be fictions, others to be actual traditions. Even if we doubt them, we must admit that the author has a very good ear for authentic-sounding descriptions. Paradoxically, the Delian-Lemnian ritual and the Thessalian-Trojan one are situated by the vine-dresser in the locality, and he seems to have direct knowledge of the first; yet their existence has been questioned (Rutherford 2009; cf. however Graninger 2011). The final cult site, known only by distant report and seeming utterly fantastic, turns out to possess a sound archaeological basis in reality.

13. AMAZING STORIES

That the spirit of Achilles was translated not to the Isles of the Blessed (as in Hesiod's *Works and Days*, §1 above) but to the Black Sea island of Leuke is told already in the *Aithiopsis* (M. L. West 2013, 155–56) alluded to in Pindar (*Nem.* 4.49), Alcaeus (fr. 354 Lobel-Page), and Euripides (*Andr.* 1259–62, *IT* 435–38), and forms the background of a parody in Aristophanes' *Birds*.¹⁵⁷ The vine-dresser's tale

¹⁵⁷ Rusten (2012); the proof is that the place where men can

alludes to details of these accounts, but it responds most immediately to two second-century AD authors on Leuke, both of whom use the story in confirmation of the existence of the divinity of heroes. After his assertions on the heroes as *daimones* (see above, §4), Maximus of Tyre (9.7) writes:

Achilles dwells on an island in the Black Sea opposite the mouth of the Ister, where he has a temple and altars. No one would go there of his own free will, except to offer sacrifices; and it is only after offering sacrifices that he will set foot in the temple. Sailors passing the island have often seen a young man with tawny hair, clad in golden armour, exercising there. Others have not seen him, but have heard him singing. Yet others have both seen and heard him. One man even fell asleep inadvertently on the island. Achilles himself appeared to him, raised him to his feet, took him to his tent, and entertained him; Patroclus was there to serve the wine, Achilles played the lyre, and Thetis and a host of other *daimones* were present too.

Arrian's *Periplus of the Black Sea* (23.3–5), addressed to Hadrian, concluded his description of the island with this meditation (I add the Greek to show language which recalls the Phoenician's reaction):

associate with heroes by day but not at night corresponds to *Her.* 54.11–12.

τάδε μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς νήσου τῆς τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως ἀκοὴν ἀνέγραψα τῶν ἢ αὐτῶν προσχόντων ἢ ἄλλων πεπυσμένων καὶ μοι δοκεῖ οὐκ ἄπιστα εἶναι. Ἀχιλλέα γὰρ ἐγὼ πείθομαι εἶπερ τινὰ καὶ ἄλλον ἦρωα εἶναι, τῇ τε εὐγενείᾳ τεκμαιρόμενος καὶ τῷ κάλλει καὶ τῇ ῥώμῃ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τῷ νέον μεταλλάξαι ἐξ ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῇ Ὀμήρου ἐπ' αὐτῷ ποιήσει καὶ τῷ ἐρωτικῶν γενέσθαι καὶ φιλέταιρον, ὡς καὶ ἐπαποθανεῖν ἐλέσθαι τοῖς παιδικοῖς.

I wrote these things about the island of Achilles based on reports from those who landed there themselves or heard stories from others; and they seem to me not to be untrustworthy. For I believe that Achilles is a hero, if anyone else is, basing my judgment on his nobility, his beauty, the strength of his spirit, his youthful departure from mankind, Homer's poetry about him and his passionate and loyal nature, which led him to choose to die after his beloved boy.¹⁵⁸

The appeal of Leuke as a home for Achilles since archaic times has doubtless been its remote isolation; and yet a series of Russian excavators in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have identified the island as modern Zmeinij, which contains the remains of the Hellenistic temple and hundreds of dedications (ostraca, coins, in-

¹⁵⁸ A reminder of Antinous here seems likely.

scriptions), especially to Achilles (sometimes under the name Pontarches).¹⁵⁹

The vinedresser's story adapts Lucian's *Isles of the Blessed* in the true history in making Achilles and Helen sing the verses of Homer in an endless symposium, but it also continues themes raised earlier in *Heroicus*: Achilles' talent for poetry finally blossoms, and the final paradox is that the song of his that is transcribed is in praise of his praiser, Homer. There are also Protesilaus-like beneficent epiphanies to sailors with warnings of adverse winds or invitations to join them (except at night).

But the climax of the story is an instance of Achilles' savagery, and this too takes up an earlier theme (see §9 above). Achilles' request for a Trojan slave girl from a merchant is recognized too late to be a continuation of the search for the last virgin of the house of Priam that demanded the sacrifice of Polyxena (Fantuzzi [2012, 15], who compares also Agamemnon's threats in *Il.* 9.139–40). Her violent death recalls the hero of Temesa, recounted by Strabo 6.1.5; Paus. 6.6, 7–10; and Ael. *V. H.* 8.18, see Callimachus fr. 78 Pfeiffer. See above, §4.

The miraculous repulse of the Amazons from Leuke is not told elsewhere and is doubtless an amalgam of motifs of foolhardy impiety and supernatural punishment. It illustrates the heroic function of guarding against invasion (Introduction §4) and might recall the encounter of the Persians with the heroes Phylakos and Autoonoo at Delphi (*Hdt.* 8.36–39). It is curious, however, that it is dated by the vinedresser to the Hellenistic period, which provides a clue to another approximate model, the attack of the

¹⁵⁹ Rusyaeva (2003); Ochotnikov (2006).

Gauls on Delphi in 279 BC narrated by Paus. 10.23 and Justin Trogus, Book 24.¹⁶⁰ In the first, the Gauls take over the sanctuary, Apollo sends supernatural obstacles (dead heroes, rocks fall on them, and irrational panic causes them to kill each other), and the local Phocians join the fight (Athens and Aetolians pursue them after this point, and Brennus, the Gallic leader, drinks himself to death). In Justin the god himself joins with Athena and destroys them with the help of the Delphians alone, and their leader Brennus kills himself.

The conversation that began with the description of the *locus amoenus* of the benign Protesilaus has ended in remote Leuke with the savage revenge of Achilles; it is little wonder the Phoenician listener cannot wait to hear more.

14. THE MANUSCRIPTS AND MODERN EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

The dialogue was very popular in antiquity and thereafter, so that many manuscripts contain the text, often along with other works of Philostratus. The first printed edition was by Aldus Manutius in 1503. Of subsequent editions, the most important are those of Boissonade (1806, Heroicus alone with scholia and a commentary) and Kayser (all the works of Philostratus, first in 1844 and then the two-volume Teubner edition of 1870–71). Kayser reported thirty-eight manuscripts; the new Teubner edition of de Lannoy (1977) established that two of these were

¹⁶⁰ See also Callim. *Hymn* 4 171–84; Nachtergaeel (1977); Pritchett (1971–1985, 3.30–32). For an epigraphically attested pirate raid on Leuke, see S. West (2003, 166); Ochotnikov (2006, 78–79).

actually two parts of the same manuscript, and added eleven more witnesses, for a total of forty-eight (plus six fragments). Of these, seventeen are important sources, and all of them descend from a miniscule manuscript not earlier than the ninth century. Thereafter, there are two recensions, which de Lannoy names the Laurentian (divided into two families, F [Laurentian Plut. 58, 32 xii–xii century] and ν [six other manuscripts]) and the Parisian (α [four manuscripts] and σ [six manuscripts]).

Because de Lannoy's edition is relatively recent and offers very full reports of manuscript readings and conjectures, textual notes here are minimal, and I follow his text with very few exceptions as noted (mostly in agreement with Grossardt [2006a]).

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OUTLINE OF THE *HEROICUS*

Chapters 1–5: Introductory conversation. The scene is Protesilaus' grove. A Phoenician merchant, scanning the skies for an omen relating to his next voyage, meets a vinedresser somewhere near Elaious in the Thracian Chersonnese. In the course of their talk the vinedresser claims to meet regularly with the hero Protesilaus and receive his aid. The Phoenician is skeptical about all miracles attributed to heroes but would like to hear more; they choose to continue their conversation in the very grove where Protesilaus and the vinedresser meet.

5–8.17: The Phoenician's dream; skepticism on heroes. The Phoenician reveals that a dream has foretold their conversation; but he admits that he finds stories of over-size heroes too much to believe. The vinedresser convinces him with a long list of wonders, some from the past, others from his own day.

8.18–16: Protesilaus. The vinedresser introduces Protesilaus' shrine and its history, and describes the hero's appearance and the way he visits and helps him. The hero also gives prophecies to athletes (being a fine athlete himself), heals diseases, and punishes adulterers.

17–22: Other heroes at Troy. The vinedresser tells how Ajax, Hector, and Palamedes have all appeared at Troy to punish or reward mortals as they deserve.

PHILOSTRATUS

23: The battle against Telephus

24–25.16: Protesilaus' views on Homer

25.17–42: Descriptions of the heroes of the Trojan War.

The vinedresser describes the physical appearance and character of the major Greek and Trojan warriors and corrects Homer's account of each of them.

26: Nestor and Antilochus

27: Diomedes and Sthenelus

28: Philoctetes

29: Agamemnon and Menelaus

30: Idomeneus

31: Ajax of Locris

32: Chiron

33: Palamedes

34: Odysseus

35: Greater Ajax

36: Teucer

37: Hector

38: Aeneas

39: Sarpedon

40: Paris

41–42: Other Trojans

43–44: Homer's life. His dates, contest with Hesiod, and interview and bargain with the ghost of Odysseus.

45–51: The life of Achilles. The vinedresser concludes with a long account of Achilles' birth and education (including the "true story" of his youthful expedition to Scyros and his armor), and his career at Troy; he reveals that Palamedes' death was the real reason for his angry withdrawal from the fighting, that Achilles was killed in an ambush to which the love of Polyxena had drawn him, and that he was buried with Patroclus on the shore.

HEROICUS

52–57: Tales of the hero Achilles. The vinedresser describes the long history of Achilles worship at Troy by the Thessalians and the punishments for its neglect. He also describes the strange island of Leuke in the Black Sea, where he and Helen are immortal, the terrible punishments Achilles inflicted there on a slave girl of Trojan blood and on some Amazons who tried to plunder his shrine.

58: Conclusion. The Phoenician asks for tales of the underworld, but the vinedresser must break off at day's end. He suggests the Phoenician return tomorrow, which the stranger promises to do.

ΦΙΛΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ ΗΡΩΙΚΟΣ

(ΤΑ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΑ ΑΜΠΕΛΟΥΡΓΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΟΙΝΙΞ)

1. ἌΜΠ. Ἴων ὁ ξένος ἢ πόθεν;

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

ἌΜΠ. Τὸ δὲ Ἴωνικὸν τῆς στολῆς;

ΦΟΙΝ. Ἐπιχώριον ἤδη καὶ ἡμῖν τοῖς ἐκ Φοινίκης.

ἌΜΠ. Πόθεν οὖν μετεσκεύασθε;

ΦΟΙΝ. Σύβαρις Ἴωνικὴ τὴν Φοινίκην κατέσχευ ὁμοῦ πάσαν, καὶ γραφὴν ἐκεῖ ἄν τις, οἶμαι, φύγοι μὴ τρυφῶν.

2 ἌΜΠ. Βαδίζεις δὲ ποῖ μετέωρός τε καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντα τὰ ἐν ποσὶ;

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

3 ἌΜΠ. Σοφοί γε, ὦ ξένε, τὰ ναυτικὰ ὄντες· ὑμεῖς γάρ που καὶ τὴν ἑτέραν ἄρκτον ἐνεσημήνασθε τῷ

PHILOSTRATUS, ON HEROES

(The characters: A vinedresser and a Phoenician)

1. *Vinedresser*. Are you an Ionian, stranger, or from where?
Phoenician. A Phoenician, vinedresser, from around Tyre and Sidon.

Vinedresser. But your Ionian clothing. . . ?

Phoenician. That is native to us Phoenicians also.

Vinedresser. How did you come to adopt it?

Phoenician. The Sybaritic habits of Ionia¹ have influenced every bit of Phoenicia—and in Sybaris it was a crime, I imagine, *not* to be luxurious.

Vinedresser. But where are you going with your head 2
in the clouds, ignoring everything in your path?

Phoenician. I am seeking a prophetic sign for a fair voyage, for I hear that we are setting sail on the Aegean itself—a formidable sea, I am sure, and not easy to sail. I am walking facing the wind, for that is the standard by which Phoenicians reckon the conditions for sailing.

Vinedresser. You are skilled in seafaring, stranger, I will 3
allow; for of course you Phoenicians located the other bear

¹ For the proverbial luxury of Sybaris, see Gorman and Gorman (2007). For the Hellenism of Phoenicians, see Introduction §7.

οὐρανῷ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν πλεῖτε. ὥσπερ δὲ τὰς ναυτι-
λίας ἐπαινεῖσθε, οὕτω τὰς ἐμπορίας διαβέβλησθε ὡς
φιλοχρήματοί τε καὶ τρώκται.

4 ΦΟΙΝ. Σὺ δὲ οὐ φιλοχρήματος, ἀμπελουργέ, ζῶν
ἐν ταύταις ταῖς ἀμπέλοις καὶ ζητῶν ἴσως ὅστις μὲν
ὀπωριεῖ καταβαλὼν σοι δραχμὴν τῶν βοτρυῶν, ὅτῳ
δὲ ἀποδώσῃ τὸ γλεύκος ἢ ὅτῳ τὸν ἀνθοσμῖαν; ὄν,
οἶμαι, καὶ κατορωρυγμένον φῆς ἔχειν ὥσπερ ὁ Μά-
ρων.

5 ἌΜΠ. Ἐένε Φοῖνιξ, εἰ μὲν εἰσὶ που τῆς γῆς Κύ-
κλωπες, οὓς λέγεται ἡ γῆ ἀργούδς βόσκειν φυτεύοντας
οὐδὲν οὐδὲ σπείροντας, ἀφύλακτα μὲν τὰ φνόμενα εἶη
ἄν, καίτοι Δήμητρος γε καὶ Διονύσου ὄντα, πωλοῖτο
δ' ἄν οὐδὲν ἐκ τῆς γῆς, ἀλλ' ἄτιμά τε καὶ κοινὰ φύουτ'
ἄν, ὥσπερ ἐν συῶν ἀγορῇ: σπείρειν δὲ ὅπου χρῆ καὶ
ἀροῦν καὶ φυτεύειν καὶ ἄλλο ἐπ' ἄλλῳ πονεῖν προσ-
κείμενον τῇ γῇ καὶ ὑποκείμενον ταῖς ὥραις, ἐνταῦθα
6 πωλεῖν τε χρῆ καὶ ὠνεῖσθαι. δεῖ γὰρ καὶ γεωργία

² The “other bear” (in contrast to the “great” one) is *Ursa Minor*, also called “the Wagon”; Philostratus’ words echo Callimachus (*Iambi* fr. 99.55 Pfeiffer), who says that Thales introduced it to Greece from Phoenicia.

³ Hom. *Od.* 14.289; Pl. *Resp.* 4.436a.

⁴ Maron was the priest of Apollo (later of Dionysus, Eur. *Cyc.* 143; Hesiod fr. 238 M–W), who gave Odysseus the potent wine he carried into Polyphemus’ cave; Homer does not say he buried it, but only that he kept its existence secret from most of his household (*Od.* 9.205–07). Maron was considered the mythical founder of the Thracian town Maroneia, so the Phoenician may be alluding to a local legend.

in the sky, and sail by it.² But with your good reputation as sailors goes an equally bad one as greedy and grasping merchants.³

Phoenician. Do you mean, then, that *you* have no interest in money, vinedresser, even though you live amid this vineyard, and doubtless look for a man to pick your grapes and pay a drachma for them, or customers for your must and fragrant new wine? I suppose you claim to keep it buried underground, like Maron!⁴

Vinedresser. Phoenician stranger, if anywhere on earth there live Cyclopes, whom they say the earth feeds with no labor of planting or sowing on their part,⁵ then plants would be unguarded—even though they belong to Demeter and Dionysus—and no produce of the earth would be sold; instead, they would grow free for all to share in, just as in a “pigs’ marketplace.”⁶ But where it is necessary to sow and plow and plant and toil constantly, attached to the land and in thrall to the seasons, there one must buy and sell. Even farming takes money, and without it you can-

⁵ The vinedresser answers one allusion to *Od.* 9 with another, to 9.107–11: the Cyclopes “relying on the immortal gods neither plant with their hands nor reap, but all things grow for them without sowing or harvesting.” The “Cyclopean life” became proverbial.

⁶ See Rusten (2004): Philostratus has in mind a passage from Pl. *Resp.* (2.372A–D), a work to which he alludes frequently. After Socrates describes an ideal rustic city of simple and unsophisticated pleasures, Adeimantus objects and demands more civilized foods: “If you were constructing a city of pigs (*ἰῶν πόλις*) wouldn’t you give them this fodder also?” Philostratus’ rebuke to the Phoenician’s naïveté substitutes “market” for “city,” because commercialism is the bone of contention between them.

χρημάτων, καὶ ἄνευ τούτων οὔτε ἀρότην θρέψεις οὔτε ἀμπελουργὸν οὔτε βουκόλον οὔτε αἰπόλον, οὐδὲ κρατήρ ἔσται σοι πιεῖν ἢ σπείσαι. καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἥδιστον τῶν ἐν γεωργίᾳ, τὸ τρυγᾶν ἀμπέλους, μισθοῦ χρῆ πρᾶττει· εἰ δὲ μή, αἰνοῖο τε καὶ ἀργοὶ ἐστήξουσιν, 7 ὥσπερ γεγραμμένοι. ταῦτι μὲν, ὦ ξένε, ὑπὲρ παντὸς εἶρηκα τοῦ τῶν γεωργῶν κύκλου, τοῦμὸν δὲ πολλῶ ἐπιεικέστερον· οὐ γὰρ ξυμβάλλω ἐμποροῖς, οὐδὲ τὴν δραχμῆν ὃ τι ἐστὶ γινώσκω, ἀλλὰ βοῦν σίτου καὶ οἴνου τράγον καὶ τοιαῦτα τοιούτων ἢ ὠνοῦμαι ἢ αὐτὸς ἀποδίδομαι σμικρὰ εἰπὼν τε καὶ ἀκούσας.

2. ΦΟΙΝ. Χρυσῆν ἀγορὰν λέγεις, ἀμπελουργέ, καὶ ἠρώων μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνθρώπων. ἀλλὰ ὁ κύων οἶδος τί ἐθέλει; περίεσι γὰρ με προσκνυζόμενος τοῖς ποσὶ καὶ παρέχων τὸ οὖς ἀπαλόν τε καὶ πρᾶον.

2 ἌΜΠ. Τοῦμὸν ἦθος ἐρμηνεύει σοι, ξένε, καὶ ὅτι πρὸς τοὺς δεῦρο ἀφικνουμένους οὕτω μετρίως καὶ χρηστῶς ἔχομεν, ὡς μηδὲ τῷ κνὶ ξυγχωρεῖν ὑλακτεῖν αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ προσδέχασθαι τε καὶ ὑποπίπτειν ἦκοντας.

3 ΦΟΙΝ. Ἐξεστὶν οὖν ἀμπέλῳ προσβαλεῖν;

ἌΜΠ. Φθόνος οὐδεὶς· εἰσὶ γὰρ ἡμῖν ἱκανοὶ γε βότρυς.

4 ΦΟΙΝ. Τί δὲ συκάσαι;

ἌΜΠ. Καὶ τούτου ἄδεια· περίεστι γὰρ καὶ σύκων. καὶ κάρνα δοῖην καὶ μῆλα δοῖην καὶ μυρία ἀγαθὰ ἕτερα· φυτεύω δὲ αὐτὰ οἶον παροψήματα τῶν ἀμπέλων.

not keep a plowman, a Vinedresser, a cowherd or a goat-herd, nor will you have a bowl of wine to drink or pour a libation. Even the pleasantest part of farming, harvesting the grapes, has to be done for a wage; otherwise the vines will stand wineless and idle, as in a picture. That much, 7 stranger, I've said on behalf of all farmers, but I myself am much more praiseworthy; for I keep no company with merchants, and I don't even know what a drachma is, since I either buy or sell a cow for grain, or a goat for wine or such other things, with little conversation.

2. *Phoenician*. The market you describe, vinedresser, is of a golden age and more suited to heroes than men.⁷ But what is this dog after? He is circling and whimpering fondly at my feet, and listening to me calmly and quietly.

Vinedresser. He is showing you what we're like here, 2 stranger; I treat new arrivals so gently and humanely that I don't even allow my dog to bark at them,⁸ but fall at their feet in welcome when they come.

Phoenician. May I have a go at the vines, then? 3

Vinedresser. Of course; I have plenty of grapes.

Phoenician. What about picking some figs? 4

Vinedresser. Feel free; I have more than enough of them too. I can also offer you walnuts and apples and much else that is good, which I grow as a sort of garnish for the wines.

⁷ Actually the "golden age" and that of the heroes are separate in Hes. *Op.* 106-201, but the Phoenician refers in general to the blessed past. "Golden" applied to persons may also mean "naive."

⁸ Farmers and shepherds kept dogs primarily for security (Hes. *Op.* 605-6; Verg. *G.* 3.404-8), and a traveler might expect to be troubled by them (e.g., *Od.* 14.29-38).

- 5 ΦΟΙΝ. Τί ἂν οὖν καταβάλοιμι;
 ἌΜΠ. Τί δ' ἄλλο γε ἢ φαγεῖν τε ἡδέως καὶ ἐπισι-
 τίσασθαι καὶ ἀπελθεῖν χαίρων;
- 6 ΦΟΙΝ. Ἄλλ' ἢ φιλοσοφεῖς, ἀμπελουργέ;
 ἌΜΠ. Καὶ σὺν γε τῷ καλῷ Πρωτεσίλεω.
- 7 ΦΟΙΝ. Σοὶ δὲ τί καὶ τῷ Πρωτεσίλεω κοινόν, εἰ τὸν
 ἐκ Θεσσαλίας λέγεις;
 ἌΜΠ. Ἐκεῖνον λέγω, τὸν τῆς Λαοδαμείας· τουτὶ
 γὰρ χαίρει ἀκούων.
- 8 ΦΟΙΝ. Τί δὲ δὴ δεῦρο πράττει;
 ἌΜΠ. Ζῆ καὶ γεωργοῦμεν.
- 9 ΦΟΙΝ. Ἀναβεβιωκὸς ἢ τί;
 ἌΜΠ. Οὐδὲ αὐτὸς λέγει, ὦ ξένε, τὰ ἑαυτοῦ πάθη,
 πλήν γε δὴ ὅτι ἀποθάνοι μὲν δι' Ἑλένην ἐν Τροίᾳ,
 ἀναβιώῃ δὲ ἐν Φθίᾳ Λαοδαμείας ἐρῶν.
- 10 ΦΟΙΝ. Καὶ μὴν ἀποθανεῖν γε μετὰ τὸ ἀναβιώωναι
 λέγεται καὶ ἀναπέισαι τὴν γυναῖκα ἐπισπέσθαι οἷ.
- 11 ἌΜΠ. Λέγει καὶ αὐτὸς ταῦτα, ἀλλ' ὅπως καὶ μετὰ
 τοῦτο ἀνήλθε, πάλαι μοι βουλομένῳ μαθεῖν οὐ λέγει,
 Μοιρῶν τι ἀπόρρητον, ὡς φησι, κρύπτων. καὶ οἱ συ-
 στρατιῶται δὲ αὐτοῦ οἱ ἐν τῇδε τῇ Τροίᾳ, ἔτι ἐν τῷ
 πεδίῳ φαίνονται μάχιμοι τὸ σχῆμα καὶ σείοντες τοὺς
 λόφους.
3. ΦΟΙΝ. Ἄπιστῶ, νῆ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, ἀμπελουργέ,
 καίτοι οὕτω βουλόμενος ταῦτα ἔχειν. εἰ δὲ μὴ πρὸς
 τοῖς φυτοῖς εἰ μὴδὲ ὀχετηγεῖς, ἤδη διέλθῃ μοι ταῦτά
 τε καὶ ὅσα τοῦ Πρωτεσίλεω γινώσκεις· καὶ γὰρ ἂν
 χαρίζοιο τοῖς ἥρωσιν, εἰ πιστεῶν ἀπέλθοιμι.

- Phoenician.* What might I pay you for them? 5
Vinedresser. You need only eat your fill, take a good
 supply for later and enjoy the rest of your journey.
Phoenician. Are you then a philosopher, vinedresser? 6
Vinedresser. I am, with the help of the good Protesilaus.
Phoenician. What have you to do with *him*? You mean 7
 the one from Thessaly?
Vinedresser. Yes, the husband of Laodameia—as he
 likes to be called.
Phoenician. But what is he doing here? 8
Vinedresser. He lives here, and helps me farm.
Phoenician. Has he come back to life, or what? 9
Vinedresser. As to his sufferings, not even he himself
 speaks of them, stranger, except that he died at Troy be-
 cause of Helen and came back to life in Phthia because of
 his love for Laodameia.
Phoenician. But they also say he died after his resur- 10
 rection, and persuaded his wife to follow him.⁹
Vinedresser. He says that himself as well; but how he 11
 came back again after that he hasn't told me, although I've
 long desired to know it—he claims to be keeping a secret
 of the Fates. His fellow soldiers at Troy here also still ap-
 pear on the plain, looking very warlike and shaking their
 crests.
 3. *Phoenician.* By Athena, vinedresser, *that* I cannot
 believe—although I wish it were so. But if you aren't work-
 ing at your crops or watering them, please tell me about
 it, and all you know of Protesilaus. I'm sure the heroes
 would be much indebted to you, if I left here believing in
 them.

⁹ In Euripides' play *Protesilaus*; see Introduction §8.

2 ἌΜΠ. Οὐκέτ', ὦ ξένε, κατὰ μεσημβρίαν τὰ φυτὰ
πίνει μετόπωρον γὰρ ἤδη καὶ ἄρδει αὐτὰ ἡ ὥρα.
σχολῆ οὖν μοι διελθεῖν πάντα. μηδὲ γὰρ λανθάνοι
τοὺς χαρίεντας τῶν ἀνθρώπων θεία οὕτω καὶ μεγάλα
ὄντα. βέλτιον δὲ καὶ ἐν καλῷ τοῦ χωρίου ἰζῆσαι.

ΦΟΙΝ. Ἐγοῦ ὡς ἐφομένου καὶ ὑπὲρ τὰ μέσα τῆς
Θράκης.

3 ἌΜΠ. Παρέλθωμεν εἰς τὸν ἀμπελῶνα, ὦ Φοῖνιξ·
καὶ γὰρ ἂν καὶ εὐφροσύνης τι ἐν αὐτῷ εὔροις.

ΦΟΙΝ. Παρέλθωμεν ἤδῴ γάρ που ἀναπνεῖ τῶν
φυτῶν.

4 ἌΜΠ. Τί λέγεις; ἡδύ; θεῖον τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἀγρίων
δένδρων αἱ ἀνθαι εὔσομοι, τῶν δὲ ἡμέρων οἱ καρποί.
εἰ δὲ ἐντύχοις ποτὲ φυτῷ ἡμέρῳ παρὰ τὴν ἀνθην εὐώ-
δει, δρέπου τῶν φύλλων μᾶλλον· ἐκείνων γὰρ τὸ ὄδω-
δέναι.

5 ΦΟΙΝ. Ὡς ποικίλη σοι ἡ ὥρα τοῦ χωρίου, καὶ ὡς
ἐκδεδώκασιν ἱλαροὶ οἱ βότρυς, τὰ δένδρα τε ὡς διά-
κεται πάντα καὶ ὡς ἀμβροσία ἡ ὄσμη τοῦ χωρίου.
τοὺς δρόμους δέ, οὗς ἀνήκας, χαρίεντας μὲν ἡγοῦμαι,
τρυφᾶν δέ μοι δοκεῖς, ἀμπελουργέ, τοσαύτη γῆ ἀργῶ
χρῶμενος.

6 ἌΜΠ. Ἱεροί, ξένε, οἱ δρόμοι γυμνάζεται γὰρ ἐν
αὐτοῖς ὁ ἥρωσ.

¹⁰ Cf. the letters of Aristaenetus 1.3 (a lover in a garden):
"I picked a leaf to crush it in my fingers, but when I held it near
my nose I could breathe a much sweeter fragrance (than the
flowers)."

Vinedresser. The crops no longer need water at noon, 2
stranger, now that it is autumn and the season itself sees
to their irrigation; so I have time to tell you everything. I
wouldn't in any case want such sacred and important mat-
ters to be unknown to men of culture. But it would be
better to find a pleasant spot and sit down.

Phoenician. Lead on; I shall follow you even beyond
the interior of Thrace.

Vinedresser. Let us go into the vineyard, Phoenician; it 3
might be an enjoyable place for you.

Phoenician. By all means; for the vines have a sweet
fragrance.

Vinedresser. It is better than sweet, it is divine! For on 4
wild trees it is the flowers that smell sweet, on cultivated
ones it is the fruit. If you ever find a cultivated plant that
is fragrant while in blossom, then you must pick not the
flowers but the leaves—for the sweet smell belongs to
them.¹⁰

Phoenician. What variety your beautiful garden has! 5
There is a fine crop of grapes, the trees are beautifully
arranged, and the garden's fragrance is ambrosial! And the
racecourse you've set out is very delightful, although I
think you must be quite well-off if you can leave so much
land uncultivated.

Vinedresser. The racecourse is sacred,¹¹ stranger; the 6
hero takes his exercise there.

¹¹ The vinedresser pleads piety rather than extravagance. It
was not unusual for an individual to set aside a grove or some
other spot if he had reason to believe it was holy ground (see on
9.1). For the running track and other athletic facilities at Cnidus
for the hero Antigonus, see Introduction §4.

4. ΦΟΙΝ. Ἐρεῖς ταῦτα ἐπειδὴν ἰζήσωμεν οὐ ἄγεις.
νυνὶ δέ μοι ἐκείνο εἰπέ· οἰκεῖα γεωργεῖς ταῦτα ἢ δεσ-
πότης μὲν αὐτῶν ἕτερος, σὺ δὲ τρέφοντα τοῦτον τρέ-
φεις, ὥσπερ τὸν τοῦ Εὐρυπίδου Οἰνέα;

2 ἈΜΠ. Ἐν τούτῳ ἐκ πολλῶν γήδιον λείπεται μοι
τρέφον οὐκ ἀνελευθέρως, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἀγροὺς ἀφ-
εἰλοντό με οἱ δυνατοὶ κομιδῇ ὀρφανόν. καὶ τουτὶ δὲ
τὸ χωρίδιον ὑπὸ Ξεΐνιδος ἤδη τοῦ Χερρονησίτου κατ-
εχόμενον ἐξείλετο ὁ Πρωτεσίλεως προσβαλὼν τι
αὐτῷ ἕαντοῦ φάσμα, ὑφ' οὗ τὰς ὄψεις ἀνακοπέεις ἀπ-
ῆλθε τυφλός.

3 ΦΟΙΝ. Ἀγαθόν γε τοῦ ἀγροῦ φύλακα ἐκτήσω, καὶ
οὐδὲ λύκου τιμὸς ἔφοδον, οἶμαι, δέδιας ἐγρηγορότος
οὕτωςι τοῦ φίλου.

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

5 ΦΟΙΝ. Τὴν δὲ φωνήν, ἀμπελουργέ, πῶς ἐπαιδεύ-
θης; σὺ γάρ μοι τῶν ἀπαιδέντων φαίνῃ.

¹² = fr. 561, Kannicht (2004); Collard, and Cropp (2008, 8.35). Oineus, king of Calydon, had been deposed and expelled by a rival family in his old age; Euripides seems to have represented him as reduced to abject poverty (scholia to *Ar. Ach.* 418) until restored to power by his grandson Diomedes (cf. [*Apollodoros*], *Bibl.* 1.8.6 [77–79]; *Hyg. Fab.* 175). The speaker and exact context of the Phoenician's quotation are unknown.

4. *Phoenician.* That you must tell me about when we sit down at our destination; but for the moment tell me this: do you farm this land for yourself, or is someone else the owner, while you “feed the man who feeds you,” as in Euripides’ *Oineus*?¹²

Vinedresser. This plot is all I have left of a great number, although it feeds me fairly well; the rest was stolen from me by powerful men, when I was an utterly helpless orphan. Even this field had already been taken over, by Xeinis of the Chersonnese, but Protesilaus got it back by appearing to him in a vision, as a result of which his eyes were stricken and he lost his sight.¹³

Phoenician. You’ve acquired a fine guardian for your land; I don’t suppose you even fear the attack of any wolf, with such a watchful friend.

Vinedresser. That is true, for he does not allow any beast even to enter; nor is there a snake or poisonous spider to be found here, nor does the sycophant attack me for my farm—this last animal is terribly ruthless, since he does his killing right in the center of town.¹⁴

Phoenician. Where did you learn to speak, vinedresser? You seem to be quite well educated.

¹³ Xeinis’ blinding by the hero is perhaps modeled on the story of Epizelos, who lost his sight when he saw a hero at the battle of Marathon (Hdt. 6.117); comparable also is the blindness inflicted on Homer and Stesichorus by an angry Helen (Pl. *Phdr.* 243A).

¹⁴ For the vinedresser’s characterization of the corruption of the city and the innocence of the countryside, see Introduction §7. Grossardt (2006a) notes the characterization of the sycophant (a venal informer) as a dangerous animal is from Dem. 25.52.

- 6 ἌΜΠ. Ἐν ἄστει, ξένε, τὸ πρῶτον ἐτρίβομεν τοῦ
βίου, διδασκάλους χρώμενοι καὶ φιλοσοφοῦντες. πο-
νήρως οὖν τὰ ἐμὰ εἶχεν ἐπὶ δούλοις γὰρ ἦν τὰ γεωρ-
γούμενα, οἱ δ' ἀπέφερον ἡμῶν οὐδέν, ὅθεν δανεῖζεσθαι
7 τε ἐπὶ τῷ ἀγρῷ ἔδει καὶ πεινῆν. καὶ δῆτα ἀφικόμενος
ἐνταῦθα ξύμβουλον ἐπιουύμην τὸν Πρωτεσίλειον, ὃ δ'
ὀργῆν μοι δικαίαν ἔχων, ἐπειδὴ καταλιπὼν αὐτὸν ἐν
8 ἄστει ἔζων, ἐσιώπα. λιπαροῦντος δέ μου καὶ ἀπολεί-
9 σθαι φάσκοντος εἰ ἀμεληθεῖην, “μεταμφίασαι” ἔφη.
τοῦτ' ἐπ' ἐκείνης μὲν τῆς ἡμέρας ἀργῶς ἤκουσα: μετὰ
ταῦτα μέντοι βασανίζων αὐτό, ξυνῆκα ὅτι μεταβαλεῖν
10 κελεύει με τὸ τοῦ βίου σχῆμα. ὅθεν διφθέραν τε ἐναρ-
μοσάμενος καὶ σμινύην φέρων καὶ οὐδὲ τὴν ἐς ἄστυ
ὄδδον ἔτι γνώσκων, βρῦει μοι τὰ ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ πάντα,
κἂν νοσήσῃ προβάτιον ἢ σμήνος ἢ δένδρον, ἱατρῷ
χρῶμαι τῷ Πρωτεσίλειῳ· συνῶν <τε> αὐτῷ καὶ τῇ γῆ
προσκέιμενος, σοφώτερος {τε} ἔμαντοῦ γίνομαι: περι-
11 εστι γὰρ καὶ σοφίας αὐτῷ.
- 11 ΦΟΙΝ. Μακάριε τῆς ξυνοουσίας καὶ τοῦ ἀγροῦ, εἰ
μὴ μόνον ἐλάας καὶ βότρυς ἐν αὐτῷ τρυγᾷς, ἀλλὰ καὶ
σοφίαν δρέπη θείαν τε καὶ ἀκήρατον. καὶ ἴσως ἀδικῶ
τὴν ἐν σοὶ σοφίαν, καλῶν γε ἀμπελοργόν.
- 12 ἌΜΠ. Οὕτω κάλει· καὶ γὰρ ἂν χαρίζοιο τῷ Πρω-
τεσίλειῳ γεωργόν τε ἐμὲ καὶ κηπουρὸν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα
ὀνομάζων.

¹⁵ Grossardt (forthcoming) finds a glimpse of Epicureanism here and in “gardener” (4.12, below), and on the latter notes Simonides test. 47K Campbell: “Simonides said that Hesiod was a gardener and Homer a garland-weaver, the one having planted

Vinedresser. I spent the first part of my life in town, 6
attending lectures and studying philosophy.¹⁵ That is why
my affairs were in such a disastrous state. The farming was
in the hands of slaves, and they produced no profit for me,
so that I had to take out loans on the land and live as a
pauper. Then I finally came here and sought advice from 7
Protesilaus. At first he was justly angry with me because I
had left him to live in town, so he said nothing. But when 8
I pleaded, saying I was lost if he ignored me, he told me,
“Change your clothes.” What he said made no impression 9
on me that day; but later, thinking it over, I realized he was
telling me to change the way I lived. Now that I’ve put on 10
a leather cloak¹⁶ and carry a hoe, and don’t even remem-
ber the way back to town, everything on my land is burst-
ing with life. If my animals take sick or my bees or crops,
Protesilaus acts as their doctor;¹⁷ and while I keep com-
pany with him and work the land I become wiser than ever,
because his wisdom is abundant.

Phoenician. In your farm and your companion you are 11
blessed; not only do you pick grapes and olives, you also
reap a harvest of wisdom, divine and pure—perhaps my
calling you a Vinedresser offends your wisdom.

Vinedresser. But that is what you *should* call me; Pro- 12
tesilaus would be pleased if you also called me “farmer,”
“gardener,” or the like.

the mythologies of the heroes, the other having woven the garland of *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.”

¹⁶ The cloak, called a *diphthera*, marks the farmer; see Gomme and Sandbach (1973) on *Men. Eptt.* 229. (The Greek sentence is a “nominative absolute,” on which see Schmid [1887, 4.113ff.])

¹⁷ For the hero as healer, see Introduction §4.

5. ΦΟΙΝ. Ἐνταῦθα οὖν, ἀμπελουργέ, ξύνεστε ἀλλήλοις;

ἌΜΠ. Ἐνταῦθα, ξένε. πῶς δὲ ἔτεκμήρω;

2 ΦΟΙΝ. Ὅτι μοι δοκεῖ τὸ μέρος τοῦ ἀγροῦ τοῦτο ἥδιστόν τε εἶναι καὶ θεῖον. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἀναβιῶῃ ἄν τις ἐνταῦθα, οὐκ οἶδα βιῶῃ δ' ἄν ἥδιστα που καὶ ἀλυπό-
3 τατα ἐξελθῶν τοῦ ὀμίλου. δένδρα τε γὰρ ὑπερμήκη ταῦτα χρόνον αὐτὰ ἄραυτος, ὕδωρ τε ἐκ πηγῶν τουτὶ ποικίλον, καὶ ἀρύεσθε, οἶμαι, αὐτὸ ὡσπερ ἄλλον καὶ ἄλλον ἀνθοσμίου πίνοντες. σὺ δὲ καὶ σκηναῖς φυτεύεις ξυμπλέκων τὰ δένδρα καὶ συναρμόττων, ὡς οὐδ' ἄν στέφανόν τις ἐκ λειμῶνος ἀκηράτου ξυμβάλῃ.

4 ἌΜΠ. Καὶ οὐπα, ξένε, τῶν ἀηδόνων ἤκουσας, οἷον τῷ χωρίῳ ἐναπτικίζουσιν, ἐπειδὴν δείλη τε ἦκη καὶ ἡμέρα ἀρχηται.

5 ΦΟΙΝ. Δοκῶ μοι ἀκηκοέναι ξυντίθεσθαι τε μηδὲ θρηνεῖν αὐτάς, ἀλλὰ ἄδειν μόνον. πλὴν εἶπε τὰ τῶν ἡρώων ἥδιον γὰρ ἂν τούτων ἀκούοιμι. ξυγχαρεῖς δὲ που καὶ ἰῆσαι;

ἌΜΠ. Ξυγχαρεῖ ὁ ἦρωσ χρηστός ὢν ξενίζων τουτοῖσι τοῖς θάκοις.

6 ΦΟΙΝ. Ἴδὸν ἀναπαύομαι τὸ γὰρ ξένιον ἠδὲ τῷ γε ἀκροασομένῳ λόγου σπουδαιότερου.

¹⁸ Quoted from Eur. *Hipp.* 73. For the literary pedigree of the grove setting, see Introduction §6.

¹⁹ The first nightingale was Procne, daughter of Pandion, king of Athens; she was transformed into the bird after she killed

5. *Phoenician*. Is this where you talk to each other?

Vinedresser. Yes, how did you guess?

Phoenician. Because I think this part of your land is the most pleasant, even divine. Whether it is a place where someone might come *back* to life I don't know, but at least one could *live* here, far from the crowd, in utter enjoyment and freedom from care. Look at these trees, which have grown tall with the years! And the springs, with all sorts of water—I imagine you draw it like drinking various sweet wines in alternation. And you are planting arbors by interweaving and combining the trees; one could not compare it even to a garland “from an undefiled meadow.”¹⁸

Vinedresser. You haven't yet heard how the nightingales make the place like Attica,¹⁹ in the afternoon or at daybreak.

Phoenician. I think I *have* heard them, and agree that they are not even lamenting, but only singing.²⁰ But tell me about the heroes, for I would rather hear that. Do I have your permission to sit?

Vinedresser. You have the hero's permission; for he is our kind host in these seats.

Phoenician. There, I am resting. The hospitality is welcome, while I listen to this important story.

her child in rage at her husband's (Tereus) rape of her sister Philomela. The nightingale's famous song is supposed to be her lament for her son Itys. It is called the “Attic song” by Himer. *Or.* 6.3; cf. Plaut. *Rud.* 604, and Mart. 1.53.9.

²⁰ Grossardt (2006a) notes he is “agreeing” with Socrates in *Phdr.* 84e–85b that the swans' and nightingales' songs are not really laments for death.

6. ἈΜΠ. Ἐρώτα, ξένε, ὃ τι βούλει, καὶ οὐ μάτην ἀφίχθαι φήσεις. Ὀδυσσεὶ μὲν γάρ, ὅποτε πόρρω τῆς νεὼς ἦλθεν, ἐντυχὼν ὁ Ἑρμῆς ἢ τις τῶν παρὰ Ἑρμοῦ σοφῶν, ἐς κοινωσίαν λόγου τε καὶ σπουδῆς ἀφίκετο (τουτὶ γὰρ ἠγγεῖσθαι προσήκει τὸ μῶλυ), σὲ δὲ ὁ Πρωτεσίλεως ἱστορίας τε δι' ἐμοῦ ἐμπλήσει καὶ ἠδῖω ἀποφανεῖ καὶ σοφώτερον. τὸ γὰρ πολλὰ γινώσκειν πολ-
λοῦ ἄξιον.

2 ΦΟΙΝ. Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀλύω, βέλτιστε, κατὰ δὲ θεόν, νῆ-
τῆν Ἀθηναίων, ἦκω. ξυνήμι γὰρ λοιπὸν τοῦ ἐνυπνίου.

ἈΜΠ. Καὶ πῶς ἔχει σοὶ τὸ ἐνυπνίου; θεῶν γάρ τι ὑποδηλώσεις.

3 ΦΟΙΝ. Πλέω μὲν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου καὶ Φοινίκης πέμ-
πτῆν καὶ τριακοστὴν ἤδη πού ταύτην ἡμέραν. κατα-
σχούσης δὲ τῆς νεὼς εἰς Ἑλεούντα τοῦτον ἔδοξα τὰ
Ὀμήρου ἔπη ἀναγινώσκειν, ἐν οἷς τὸν κατάλογον τῶν
Ἀχαιῶν φράζει, καὶ ξυνεκάλουν τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἐμβῆ-
4 ναι τὴν ναῦν ὡς ἀποχρῶσαν ὁμοῦ πάσιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξ-
έθορον τοῦ ἐνυπνίου (καὶ γὰρ με καὶ φρίκης τι ὑπ-
εληλύθει), ξυνεβαλόμην μὲν αὐτὸ ἐς βραδυτῆτα τοῦ
πλοῦ καὶ μῆκος· αἱ γὰρ τῶν ἀποθανόντων ὄψεις ἀργοὶ
5 τοῖς ἐσπουδακόσι. βουλευθεὶς δὲ ξυμβόλῳ περὶ τοῦ
ἐνυπνίου χρῆσασθαι (οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸ πνεῦμά πω ξυν-
6 εχώρει πλεῖν), ἐξαλλάττω δεῦρο ἀπὸ τῆς νεὼς. βαδί-

²¹ Hom. *Od.* 10.234–306. Grossardt (2006a) notes that Stoics and Homeric allegorists interpreted “moly” as reason; on its symbolism here see Platt (2011, 243–45).

6. *Vinedresser*. Ask whatever you like, stranger, and you won't say you came in vain. For just as Odysseus, when he was wandering far from his ship, was met by Hermes or one of his wise pupils, who shared with him speech and support (for we must imagine the “moly” as this),²¹ so Protesilaus, through my agency, will fill you with knowledge, and make you happier and wise—for great knowledge is a thing of great value.

Phoenician. But I'm not wandering—rather I've come with a god's favor by Athena. For henceforth I understand my dream. 2

Vinedresser. What was in your dream? For what you tell me will be sent from the gods.

Phoenician. This is the thirty-fifth day of my voyage from Egypt and Phoenicia. As we put in here at Elaiou, I dreamed I was reading the verses of Homer where he recites the catalog of the Achaeans, and I started to invite the Achaeans to come on board the ship as if it were big enough for them all at once. When I started awake from the dream—a sort of shudder had come over me—I interpreted it as referring to the long and slow voyage. For to those who are in pursuit of something, dreams of the dead imply failure.²² But I wished to receive a sign about the dream and so, since the wind did not yet allow me to sail, I left the ship and came here.²³ You of course have seen 3
4
5
6

²² Grossardt (2006a) compares Artemidorus 2.62 and a fragment of Astrampsychus, “when you see the dead, you will have the death of your projects” (*νεκρῶν ὄρων νέκρωσιν ἔξεις πραγμάτων*).

²³ Encounters with animals or humans along the road were widely held to portend the future. See Griffith's (1983) commentary on Aesch. *PV*, 486–87; Xen. *Mem.* 1.1.12–19.

ζων δέ, ὡς εἶδες, πρώτῳ ἐντετύχηκα σοὶ καὶ περὶ τοῦ Πρωτεσίλειω διαλεγόμεθα. διαλεξόμεθα δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ καταλόγου τῶν ἡρώων· φῆς γὰρ οὕτω ποιήσειν. καὶ τὸ καταλέγειν σφας ἐς τὴν ναῦν εἶη ἂν τὸ συλλεξαμένους τὸν περὶ αὐτῶν λόγον εἶτα ἐμβῆναι.

7 ἈΜΠ. Κατὰ θεὸν ἦκεις ἀληθῶς, ξένε, καὶ ὑγιῶς ἐξηγῆ τὴν ὄψιν. περαινῶμεν οὖν τὸν λόγον, μὴ καὶ θρῦπτεσθαί με φῆς διάγοντά σε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ.

7 ΦΟΙΝ. Ἄ ποθῶ μαθεῖν, ξυνίης δὴ γε· αὐτὴν γὰρ τὴν ξινουσίαν, ἣτις ἐστὶ σοι πρὸς τὸν Πρωτεσίλειω, καὶ ὁποῖος ἦκει καὶ εἴ τι παραπλήσιον τοῖς ποιηταῖς ἢ διηγηνομήνον αὐτοῖς περὶ τῶν Τρωικῶν οἶδεν, ἀκούσαι δέομαι. Τρωικὰ δὲ λέγω τὰ τοιαῦτα· τὴν τε ἐν Αὐλίδι ξυλλογὴν τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ καθ' ἓνα τοὺς ἥρωες εἰ καλοὶ τε, ὡς ἄδονται, καὶ ἀνδρείοι καὶ σοφοὶ ἦσαν. τὸν γὰρ πόλεμον, ὃς περὶ τῇ Τροίᾳ ἐγένετο, πῶς ἂν διηγοῖτο μήτε διαπολεμήσας αὐτόν, ἀποθανῶν τε πρῶτος τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ παντὸς ἐν αὐτῇ, φασί, τῇ ἀποβάσει;

3 ἈΜΠ. Εὐήθες τουτί σοι, ξένε. ψυχαῖς γὰρ θείαις οὕτω καὶ μακαρίαις ἀρχὴ βίου τὸ καθαρεῦσαι τοῦ σώματος· θεοὺς τε γάρ, ὧν ὀπαδοὶ εἰσι, γινώσκουσι τότε οὐκ ἀγάλματα θεραπεύουσαι καὶ ὑπονοίας, ἀλλὰ ξινουσίας φανερὰς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ποιούμεναι, τὰ τε

²⁴ For heroes as *daimones* in Maximus of Tyre (usually they are a separate category of divinity), see Introduction §4. Protesilaus is called a *daimon* at 43.3, below. Despite his separation from

that, as I walked, you were the first one I met, and we have been talking about Protesilaus. We shall also talk about the catalog of heroes, as you have promised; and cataloging them onto the ship and collecting their story before embarking amount to the same thing.

Vinedresser. You have indeed come with a god's favor, stranger, and your interpretation of the dream is sound. We must therefore proceed with our talk, so that you don't imagine I'm making difficulties and diverting you from it.

7. *Phoenician*. You know what I wish to learn; I desire to hear of the meetings you have with Protesilaus, in what form he comes, and whether what he knows about the stories of Troy is the same as what the poets say, or unknown to them. By "stories of Troy" of course I mean only the army's mustering at Aulis, and whether the individual heroes were as handsome, brave and wise as the poems say. For how could he tell me about the war that took place at Troy when he didn't fight in it, but was, as they say, the first Greek to be killed at the very moment he landed?

Vinedresser. That is a silly question, stranger; for souls that are so divine and blessed, purification from the body is only the beginning of life.²⁴ On the one hand, their knowledge of gods they obtain not by worshipping statues and approximations,²⁵ but by speaking with them openly;

the body, Protesilaus is experienced physically by the vinedresser (11.2, 11.9; Platt [2011, 247]; Whitmarsh [2009, 219–225]) and travels on board ship (53.18).

²⁵ Contrast Dio, *Olympian Oration* 21.45, who says these artistic conceptions (*hyponoiai*) of the gods are the best humans can attain (Platt 2011, 228–30, 243).

τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὀρώσῳ ἐλεύθεραι νόσων τε καὶ σώματος, ὅτε δὴ καὶ μαντικῆς σοφίας ἐμφοροῦνται καὶ τὸ
 4 χρησμῶδες αὐταῖς προσβακχεύει. τὰ γοῦν Ὅμηρου ποιήματα τίνα φήσεις οὕτως ἀνεγνωκέναι τῶν σφόδρα βασιανζόντων Ὅμηρον, ὡς ἀνέγνωκέ τε ὁ Πρω-
 5 τεσίλεως καὶ διορᾷ αὐτά; καίτοι, ξένε, πρὸ Πριάμου καὶ Τροίας οὐδὲ ραψωδία τις ἦν, οὐδὲ ἤδετο τὰ μήπω πραχθέντα· ποιητικὴ μὲν γὰρ ἦν περὶ τὰ μαντεῖα περὶ τε τὸν Ἀλκμήνης Ἡρακλέα, καθισταμένη τε ἄρτι καὶ οὐπω ἠβάσκουσα, Ὅμηρος δὲ οὐπω ἤδεν, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν Τροίας ἀλούσης, οἱ δὲ ὀλίγαις ἢ ὀκτῶ γενεαῖς
 6 ὕστερον ἐπιθέσθαι αὐτὸν τῇ ποιήσει λέγουσιν. ἀλλ' ὅμως οἶδεν ὁ Πρωτεσίλεως τὰ Ὅμηρου πάντα, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἄδει Τρωικὰ μεθ' ἑαυτὸν γενόμενα, πολλὰ δὲ Ἑλληνικά τε καὶ Μηδικά, τῆν τε γοῦν στρατείαν τὴν Ξέρξου τρίτην ὀνομάζει φθορὰν ἀνθρώπων μετὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Δευκαλιωνός τε καὶ Φαέθοντος ξυμβάσαν, ἐπειδὴ πλείεστα ἔθνη ἐν αὐτῇ ἐφθάρη.
 7 ΦΟΙΝ. Κέρας Ἀμαλθείας ἐμπλήσεις, ἀμπελουργέ, τοσαῦτα εἰδότης τοῦ ἐταίρου. ὑγῶς γὰρ που ἀπαγγελεῖς αὐτὰ καὶ ὡς ἤκουσας.
 8 ἌΜΠ. Νῆ Δί, ἡ ἀδικοῖν φιλόσοφόν τε καὶ φιλαλήθη ἦρσα μὴ τιμῶν ἀλήθειαν, ἣν ἐκείνος μητέρα ἀρετῆς ὀνομάζειν εἴωθε.
 9 ΦΟΙΝ. Δοκῶ μοι καὶ κατ' ἀρχὰς τῶν λόγων ὡμολογηκέναι πρὸς σέ τὸ ἑμαντοῦ πάθος· φημί γὰρ ἀπίστως διακέεσθαι πρὸς τὰ μυθώδη. τὸ δὲ αἴτιον οὐδενί πω ἐωρακότι αὐτὰ ξυγγέγονα, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἑτέρου ἀκη-

on the other hand, they observe mortal affairs, free from the illnesses of the body, now that they are filled with prophetic wisdom and oracular inspiration comes upon them.²⁶ Which of the most acute Homeric critics can you
 4 say has read the poems in the way that Protesilaus has read and examines them? Of course before Priam and Troy,
 5 stranger, there was not even any singing of tales, nor were there poems about what had not yet taken place; for poetry, which had just come into being and was still in its infancy, was concerned with oracles or with Heracles, son of Alcmena, while Homer was not yet singing—some say he first attempted a poem either after Troy's capture, others either several or eight generations later. Nevertheless
 6 Protesilaus is acquainted with all of Homer's stories, and he sings of much that took place at Troy after him, as well as Greek and Persian history; at any rate he calls Xerxes' expedition the third great destruction of mankind (after those in the time of Deucalion and Phaethon) because so many peoples perished in it.

Phoenician. You will fill the horn of Amaltheia, vine-dresser, since your companion has such wide knowledge: you will of course report it faithfully, exactly as you heard it.

Vinedresser. So I shall, by Zeus, or else I would wrong a hero who is wise as well as truthful by disregarding the truth, which he is accustomed to call the mother of virtue.

Phoenician. I believe I admitted to you my feeling, as we started our talk: I declare I am inclined to distrust mythical stories. The reason is this: I've never yet met anyone who was an eyewitness to them, but rather one

²⁶ For Protesilaus and prophecy, see ch. 15, below, and for hero oracles, Introduction §4.

κοέναι φησίν, ὁ δὲ οἶεσθαι, τὸν δὲ ποιητῆς ἐπαίρει.
καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα δὲ περὶ τοῦ μεγέθους τῶν ἡρώων, ὡς
δεκαπήχεις ἦσαν, χαρίεντα μὲν κατὰ μυθολογίαν
ἠγοῦμαι, ψευδῆ δὲ καὶ ἀπίθανα τῷ γε θεωροῦντι αὐτὰ
πρὸς τὴν φύσιν, ἧς μέτρα οἱ νῦν ἄνθρωποι.

10 ἌΜΠ. Ταυτὶ δὲ ἠγέισθαι ἀπίθανα πότε ἤρξω;

ΦΟΙΝ. Πάλαι, ἀμπελουργέ, κὰν μειρακίῳ ἔτι. παῖς
μὲν γὰρ ὢν ἔτι ἐπίστευον τοῖς τοιούτοις, καὶ κατεμυθολόγει
με ἢ τίτθη χαριέντως αὐτὰ ἐπάδουσα καί τι καὶ κλάουσα ἐπ'
ἐνίοις αὐτῶν· μειράκιον δὲ γενόμενος οὐκ ἀβασανίστως
ᾤήτην χρῆμαι προσδέχεσθαι ταῦτα.

11 ἌΜΠ. Τὸ δὲ τοῦ Πρωτεσίλειω, καὶ ὅτι ἐνταῦθα φαίνοιο,
ἀκηκῶς ποτε ἔτυχες;

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

12 ἌΜΠ. Οὐκοῦν ἀρχὴ τοῦ λόγου σοι γινέσθω τὰ πάλαι σοι
ἀπιστούμενα· φῆς δὲ που ἀπιστεῖν, εἰ δεκαπήχεις ἐγένοντο
ἄνθρωποι. ἐπειδὰν δὲ τούτου ἱκανῶς ἔχης, ἀπαίτει
λοιπὸν τὸν περὶ τοῦ Πρωτεσίλειω λόγον καὶ ὅποσα βούλει
τῶν Τρωικῶν· οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἀπιστήσεις.

ΦΟΙΝ. Καλῶς λέγεις καὶ οὕτω ποιῶμεν.

8. ἌΜΠ. Ἄκουε δὴ· πάππος ἦν μοι, ξένε, πολλὰ

²⁷ Homer had asserted that his heroes were stronger than men of his own day, and so heroic bones were usually reported to be of great size; see Introduction §3.

²⁸ He means not the story of his death (which the Phoenician obviously knows) but of his size (10.4, below) and epiphanies,

says he heard it from someone else; another says he imagines it so, and still another is excited by some poet. As for what is said about the height of the heroes, that they were ten cubits tall, I find it charming as myth, but when one compares it to the standard of reality of which the men of today are the measure it seems an incredible falsehood.²⁷

Vinedresser. When did you begin to consider these things incredible? 10

Phoenician. Long ago, vinedresser, while still in my youth. Of course as a child I still believed in such stories, and my nurse used to tell me myths charmingly, soothingly, even weeping over some of them; but when I became a youth, I decided I must not accept these things uncritically.

Vinedresser. Have you ever actually heard about Protesilaus, and that he makes appearances here?²⁸ 11

Phoenician. How could I have, since I am listening to you today with such disbelief?

Vinedresser. Then we shall have to begin with what you've doubted for so long; you admit you don't believe that men have ever been ten cubits tall. Only when you are satisfied on that point, should you go on to ask for the story of Protesilaus, and as much as you like about Troy. I guarantee you'll doubt none of it. 12

Phoenician. I agree; let us so proceed.

8. *Vinedresser.* Then listen.²⁹ I had a grandfather,

which are of course known only to the vinedresser (Eitrem's corrections to the text are thus unnecessary).

²⁹ For the correspondences of this catalog of giant bones with Pausanias and other sources, see Rusten (2004).

τῶν ἀπιστουμένων ὑπὸ σοῦ γνώσκων, ὃς ἔλεγε δια-
φθαρῆναι μὲν ποτε τὸ τοῦ Αἴαντος σῆμα ὑπὸ τῆς
θαλάσσης, πρὸς ἣ κείται, ὅστ' αὖ δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ φανῆναι
κατὰ ἑνδεκάπηχυν ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἔφασκεν Ἀδριανὸν
βασιλέα περιστέλλαι αὐτὰ ἐς Τροίαν ἐλθόντα καὶ τὸν
νυκτὶ τάφον περιαρμόσαι τῷ Αἴαντι ἔστιν ἂ καὶ προσ-
πτυξάμενον τῶν ὀστέων καὶ φιλήσαντα.

- 2 ΦΟΙΝ. Οὐ μάτην ἀπιστεῖν ἔοικα τοιούτοις,
ἀμπελοურγέ· καὶ σὺ γὰρ πάππου μὲν τὴ ἀκηκοέναι
φῆς καὶ ἴσως μητρὸς ἢ τίτθης, σεαυτοῦ δὲ ἀπαγγέλ-
λεις οὐδέν, εἰ μὴ ἄρα περὶ τοῦ Πρωτεσίλειω εἴποις.
- 3 ἌΜΠ. Καὶ μὴν, εἰ μυθολογικὸς ἦν, τὸν τε τοῦ
Ὀρέστου νεκρὸν διῆναι, ὃν ἐπτάπηχυν ἐν Νεμέῃ Λα-
κεδαιμόνιοι εὔρον, καὶ τὸν ἐν τῷ χαλκῷ ἵππῳ τῷ Λυ-
δίῳ, ὃς κατωάρυκτο μὲν ἐν Λυδίᾳ πρὸ Γύγου ἔτι,
σεισμῷ δὲ τῆς γῆς διασχούσης θαῦμα τοῖς περὶ Λυ-
δίαν ὤφθη ποιμέσιν, οἷς ἅμα ὁ Γύγης ἐθήτευσε. ἐς
γὰρ κοῖλον τὸν ἵππον θυρίδας ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ πλευρᾷ
4 ἔχοντα νεκρὸς ἀπέκειτο μείζων ἢ ἀνθρώπου δόξα. εἰ
δὲ ταῦτα οἷα ἀπιστεῖσθαι διὰ τὸν χρόνον, ἀλλὰ τοῖς
5 γε ἐφ' ἡμῶν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι ἀντερεῖς. Ἀρνάδην γάρ, ὃν

30 For the damage to the tomb of Ajax (and the great size of the body it contained), see Paus. 1.35.3; Plin. *HN* 5.125; Antipater (Cow and Page 1965, no. 7); and Strabo 13.1.30. On its current site see Cook (1973, 88). For Hadrian's restoration activity at Troy, see Frisch (1975, no. 94). For Ajax' burial, see ch. 35.15.

stranger, who knew as fact many of the stories you don't believe, and he used to tell that the tomb of Ajax was once destroyed by the sea near which it was located, and that in it a skeleton was revealed about eleven cubits tall. And he said that the emperor Hadrian went to Troy, laid it out for burial, and built for it the tomb which now exists—he even embraced and kissed some of the bones.³⁰

Phoenician. It seems I was right to disbelieve such stories, vinedresser; for you too say that you've heard something from your grandfather—or perhaps your mother or nurse—but you say nothing on your own authority, unless you talk about Protesilaus. 2

Vinedresser. If I were fond of telling stories I would indeed have told you about Orestes' body, which the Spartans discovered in Nemea—it was seven cubits tall³¹—or about the body in the Lydian bronze horse, which had been buried in Lydia still before Gyges' time, and miraculously appeared after an earthquake to some shepherds in Lydia, together with whom Gyges was a servant. In the hollow of the horse, which contained windows on both sides, lay a body, which was greater than a man could imagine.³² But if these stories are the sort to be disbelieved because they happened so long ago, still I don't know how you can contradict events of our own day. Not long ago a rupture on the banks of the river Orontes brought to light Aryades—thirty cubits tall—who had been buried in Assyria; some say he was an Ethiopian, 5

31 Hdt. 1.68. "Nemea" for "Tegea" here seems the vinedresser's mistake rather than a manuscript corruption; see Introduction §7.

32 Pl. *Resp.* 359c-60b.

- οἱ μὲν Αἰθίοπα, οἱ δὲ Ἴνδὸν ἔφασαν, τριακοντάπηχυν
 ἐν τῇ Ἀσσυρίων γῆ κείμενον οὐ πάλαι ἀνέφηνευ ἢ τοῦ
 6 Ὀρόντου ποταμοῦ ὄχθη σχισθείσα. τοῦτ' δὲ τὸ Σί-
 γειον πρὸ πεντήκοντα οὐπω ἐτῶν ἐν προβολῇ τοῦ
 ἀκρωτηρίου σῶμα ἀνέδειξε γίγαντος, ὃν αὐτὸς Ἀπόλ-
 λων ἀπεκτονέαι φησὶν ὑπὲρ Τροίας αὐτῶ¹ μαχόμε-
 νον· καὶ εἶδον, ξένε, πλεύσας εἰς τὸ Σίγειον αὐτό τε
 τὸ πάθος τῆς γῆς καὶ τὸν γίγαντα ὅσος ἦν. ἔπλεον
 δὲ καὶ Ἑλλησποντιῶν πολλοὶ καὶ Ἰώνων καὶ νησι-
 ῶται πάντες καὶ τὸ Διολικὸν ἅπαν· ἐπὶ γὰρ μῆνας δύο
 μέγας ἐν μεγάλῳ ἀκρωτηρίῳ προῦκειτο παρέχων ἄλ-
 λου ἄλλῳ λόγον οὐπω δηλοῦντος αὐτὸν τοῦ χρησιμοῦ.
 7 ΦΟΙΝ. Εἴποις ἂν οὖν ἔτι, ἀμπελουργέ, περὶ τε
 μεγέθους αὐτοῦ περὶ τε ὁστῶν ἀρμονίας περὶ τε τῶν
 λεγομένων ὄψεων ξυμπεφυκέναι τοῖς γίγασιν, οὓς
 ὑπογράφουσιν οἱ ζωγράφοι τῷ Ἐγκελάδῳ καὶ τοῖς
 ἀμφ' αὐτόν;
 8 ἌΜΠ. Εἰ μὲν τερατώδεις ἐγένοντο ἐκεῖνοι, ξένε, καὶ
 ξυμβεβλημένοι θηρίοις, οὐκ οἶδα. ὁ δὲ ἐν τῷ Σιγείῳ
 δύο μὲν καὶ εἴκοσι πήχεις ἐπέειχεν, ἔκειτο δὲ ἐν πετρώ-
 δει σήραγγι, τὴν κεφαλὴν μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἠπειρον

¹ αὐτῶι Grossardt (2006a), taking *μαχόμενον* of the giant, but see Schmid (1887, 4.83) for the construction.

³³ Paus. 8.29.3 tells of the same discovery, but says that the oracle of Apollo at Clarus identified the body as Orontes of India.

³⁴ The Giants (Grk. *gigantes*) were a semidivine race sprung from earth that challenged Zeus for supremacy of heaven and was

others an Indian.³³ And less than fifty years ago, Sigeium 6
 over there disclosed on an outcropping of the cape the
 body of a giant,³⁴ whom Apollo himself said he had killed
 while fighting him to defend Troy. I myself sailed to
 Sigeium, stranger, and witnessed exactly what had hap-
 pened to the land as well as the giant's size. Many others
 sailed there also, from the Hellespont, Ionia, and all of the
 islands and Aeolia, since for two months this huge body
 lay on the huge cape; provoking different explanations
 from everyone before the oracle cleared things up.³⁵

Phoenician. Could you than say something more about 7
 its size, and the arrangement of the bones, and about the
 snakes that are said to form part of the bodies of giants,
 which the painters always attach to the bodies of Encela-
 dus and such?³⁶

Vinedresser. Whether they were monstrous or joined 8
 with snakes, I don't know. But the one on Sigeium mea-
 sured twenty-two cubits. He lay in a rocky cave, his head

defeated by the Olympian gods in a battle—the “gigantomachy”
 —famous in art. In what follows, Philostratus makes little distinc-
 tion between giants and heroes, evidently believing like Pausanias
 (8.29.3) that both were mortals of an earlier age. For discover-
 ies of giant-bones (most likely mastodon skeletons), see Mayor
 (2000), and for the catalogs of them, Rusten (2004).

³⁵ Philostratus gives no exact name, perhaps because the ora-
 cle of Apollo had not mentioned one. The giant Porphyrion (Pind.
Pyth. 8.12–18) was killed by Apollo, but he had no connection
 with Troy.

³⁶ Artistic representations often make the lower part of giants'
 bodies into snakes; for the snake as a familiar of the hero, see
 Introduction §3.

ἔχων, τοὺς δὲ πόδας συναπολήγων τῷ ἀκρωτηρίῳ
 δρακόντων δὲ οὐδὲν σημεῖον περὶ αὐτὸν ἐωρῶμεν,
 οὐδὲ ἔστιν ὃ τι τῶν ὀστέων παρήλλαττεν ἀνθρώπου.
 9 καὶ μὴν καὶ Ὑμναιὸς ὁ Πεπαρήθιος, ἐπιτηδείως μοι
 ἔχων, ἐπεμψέ τινα τῶν ἑαυτοῦ υἱέων πρὸ ἐτῶν ἐνταυθα
 που τεττάρων, ἐρησόμενον δι' ἐμοῦ τὸν Πρωτεσίλειον
 περὶ ὁμοίου θαύματος· ἐν <Ἰ>κῳ γὰρ τῇ νήσῳ (κέκτη-
 ται δὲ αὐτὴν μόνος) ἔτυχε μὲν ὀρύττων ἀμπέλους, ἣ
 γῆ δὲ ὑπήχησε τοῖς ὀρύττουσιν οἶον κενή· διανοιζαν-
 10 τες οὖν, δωδεκάπηχυς μὲν ὁ νεκρὸς ἔκειτο, τὸ δὲ γε
 κρανίον ᾤκει δράκων. ὁ μὲν δὴ νεανίας ἀφίκετο ἐπ-
 ερησόμενος ἡμᾶς ὃ τι χρῆ πράττειν ἐπ' αὐτῷ, ὁ δὲ
 Πρωτεσίλειος "τὸν ξένον" ἔφη "συγκαλύπτωμεν," κε-
 11 λεύων δῆπου ἐπιθάπτειν τὸν νεκρὸν καὶ μὴ γυμνοῦν
 ἐκόντας· εἶπε δὲ καὶ ὡς γίγας εἶη τῶν βεβλημένων. ὁ
 δὲ ἐν Δήμῳ φανείς, ὃν Μενεκράτης ὁ Στειριεὺς εὔρε,
 μέγιστός τε ἦν καὶ εἶδον αὐτὸν πέρυσιν ἕξ Ἴμβρου
 πλείστας· δι' ὀλίγου γὰρ ἦν ἐς τὴν Δήμνον. τὰ μὲν οὖν
 ὀστᾶ οὐκέτι ἐν κόσμῳ ἐωράτο· καὶ γὰρ οἱ σπονδυλοὶ
 ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἔκειντο σεισμοῖς, οἶμαι, διενεχθέντες,
 καὶ τὰ πλευρὰ ἐξήρμωστο τῶν σπονδύλων. ἐνθυμου-
 12 μένω δὲ αὐτὰ ὁμοῦ τε καὶ κατὰ ἕν, φρικῶδες ἐδόκει τὸ
 μέγεθος καὶ οὐ ῥάδιον ἀνατυπῶσθαι· τὸ γοῦν κρανίον
 ἐμφορησάντων ἡμῶν ἐς αὐτὸ οἶνον οὐδὲ ὑπὸ δυοῖν
 ἀμφορέου ἐνεπλήσθη τῶν ἐκ Κρήτης. ἔστι δὲ τι κατὰ

in the inland side, and his feet extended to the end of the
 cape. There was no sign of a snake on him, and nothing on
 his skeleton deviated from the human.³⁷ And yet, about 9
 four years ago, Hymnaios of Peparethos, a friend of mine,
 sent one of his sons to have me ask Protesilaus about a
 similar wonder. For on the island of Ikos (he was its sole
 owner) he happened to be digging up some vines, when
 the earth rang under the shovel, as if hollow. When they
 cleaned it away, there lay exposed a body twelve cubits tall,
 and in its skull was living a snake. Now the boy came to 10
 ask us what should be done with it, and Protesilaus' an-
 swer was "let us veil our guest," meaning of course they
 should rebury the corpse and be careful to take nothing
 from it. He also said it was one of the giants who was laid
 low. But the largest of all was the one on Lemnos, which 11
 Menecrates of Steiria³⁸ discovered, and I myself sailed
 over last year from Imbros (it was a short trip to Lemnos)
 to see it. It wasn't any longer possible to see the bones in
 their proper position, because the backbone lay in pieces
 —separated by earthquakes, I imagine—and the ribs had
 been wrenched from the vertebrae. But as I examined
 them, both all together and one by one, I received an
 impression of terrifying size, one I found impossible to
 describe. The skull alone, when we poured wine into it,
 was not filled even by two Cretan amphoras.³⁹ There is 12

Nero (ascribed to an older Philostratus), and appearing as a mag-
 istrate in an inscription from Lemnos (Follet 1974).

³⁹ It is uncertain why they poured wine into the skull in the
 first place: the Scythians (Hdt. 4.65) used their enemies' skulls as
 drinking vessels; but here they might simply have been washing
 out the skull for reburial. For the Cretan amphora, mentioned
 only here in the literary sources, see Marangou-Lerat (1995).

³⁷ Paus. 8.29.3 also rejects the idea that giants had serpentine
 bodies.

³⁸ Evidently identical to one of the speakers in the dialogue,

νότον άνεμον άκρωτήριον τής Ίμβρον, Ναύλοχος, φ
πηγή ύφάρμισται τὰ μὲν ἄρσενα τῶν ζῳῶν εὐνού-
χους έργαζομένη, τὰ δὲ θήλεα οὕτω μεθύσκουσα, ὡς
καθεύδειν αὐτά. τρύφος οὖν ένταῦθα τής γῆς άπορρα-
γὲν συνεπέσπαστο σῶμα μεγίστου γίγαντος· κἄν
άπιστῆς, πλεύσωμεν πρόκειται γὰρ γυμνὸς ἔτι καὶ ὁ
ἐς Ναύλοχον πλοῦς βραχύς.

- 13 ΦΟΙΝ. Ἐβουλόμεν μὲν ἂν καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν Ὀκεανὸν
έλθειν, ἀμπελουργέ, θαῦμα εἶ πού τοιοῦτον εὔροιμι ἢ
δὲ έμπορία οὐ ξυγχωρεῖ τοσοῦτον άποφοιτᾶν έαυτῆς,
ἀλλὰ δεῖ προσδεδέσθαι τῇ νηί, καθάπερ τὸν Ὀδυσ-
σεά· εἰ δὲ μή, καὶ τὰ ἐκ πρόφρας, φασί, καὶ τὰ ἐκ
πρύμνης άπολείται.
- 14 ἌΜΠ. Ἀλλὰ μήπω, ξένε, πιστὰ ἡγοῦ ἃ εἶπον, πρὶν
ἔς τε τὴν νῆσον τὴν Κῶ πλεύσης, έν ἣ τὰ τῶν γη-
γενῶν ὅστᾳ ἀνάκειται, Μερόπων, φασί, τῶν πρώτων,
έν Φρυγία δὲ τὰ τε Ἔλλου τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἴδης, καὶ
νῆ Δί έν Θετταλία τὰ τῶν Ἀλωαδῶν, ὡς έννεόργγιοι
- 15 ἀτεχνῶς ἐγένοντο καὶ ὁποῖοι ἄδονται. Νεαπολίται δὲ
Ἰταλίαν οἰκοῦντες θαῦμα πεποῖηται τὰ τοῦ Ἄλκνο-
νέως ὅστᾳ. λέγουσι γὰρ δὴ πολλοὺς τῶν γιγάντων
ἐκεῖ βεβλήσθαι καὶ τὸ Βέσβιον ὄρος ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τύ-
φεσθαι. καὶ μὴν καὶ έν Παλλήνῃ, ἣν Φλέγραν οἱ ποι-
ηταὶ ὀνομάζουσι, πολλὰ μὲν σῶματα ἢ γῆ τοιαῦτα
ἔχει γιγάντων στρατοπεδευσάντων ἐκεῖ, πολλὰ δὲ
16 ὄμβροι τε καὶ σεισμοὶ ἀνακαλύπτουσι. θαρσεῖ δὲ

also a cape on Imbros to the southwest called Naulochos, and in it is nestled a spring that makes eunuchs⁴⁰ of all male animals that drink of it, and so intoxicates the females that they fall asleep. Here a broken off piece of earth had carried with it the body of a huge giant. If you don't believe me, we can sail there; for the body is still stripped and lying there, and it is a short trip to Naulochos.

Phoenician. I would have been willing to travel even 13
beyond the ocean to find such a marvel, vinedresser, but a merchant's trade allows not a moment's neglect. I must stay lashed to my ship, like Odysseus, otherwise all is lost "from stem to stern."⁴¹

Vinedresser. But you must not believe what I say, 14
stranger, until you sail to the island of Cos, where they say the house of the first earthborn Meropes lie; and until you see those of Heracles' son Hyllus in Phrygia, or by Zeus even those of the Aloadae in Thessaly—They were actually nine fathoms tall, just as the poet says (*Od.* 11.312). And in Italy the Neapolitans have made a wonder of the 15
bones of Alkyoneus; for they say that many of the giants were laid low there, and that Mt. Vesuvius smolders over them.⁴² Furthermore in Pallene, which the poets call 16
Phlegra, the earth still contains the bodies of many such giants, since that was their camp; thunderstorms and earthquakes have brought many others to the surface. Not

⁴⁰ I.e., sterilizes them. The same is said of the tomb of Aegyptos, scholia to Theoc. 1.125. ⁴¹ *Od.* 12.159; on the nautical proverb, see Shackleton Bailey (1977) on Cicero, *Fam.* 16.24.

⁴² Grossardt (2006a) notes that the Campanian Phlegraean fields are well-established by the early years of Augustus (Diodorus 5.71.4; Strabo 5.4.4, 5.4.6, 6.3.5).

οὐδὲ ποιμῆν περὶ μεσημβρίαν ἐκείνο τὸ χωρίον ὑπο-
 17 παταγούντων εἰδώλων, ἃ ἐν αὐτῷ μαινεται. τὸ δὲ ἀπι-
 στεύϊ τοῖς τοιούτοις ἴσως που καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους
 ἦν, ὅθεν τὸν Γηρυόνην ἐν τῇ Ἐρυθρίᾳ ἀποκτείνας καὶ
 μεγίστῳ αὐτῷ ἐντετυχηκέαι λεγόμενος, ἀνέθηκε τὰ
 ὀστά ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν, ὡς μὴ ἀπιστοῦτο τοῦ ἄθλου.

18 ΦΟΙΝ. Εὐδαιμονίζω σε τῆς ἱστορίας, ἀμπελουργέ.
 ἐγὼ δὲ μεγάλα μὲν ἠγνούουν, ἀνοήτως δὲ ἠπίστουν.
 ἀλλὰ τὰ τοῦ Πρωτεσίλειω πῶς ἔχει; καιρὸς γάρ που
 ἐπ' ἐκείνα ἤκειν μηκέτ' ἀπιστούμενα.

9. ἌΜΠ. Περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἄκουε, ξένε. κείται μὲν
 οὐκ ἐν Τροίᾳ ὁ Πρωτεσίλειω ἀλλ' ἐν Χερρονήσῳ
 ταύτῃ, κολωνὸς δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπέχει μέγας οὐτοσὶ δῆπου
 ὁ ἐν ἀριστερῷ, πτελέας δὲ ταύτας αἱ νύμφαι περὶ τῷ
 κολωνῷ ἔφυσαν καὶ τοιούδε ἐπὶ τοῖς δένδροισι τούτοις
 2 ἔγραψάν που αὐται νόμον· τοὺς πρὸς τὸ Ἴλιον τε-
 τραμμένους τῶν ὄζων ἀνθεῖν μὲν πρῶί, φυλλορροεῖν
 δὲ αὐτίκα καὶ προαπόλλυσθαι τῆς ὥρας (τοῦτο δὴ τὸ
 τοῦ Πρωτεσίλειω πάθος), τῷ δὲ ἐτέρῳ μέρει ζῆν τὸ
 3 δένδρον καὶ εὖ πράττειν. καὶ ὅποσα δὲ τῶν δένδρων
 μὴ περὶ τὸ σῆμα ἔστηκεν, ὥσπερ καὶ ταυτὶ τὰ ἐν
 κήπῳ, πᾶσιν ἔρρωται τοῖς ὄζοις καὶ θαρσεῖ τὸ ἴδιον.

4 ΦΟΙΝ. Ὅρῳ, ἀμπελουργέ, καὶ θαυμάζω ἐχων οὐ
 τεθαύμακα· σοφὸν γὰρ τὸ θεῖον.

43 For the dangers of noonday to the superstitious, see Ogden (2007, 168n2); on the shepherd's boldness then see Gow and Page (1965) on Theocritus 1.15ff.

even the shepherd takes courage at noonday⁴³ when the
 angry spirits of that land clatter about underneath it. But 17
 disbelief in such things must have been common even in
 Heracles' day, since after he killed Geryones—the larg-
 est being he reportedly ever encountered—in Erythia, he
 dedicated the bones at Olympia so that his feat would not
 be dismissed as incredible.

Phoenician. You are truly fortunate, vinedresser, in 18
 your knowledge. As for me, my ignorance was great, and
 my disbelief was foolish. But what about Protesilaus? For
 it is time to proceed to that part, about which I no longer
 have any doubts.

9. *Vinedresser.* That is what you should listen to,
 stranger. To start with, Protesilaus is buried not in Troy,
 but here in the Chersonnese; of course this large mound
 on our left⁴⁴ holds his body, and these elms around it were
 planted by the nymphs; they also established for these 2
 trees the following rule: the branches which face Ilion
 blossom too early, then immediately lose their leaves and
 die before their time.⁴⁵ For this is what happened to Pro-
 tesilaus, while all the rest of the tree remains alive and
 flourishes. And all the trees which don't stand around the 3
 tomb, such as these ones here in the garden, are healthy
 in all their branches and uniquely confident.

Phoenician. I have noticed that, and although I was 4
 tempted to express astonishment, I refrained; for what is
 done by divine will must be wise.

44 For the possible location of this mound, see Introduction §6. 45 For the "miracle" of these trees and Protesilaus' sacred grove, see Introduction §8, and compare the grove of Achilles on Leuke, chs. 54.9, 57, below.

5 ἈΜΠ. Τὸ δέ γε ἱερόν, ἐν ᾧ κατὰ τοὺς πατέρας ὁ
Μῆδος ὑβρίζει, ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ τὸ τάριχος ἀναβιῶναί
φασι, τοῦτο ἦγοῦ, ὃ ξένε· καταλείπεται δὲ αὐτοῦ ὄρας
ὡς ὀλίγα. τότε δέ, οἶμαι, χαρίεν τε ἦν καὶ οὐ μικρόν,
6 ὡς ἔστι τοῖς θεμελίοις ξυμβαλέσθαι. τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα
τοῦτο βέβηκε μὲν ἐπὶ νεώς, τὸ γὰρ τῆς βάσεως
σχῆμα πρῶρα, ἰδρυται δὲ ναύαρχος. περιτρίψας δὲ
αὐτὸ ὁ χρόνος καὶ νῆ Δί' οἱ ἀλείφοντές τε καὶ
ἐπισφραγιζόμενοι τὰς εὐχὰς ἐξηλλάχασι τοῦ εἶδους.
7 ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐδὲν τοῦτο· αὐτῷ γὰρ ξύνειμι καὶ αὐτὸν
βλέπω καὶ οὐδὲν ἄν μοι γένοιτο ἄγαλμα ἐκείνου
ἦδιον.

10. ΦΟΙΝ. Ὁ καὶ διαγράψεις μοι αὐτὸν καὶ κοινω-
νήσεις τοῦ εἶδους;

2 ἈΜΠ. Χαίρων γε, νῆ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, ὃ ξένε. γέγονε
μὲν γὰρ ἀμφὶ τὰ εἴκοσί που μάλιστα ἔτη. τηλικός δὲ
ἐλάσας ἐς Τροίαν, ἄβρωῷ ἰούλω βρῦει καὶ ἀπόζει
αὐτοῦ ἦδιον ἢ τὸ μετόπιον τῶν μύρτων. φαιδρὰν δὲ
ὀφρῦν περὶ τὸ ὄμμα βέβληται· τὸ γὰρ ἐπίχαρι αὐτῷ
φίλον. βλέπει δὲ ἐν μὲν ταῖς σπουδαῖς σύντονον καὶ
σφοδρόν, εἰ δὲ ἀνειμένον τύχοιμεν, φεῦ τῶν ὀφθαλ-
3 μῶν ὡς ἐπαφρόδιτοί τε καὶ φιλικοὶ φαίνονται. καὶ
μὴν καὶ κόμης ξανθῆς ἔχει τὸ μέτριον· ἔστι γὰρ ὡς
ἐπικρέμασθαι τῷ μετώπῳ μᾶλλον ἢ κατ' αὐτοῦ πί-
πτειν. καὶ τετράγωνος ἡ ἰδέα τῆς ῥινός, ὅλον ἄγαλμα-
4 ἀπὸ μικροῦ γε τοῦ στόματος. γυμνῷ δὲ ἐντυχεῖν ἦδι-

Vinedresser. As for the sanctuary, that in our ancestors' 5
day was the scene of the Mede's arrogance, at which they
say the salted fish returned to life,⁴⁶ this is it, stranger. But
you see how little is left of it. To judge from its founda-
tions, though, it used to be a fine and large area in those 6
days. The statue is standing on a ship, for its base is in the
shape of a prow, and he is set up as the ship's captain.⁴⁷
But the workings of time and also, by Zeus, those who have
anointed it and hang their vows on it, have totally altered
its appearance. But that doesn't concern me; for I can see 7
and talk with Protesilaus himself, and no statue could be
more beautiful than he is.

10. *Phoenician.* Can you then describe him, and share
with me what you've seen?

Vinedresser. By Athena, with pleasure, stranger. I sup- 2
pose he is about twenty years old. As suits the age at which
he campaigned against Troy, a light down grows on his
chin, and he smells sweeter than myrtle in the fall. He puts
on his face a bright expression, because he loves a cheerful
disposition; when things are serious he looks alert and
intense, but if I find him relaxed, and oh, his eyes are so 3
charming and friendly! His hair is blond, and of moderate
length; it seems to overhang his forehead rather than cover
it. The shape of his nose is angular, just like a statue's. His
voice carries farther than trumpets, although his mouth is
small. He looks most handsome nude, for he is well-pro- 4

⁴⁶ For this story, see Introduction §8.

⁴⁷ See the coin depicting Protesilaus on the prow of a ship
from the time of Commodus (Introduction §11; Imhoof-Blumer
[1910]).

στον εὐπαγῆς γὰρ καὶ κοῦφος, ὥσπερ οἱ δρομικοὶ τῶν ἐρμῶν. τὸ δὲ μῆκος δεκάπηχυσ τάχα, δοκεῖ δ' ἂν μοι καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦτο ἀναδραμεῖν εἰ μὴ ἐν μεираκίῳ ἀπέθανεν.

5 ΦΟΙΝ. Εἶδον τὸν νεανίαν, ἀμπελουργέ, καὶ ἀγαμαί σε τοῦ ἐταίρου. ὥπλισται δὲ ἢ τί;

ἌΜΠ. Χλαμύδα ἐνήπται, ξένε, τὸν Θετταλικὸν τρόπον, ὥσπερ τὸ ἀγαλμα τοῦτο. ἀλουργῆς δὲ ἢ χλαμύς, θείου ἄνθους. ἄρρητον γὰρ τὸ τῆς πορφύρας ἄνθος.

11. ΦΟΙΝ. Ὁ δὲ δὴ ἔρωσ, ὃν τῆς Λαοδαμείας ἦρα, πῶς ἔχει αὐτῷ νῦν;

ἌΜΠ. Ἐρῶ, ξένε, καὶ ἐράται, καὶ διάκεινται πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὥσπερ οἱ θερμοὶ τῶν νυμφίων.

2 ΦΟΙΝ. Περιβάλλεις δὲ ἤκοντα ἢ διαφεύγει σε καπνοῦ δίκην, ὥσπερ τοὺς ποιητάς;

ἌΜΠ. Χαίρει περιβάλλοντι καὶ ξυγχωρεῖ φιλεῖν τε αὐτὸν καὶ τῆς δέρης ἐμφορεῖσθαι γε.

3 ΦΟΙΝ. Θαμίζει δὲ ἢ διὰ πολλοῦ ἤκει;

ἌΜΠ. Τετράκις τοῦ μηνὸς ἢ πεντάκις οἶμαι αὐτοῦ μετέχειν, ὅπότ' ἢ φυτεῦσθαι ποτε τουτωνῶν τῶν φυτῶν βούλοιο ἢ τρηνγῆσαι ἢ ἄνθη κείραι. φιλοστέφανος γάρ τις καὶ ἠδὴ ἀποφαίνων τὰ ἄνθη ὅποτε περὶ αὐτὰ εἶη.

4 ΦΟΙΝ. Ἰλαρόν γε τὸν ἦρω λέγεις καὶ ἀτεχνῶς νυμφίων.

portioned and graceful, like the herms⁴⁸ one sees at race-courses. He is perhaps ten cubits tall—I think he would have grown even beyond that if he hadn't died in his youth.

Phoenician. I can picture the youth, vinedresser, and I am in awe of your friend. Does he wear armor? 5

Vinedresser. Just as this statue, he wears a soldier's mantle as they do in Thessaly; it is purple, the color of the gods—for the shade of purple is sacred.⁴⁹

11. *Phoenician.* How fares now the love he used to feel for Laodameia?

Vinedresser. He loves her as much as she does him. They treat each other like passionate newlyweds.

Phoenician. Do you embrace him when he comes, or does he elude your grasp like smoke, as he does the poets?⁵⁰ 2

Vinedresser. He is glad to be embraced by me, and allows me to kiss him and linger on his neck.

Phoenician. Does he come often, or only occasionally? 3

Vinedresser. I suppose I meet him four or five times a month, whenever he wishes to plant or harvest something, or to cut flowers; for he likes garlands, and makes the flowers more beautiful when he is among them.

Phoenician. This hero is cheerful, as you describe him, and quite the newlywed. 4

⁴⁸ Evidently another slip by the vinedresser (Introduction §7), since a Herm is a statue type with only a head and erect phallus, i.e., no body at all (Platt 2011, 246–47).

⁴⁹ The purple soldier's mantle had first been adopted by Alexander the Great (Reinhold 1970, 29).

⁵⁰ Like the ghost of Patroclus, *Il.* 23.99–101, which however eludes Achilles, not the poet.

- ἌΜΠ. Καὶ σῶφρονά γε, ᾧ ξένε. φιλόγελως γὰρ ὦν ὑφ' ἡλικίας, ὕβρει οὐδὲν πράττει. καὶ σμινύης δὲ ἄπτεται πολλάκις εἴ που ὀρύττων πέτρα ἐντύχοιμι, καὶ ξυλλαμβάνει μοι τῶν δυσέργων, κἂν ἀγνοήσω τι
- 5 τῶν κατὰ γεωργίαν, διορθοῦταί με. τά τε δένδρα ἐγὼ μὲν παρακηκῶς τοῦ Ὀμήρου μακρὰ ἐφύτενον μείον τοῦ ἄνω τὸ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐμβιβάζων, καὶ ὁπότε ἐπελάβετό μου ὁ Πρωτεσίλειος, ἐχρώμην τοῖς τοῦ Ὀμήρου πρὸς αὐτόν, ὁ δὲ ὑπολαβὼν “αὐτὸς μέντοι Ὀμηρος τὸν ἐναντίον” ἔφη “κελεύει τρόπον ἢ σὺ πράττεις· μακρὰ γὰρ ὑπὸ σοφίας τὰ βαθέα οἶδεν, ὥς που τὰ φρέατα μακρὰ ὀνομάζει, βαθέα ὄντα”· καὶ τὰ δένδρα δὲ εἶπεν ἐμβιῶσεσθαι τῇ γῆ μᾶλλον, εἰ τῷ μὲν πλείονι ἐστήκοι, τῷ δὲ ὀλίγῳ κινοῖτο. ἐπιστὰς δέ μοί ποτε ἄνθη ποτίζοντι “τὸ μύρον” εἶπεν, “ᾧ τῶν, οὐ δεῖται ὕδατος,” διδάσκων δῆπου μὴ ἔκπλυτα ποιεῖν τὰ ἄνθη.
- 7 ΦΟΙΝ. Τὸν δὲ ἄλλον χρόνον, ᾧ ἀμπελουργέ, ποῦ δαιτᾶται;
- ἌΜΠ. Ποτὲ μὲν ἐν Ἄιδου, φησί, ποτὲ δὲ ἐν Φθίᾳ, ποτὲ δὲ αὖ ἐν Τροίᾳ, οὗ οἱ ἑταῖροι, καὶ πρὸς θήρα σῶν τε καὶ ἐλάφων γινόμενος, ἀφικνεῖται κατὰ μεσημβρίαν καὶ καθεύδει ἐκταθείς.
- 8 ΦΟΙΝ. Ποῦ δὲ τῇ Λαοδαμείᾳ ξύνεστιν;
- ἌΜΠ. Ἐν Ἄιδου, ξένε. καὶ λέγει αὐτὴν εὐδοκιμώτατα γυναικῶν πράττειν, ἀριθμουμένην ἐν αἷς Ἄλκηστις τε ἢ Ἀδμήτου καὶ Ἀριάδῃ ἢ Καπανέως καὶ αἱ ταύταις ἴσαι σῶφρονές τε καὶ χρησταί.

Vinedresser. He is moderate as well, stranger, for although he loves a joke, like any young man, he never does anything unkind. If I happen to strike a rock while digging, he often grabs a hoe himself, and pitches in when the work is hard, and corrects me if I am misguided on anything to do with farming. Misreading Homer, I was trying to “plant trees tall” (*Od.* 18.359) by placing much less of them into the soil than above it, and when Protesilaus stopped me, I quoted Homer’s verses to him; he, however, answered, “But Homer himself commands the opposite of what you’re doing. For by ‘tall’ he cleverly means ‘deep,’ just as of course he speaks of ‘tall’ i.e., deep, ‘wells’” (*Il.* 21.197). He said that the trees would take root in the earth better if they were anchored with more of their length, and could be moved only with a small part. Once also he stood beside me as I was irrigating the flowering plants and said, “My good man, don’t water down the perfume”,⁵¹ he meant of course that I should not drown the blossoms.

Phoenician. Where does he spend the rest of his time? *Vinedresser*. Partly in the underworld, he says, partly in Phthia, and partly also in Troy, where his comrades are; when he is hunting wild boar and deer, he comes here at midday and stretches out for a nap.

Phoenician. Where does he meet Laodameia? *Vinedresser*. In the underworld, stranger. He also says that she is most honored of women, being numbered in the group which includes Admetus’ wife Alcestis and Capaneus’ wife Ariadne⁵² and others equally moderate and noble.

⁵¹ So Grossardt (2006a). ⁵² An error for “Evadne” (for the vinedresser’s slips, see Introduction §7); all these wives decided to die rather than survive their husbands.

9 ΦΟΙΝ. Ξυσσιτοῦνται δὲ ἀλλήλοις ἢ οὐ θέμις;
 ἌΜΠ. Οὐπω, ξένε, σιτουμένω ἐνέτυχον οὐδὲ πί-
 νοντα ἔγνω. καίτοι σπένδω γε αὐτῷ κατὰ ἐσπέραν
 ἀπὸ τουτωνὶ τῶν Θασίων ἀμπέλων, ἃς φυτεῖει αὐτός,
 καὶ τρωκτὰ ὠραῖα τίθεμαι κατὰ μεσημβρίαν, ἐπειδὰν
 θέρος τε ἦκη καὶ μετόπωρον ἰστήται· σελήνης τε ἰού-
 σης ἐς κύκλον ἐν τῇ τοῦ ἥρος ὥρα, γάλα ἐγχείας ἐς
 τὸν ψυκτῆρα τοῦτον “ἰδοῦ σοι” λέγω “τὸ τῆς ὥρας
 νᾶμα, σὺ δὲ πίνε”. καὶ γὰρ μὲν εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἀπαλλάτ-
 τομαι, τὰ δὲ βέβρωταί τε καὶ πέποται θάπτον ἢ κατα-
 μῦσαι.

12. ΦΟΙΝ. Περὶ δὲ τῆς ἡλικίας ἦν γεγωνὸς ἀπ-
 ἔθανε, τί φησιν;

ἌΜΠ. Ἐλεεί, ξένε, τὸ ἑαυτοῦ πάθος καὶ τὸν δαί-
 μονα, ἐφ’ ᾧ τότε ἦν, ἀδικόν τε ἡγείται καὶ βάσκανον
 μὴ συγχωρήσαντα οἱ τὸν γοῦν πόδα ἐς τὴν Τροίαν
 ἐρέσαι· μὴ γὰρ ἂν μήτε Διομήδους τι ἐλαττωθῆναι
 μαχόμενος, μήτ’ ἂν Πατρόκλου, μήτ’ ἂν τοῦ δευτέρου
 2 Αἴαντος. τῶν γὰρ Αἰακιδῶν λελείφθαι τὰ πολέμια δι’
 ἡλικίαν φησίν· αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ εἶναι μειράκιον, ἐκεί-
 νων δὲ τὸν μὲν Ἀχιλλέα εἶναι νεανίαν, τὸν δὲ Αἴαντα
 3 ἄνδρα. καὶ τὰ ἔπη τὰ ἐς αὐτὸν Ὀμήρω εἰρημένα ἐπαι-
 νεί, καίτοι μὴ πάντα ἐπαινῶν τὰ Ὀμήρου, ὡς ἀμφί-
 δρυφον μὲν αὐτῷ τὴν γυναῖκα εἶπεν, ἡμιτελῆ δὲ τὴν
 οἰκίαν, περιμάχητον δὲ τὴν ναῦν ἐφ’ ἧς ἔπλευσε, πο-
 4 λεμικόν τε αὐτὸν καλεῖ. ἑαυτὸν δὲ ὀλοφύρεται μηδὲν
 ἐν Τροίᾳ ἐργασάμενον, ἀλλὰ πεσόντα ἐν γῆ ἧς οὐδὲ

Phoenician. Do they take meals together, or is that 9
 unlawful?

Vinedresser. I have never encountered him eating, nor
 have I known him to drink. I do, however, pour him a liba-
 tion in the evening with wine from these Thasian vines,
 which he himself planted. When summer comes or fall
 begins I serve him fruits of the season at noon; in the
 spring when the moon is full I pour milk into this cooler
 and say, “Here is the liquid of the season for you to drink.”
 When I’ve said this I depart, and what I’ve left is eaten and
 drunk quick as a wink.

12. *Phoenician*. What does he say about the age at
 which he died?

Vinedresser. He mourns about his sufferings and be-
 lieves that the fortune which had him in its power in those
 days was unjust and malicious in not allowing him to plant
 at least his foot on Trojan soil. He says he would have been
 in no way inferior to Diomedes in fighting, nor to Patro-
 clus, nor to the lesser Ajax—he admits he fell short of the 2
 Aeacidae in warfare because of his age—he himself was a
 youth, but among these Achilles was a young man, and
 Ajax fully adult. Although he doesn’t approve everything 3
 in Homer, he praises the verses written by Homer about
 himself, since he wrote that his wife had cheeks torn in
 mourning, that his house was half-built, that the ship on
 which he sailed was a scene of fierce fighting, and called
 him warlike. He laments that he accomplished nothing at 4
 Troy, but fell on land on which he had not even stood. He

ἐπέβη, καὶ τὴν οὐλὴν δὲ ἐντετύπεται τῷ μηρῷ· τὸ γὰρ τραῦμα συναπορρῦψασθαί φησι τῷ σώματι.

13. ΦΟΙΝ. Γυμνάζεται δέ, ὃ ἀμπελουργέ, τίνα τρόπον; ἐπειδὴ ἔφασκες αὐτὸν καὶ τοῦτο ἐξασκεῖν.

ἌΜΠ. Γυμνάζεται, ξένε, τὰ πολεμικὰ πλὴν τοξικῆς, τὰ δὲ γυμναστικὰ πλὴν πάλης· τὸ μὲν γὰρ τοξεύειν δειλῶν ἡγείται, τὸ δὲ παλαίειν ἀργῶν.

2 ΦΟΙΝ. Παγκρατιάζει δὲ πῶς ἢ πυκτεύει;

ἌΜΠ. Σκιᾶς, ὃ ξένε, τούτων γυμνάζεται, καὶ δισκεύει μείζον ἢ ἐφικέσθαι ἄνθρωπον. ἀνακροῦει μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ τὰς νεφέλας τὸν δίσκον, ρίπτει δὲ ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἑκατὸν πήχεις καὶ ταυθ', ὡς ὄρας, διπλάσιον τοῦ Ὀλυμπικοῦ ὄντα. δραμόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἂν εὖροις ἔχνος, οὐδ' ἂν ἐνσημῆναιτό τι τῇ γῆ ὁ πούς.

3 ΦΟΙΝ. Καὶ μὴν καὶ ἔχνη μεγάλη ἐντετύπεται τοῖς δρόμοις, ἐς τὸ δεκάπηχυν μέγεθος τοῦ ἥρω.

ἌΜΠ. Βαδίζοντος, ξένε, τὰ ἔχνη ἐκείνα καὶ γυμναζομένον τι ἕτερον· δραμόντος δὲ ἄσημος ἢ γῆ μετέωρος γάρ τις καὶ οἶον ἐπικυματίζων αἴρεται. φησι δὲ καὶ παραδραμεῖν ἐν Αὐλίδι τὸν Ἀχιλλέα ἐν ἄθλοις, γυμναζομένης ἐπὶ Τροίαν τῆς Ἑλλάδος, καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸ πῆδημα τὸ ἐκείνου ἀρθῆναι, τὰ δὲ πολέμια ζυγχωρεῖ, ὡς ἔφην, τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ πλὴν τῆς ἐν Μυσοῖς μάχης· ἐκέ

⁵³ Protesilaus may have defeated Achilles in the long jump at Aulis, but Philostratus is doubtless alluding to the famous "jump of Achilles" at Troy; he was the last to leave the ship there (he obeyed the same oracle that Protesilaus ignored), but when he

has the scar imprinted on his thigh; for he says he washed the wound away along with the rest of his body.

13. *Phoenician*. How does he engage in exercise, vine-dresser? For you said that he does that as well.

Vinedresser. He practices all the arts of war except for the bow, and all athletics except for wrestling; he considers archery a coward's art, and wrestling for the lazy.

Phoenician. Where does he find an opponent for boxing or the pankration? 2

Vinedresser. In those events he exercises by shadow-boxing. His discus-throwing far surpasses anything a man could attain, for he throws it up and beyond the clouds, and farther than one hundred cubits, even though the discus is twice the size of the one used at Olympia. When he runs, one can't even find his tracks, and his foot makes no impression on the earth.

Phoenician. But there are footprints sunk into the race-course large enough to fit a ten-cubit-tall hero. 3

Vinedresser. Those are from when he is walking or exercising in some other way. When he runs, the earth remains unmarked, for he is almost suspended, and lifted up as if he were skipping across the waves. He says that he even ran against Achilles in the games held at Aulis, when the Greeks were exercising in preparation to fight Troy, and that his jump was farther than that of Achilles.⁵³ In the skills of warfare he yields to Achilles, as I said, except 4

finally disembarked he leaped out with such force that a spring was produced at the spot where he landed, henceforth called "Achilles' jump." See Scholia to Lycophron 246; scholia to Eur. *Andr.* 1139; *addenda* to *FCrHist* 48 (p. 19), with Jacoby's commentary.

γὰρ πλείους ἀπεκτονέσθαι τῶν Μυσῶν ἢ ἐκεῖνος, ἀριστεία δὲ ἀπειρηγέσθαι κεκρατηκέναι δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν περὶ τῆς ἀσπίδος.

14. ΦΟΙΝ. Καὶ τί ἂν εἴη, ἀμπελουργέ, τὸ τῆς ἀσπίδος; οὔτε γὰρ ποιητῆ εἴρηται πω, οὔτε ἐς λόγον τινα τῶν Τρωικῶν ἦκει.

2 ἈΜΠ. Περὶ πολλῶν, ξένε, τοῦτ' ἐρεῖς· πολλὰ γὰρ
 2 περὶ τε ἀνδρῶν περὶ τε πολεμικῶν ἔργων ὁ ἥρωσ λέγει
 μῆπω τοῖς πολλοῖς δῆλα ὄντα. τὸ δὲ αἴτιον· φησὶν
 αὐτοῦς, κατὰ ἔκπληξιν τῶν Ὀμήρου ποιημάτων, ἐς
 μόνους Ἀχιλλέα τε καὶ Ὀδυσσεά βλέψαντας ἀμελή-
 σαι καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν, καὶ τῶν μὲν οὐδὲ ἐπι-
 μνησθῆναι τὸ παράπαν, τοῖς δὲ ἀναθεῖναι τριήρη
 3 τεττάρων ἐπῶν. τὸν μὲν δὴ Ἀχιλλέα φησὶν ἐπαξίως
 3 ὑμῆσθαι, τὸν δὲ Ὀδυσσεά μειζόνως. καὶ ὅποσα δὲ
 Σθενέλου τε καὶ Παλαμῆδους καὶ τῶν τοιῶνδε ἀνδρῶν
 παραλέλειπται, δίδεμί σοι μικρὸν ὕστερον· μὴ γὰρ
 ἀγνοήσας γε ἀπέλθοις τι τούτων. καὶ τὸν λόγον δὲ
 4 τὸν Μύσιον, ἐς ὃν ἦκει ἡ ἀσπίς, αὐτίκα ἀποτελοῦμεν.
 4 νῦν δέ, ἐπειδὴ παγκρατίου καὶ πυγμῆς καὶ δίσκου
 μνημονεύοντες ἐς τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀπηρέθημεν, ἄκουε
 τοῦ ἥρω θαύματα πρὸς ἀθλητὰς οἱ ἐχρήσαντο αὐτῷ
 συμβούλῳ. τὸν Κίλικα, οἶμαι, παγκρατιαστὴν ἀκού-
 εις, ὃν Ἀλτῆρα ἐκάλουον οἱ πατέρες, ὡς μικρὸς ἦν καὶ
 τῶν ἀντιπάλων παρὰ πολὺ.

15. ΦΟΙΝ. Οἶδα τεκμαιρόμενος δήπου τοῖς ἀνδρι-
 ἄσι χαλκοῦς γὰρ πολλαχοῦ ἔστηκε.

for the battle in Mysia; for there he says he killed more Mysians than Achilles, and won the prize for valor, and also defeated him in the contest for the shield.

14. *Phoenician*. What is this about the shield, vine-dresser? It has never yet been told of by any poet, nor does it figure in any account of the Trojan War.

Vinedresser. You are going to say that about many things, stranger, for the hero tells many stories about men and their feats in war which are as yet unknown to most poets. Here is the reason: he claims that they, awed by the Homeric poems, pay attention only to Achilles and Odysseus, and neglect fine, good men, some not recounting at all, to others assigning a trireme of four verses. He says that Achilles has received his due measure of praise, and Odysseus more than his due. As for what has been left out about Sthenelus, Palamedes and their like, I shall tell you a little later; you should not leave here without knowing about them. The story about Mysia, on which the shield figures, we shall finish presently. But now, since we digressed to the shield while on the subject of the pankration, boxing and the discus, let me tell you about the miracles he has here performed for the athletes who have sought his advice. I imagine you have heard of the Cilician pankratiast, whom our fathers used to call the "jumping man," because he was short and so much more so than his opponents.⁵⁴

15. *Phoenician*. I had of course realized that to judge from his statues; his likeness in bronze can be found in many places.

⁵⁴ Grossardt (2002 and 2006a, 426) compares *Gym.* ch. 36 on short athletes and plausibly identifies this unnamed athlete with the Cilician wrestler Maron, whose career and honors are described in a Cilician inscription (SEG 52 1464 bis).

ἌΜΠ. Τούτω, ξένε, περιῆν μὲν καὶ ἐπιστήμης,
 2 περιῆν δὲ καὶ θυμοῦ, καὶ μάλα ἐρρώννυ αὐτὸν ἢ εὐαρ-
 μοστία τοῦ σώματος. ἀφικόμενος οὖν ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν
 τοῦτο ὁ παῖς (ἔπλει δὲ εὐθὺ Δελφῶν ἀγωνιούμενος τὴν
 3 κρίσιν) ἠρώτα τὸν Πρωτεσίλεων, ὃ τι πράττων περι-
 έσοιτο τῶν ἀντιπάλων· ὁ δὲ “πατούμενος” ἔφη. ἀθυ-
 4 μία οὖν αὐτίκα τὸν ἀθλητὴν ἔσχεν ὡς καταβεβλημέ-
 νον ὑπὸ τοῦ χρησμοῦ· τὸ δ’ ἀποπτερινίζεν ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ
 πρῶτος εὐρὼν ξυνήκεν ὕστερον ὅτι κελεύει αὐτὸν μὴ
 5 μεθίεσθαι τοῦ ποδός· τὸν γὰρ προσπαλαίοντα τῇ
 πτέρνῃ πατέισθαι τε ξυνεχῶς χρῆ καὶ ὑποκείσθαι τῷ
 ἀντιπάλῳ. καὶ τοῦτο πράττων ὁ ἀθλητὴς οὗτος ὀνό-
 6 ματος λαμπροῦ ἔτυχε καὶ ἠττήθη οὐδενός. ἀκούεις δὲ
 που καὶ Πλούταρχον ἐκείνον τὸν δεξιόν;

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

5 ἌΜΠ. Οὗτος ἀνὴρ τὴν δευτέραν Ὀλυμπιάδα ἐπὶ
 τοὺς ἀνδρας ἰκετεύει τὸν ἥρω χρῆσαι οἱ περὶ τῆς νί-
 κης· ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν κελεύει Ἀχελῷῳ ἐναγωνίῳ εὐχεσθαι.

6 ΦΟΙΝ. Τί οὖν τὸ αἰνύγμα;

ἌΜΠ. Ἦγωνίζετο μὲν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ πρὸς Ἑρμεῖαν
 τὸν Αἰγύπτιον τὴν περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου νίκην. ἀπειρη-
 κότες δὲ ὁ μὲν ὑπὸ τραυμάτων, ὁ δὲ ὑπὸ δίψης (καὶ
 γὰρ ἀκμάζουσα μεσημβρία περὶ τὴν πυγμὴν εἰστή-
 κει), νεφέλη ἐς τὸ στάδιον καταρρήγνυται καὶ διψῶν
 ὁ Πλούταρχος ἔσπασε τοῦ ὕδατος ὃ ἀνειλήφει τὰ

⁵⁵ I.e., by putting his feet behind the opponent's heel to trip

2 *Vinedresser*. He had plenty of skill, stranger, and spirit,
 and his well-shaped body made him quite strong. Well, he
 came to this sanctuary as a boy; he was sailing straight to
 Delphi, to compete in a contest—and asked Protesilaus
 3 what he should do to defeat his opponents. The answer
 was “be trampled.”⁵⁵ Well, the athlete was discouraged at
 first, thinking the oracle had rejected him; but later, when
 in a contest he was the first to discover the use of heel
 tripping, he understood that Protesilaus was telling him
 not to disengage from the other's feet, since someone who
 wrestles against the heel must constantly be stepped on
 and stay under his opponent. By doing so, this athlete
 made a glorious name for himself and was undefeated. I
 4 suppose you have heard of the talented Plutarch?

Phoenician. I have indeed. You must be talking about the boxer.

5 *Vinedresser*. When he was going to Olympia for the
 second time, to compete among the men, he asked the
 hero to prophesy how he could win. Protesilaus told him
 to pray to Achelous, “god of the contest.”

Phoenician. What riddle was that?

6 *Vinedresser*. He was competing against Hermeias of
 Egypt in the final match at Olympia, and when both men
 were exhausted, one from his wounds, the other from
 thirst—the boxing was taking place in the full midday
 heat⁵⁶—a cloud burst over the stadium, and Plutarch, the
 one who was thirsty, drank some of the water which the

him; see Poliakoff (1987, 57, 172n8) and Gardiner (1930, 215); and cf. Pind. *Isthm.* 4.48; Theoc. 24.113-14.

⁵⁶ For the legendary heat at Olympia, see Poliakoff (1987, 165n6).

περὶ τοῖς πήχεσι κώδια· καὶ τὸν χρησμὸν ἐνθυμηθεῖς,
ὡς μετὰ ταῦτα ἔφασκεν, εἰς θάρσος ὤρμησε καὶ ἔτυχε
7 τῆς νίκης. Εὐδαίμονα δὲ τὸν Αἰγύπτιον θαυμάζεις τῆς
καρτερίας ἴσως, εἰ πυκτεούντι που παρέτυχες. τούτῳ
ἐρομένῳ πῶς ἂν μὴ ἡττηθείη, “θανάτου” ἔφη “κατα-
φρονῶν.”

ΦΟΙΝ. Καὶ πείθεται γε, ὦ ἀμπελουργέ, τῷ χρη-
σμῷ· παρασκευάζων γὰρ οὕτως ἑαυτὸν, ἀδαμάντινος
τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ θεῖος δοκεῖ.

8 ἌΜΠ. Ἐλιξ δὲ ὁ ἀθλητῆς αὐτὸς μὲν οὕτω προ-
πέπλευκε τῷ ἱερῷ τούτῳ, πέμπτας δὲ τινα τῶν ἑαυτοῦ
ἐταίρων ἤρετο ποσάκις νικήσει τὰ Ὀλύμπια· ὁ δὲ
“δὺς” ἔφη “νικήσεις, εἰ μὴ ἐθέλης τρίς.”

9 ΦΟΙΝ. Δαιμόνιον, ἀμπελουργέ· λέξεις γὰρ που τὸ
ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ πραχθέν· προὔπαρχούσης γὰρ αὐτῷ νί-
κης μιᾶς, ὅτ’ ἀνὴρ ἐκ παιδῶν ἐνίκα πάλην, ἀπεδύσατο
τὴν ἐπ’ ἐκείνη Ὀλυμπιάδα πάλην τε καὶ παγκράτιον,
ἐφ’ ᾧ δυσχεράναντες οἱ Ἥλείοι διεννοοῦντο μὲν ἀμ-
φοῖν εἶργειν αὐτὸν ἐγκλήματα Ὀλυμπικὰ ξυντιθέντες
10 αὐτῷ· μόγις δ’ οὖν ἀνέδησαν τὸ παγκράτιον. καὶ τοῦ-
τον ἄρα τὸν φθόνον ὁ Πρωτεσίλεως φυλάξασθαι
προὔλεγεν, εἰδὼς αὐτὸν ἀντίπαλον τοῖς ἐξηρημένους
ἴοντα.

⁵⁷ Death was a real possibility for boxers wearing the spiked *caestus* (Poliakoff 1987, 87–88).

⁵⁸ So Grossardt (2006a).

sheepskins on his arms had absorbed. When he remem-
bered the oracle, as he said later, he regained his confi-
dence, and won. Perhaps you also are an admirer of the
endurance of Eudaimon of Egypt, if you’ve ever seen him
box. When *he* asked Protesilaus how he could remain un-
defeated, the answer was “by scorning death.”⁵⁷

Phoenician. He obeys the oracle too, vinedresser. His
attitude is so impressive that the crowds find him hard as
adamant and like a god.

Vinedresser. As for the athlete Helix, he has never
8 sailed to this the sanctuary himself, but he sent one of his
companions to ask how often he would win at the Olympic
games. Protesilaus’ answer was “you will win twice, if you
don’t want to win three times.”

Phoenician. That is astounding, vinedresser; obviously
9 you will go on to say what happened at Olympia: he already
had one victory wrestling in the men’s, though belonging
to the boys,⁵⁸ and in the Olympiad after that he entered
both the wrestling and the pankration, which so angered
the Eleans that they intended to bar him from both, charg-
ing him with infringement of the Olympic rules; they
barely crowned him for the pankration.⁵⁹ It was this envy
10 that Protesilaus predicted he should guard against, since
he knew it opposes men of achievement.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ According to Dio Cass. 80 [79] 10.2–3, they simply can-
celed the wrestling.

⁶⁰ For the athlete Aurelius Helix, see Introduction to *Gym-
nasticus*. Helix’ two Olympic victories were probably in 213 and
217; it seems likely that the present passage was written before
his most famous victory, in the Pankration at the Capitoline games
in 219.

ἌΜΠ. Ἄριστα, ξένε, τοῦ χρησμοῦ ἐτεκμήρω.

16. ΦΟΙΝ. Τῶν δὲ δὴ νόσων τίνας ἰάται; πολλοὺς γὰρ αὐτῷ φῆς εὔχεσθαι.

ἌΜΠ. Πάσας ἰάται ὁπόσοι εἰσὶ, μάλιστα δὲ τὰς φθόας τε καὶ τοὺς ὑδέρους καὶ τὰς τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν νόσους καὶ τοὺς τεταρταίω πυρέσσοντας. ἔστι καὶ ἐρώντι τυχεῖν αὐτοῦ ξυμβούλου· ξυναλγεῖ γὰρ σφόδρα τοῖς τὰ ἐρωτικά ἀτυχοῦσι καὶ ὑποτίθεται αὐτοῖς ἐπώδους καὶ τέχνας, αἷς τὰ παιδικὰ θέλξουσι. μοιχοῖς δὲ οὔτε προσδιαλέγεται οὐδὲν οὔτε ὑποτίθεται τι ἐρωτικόν· φησὶ γὰρ ἀπηχθῆσθαι αὐτοῖς, ἐπειδὴ τὸ ἐρᾶν διαβάλλουσιν. ἀφικομένου γοῦν ἐνταῦθα μοιχοῦ ποτε αὐτῇ γυναικὶ ἦν ἐπέιρα, καὶ ξυνομνύναι βουλομένων ἐπὶ τὸν ἄνδρα παρόντα μὲν, ξυνιέντα δὲ οὔπω—ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἔτυχε καθεύδων μεσημβρίας ἐνταῦθα, οἱ δ' ὤμνυσαν ἤδη προσεστηκότες τῷ βωμῷ. . . .

ΦΟΙΝ. Τί οὖν ὁ Πρωτεσίλω;

ἌΜΠ. Ἐξορμῶ τοῦτον τὸν κύνα καίτοι χρηστόν, ὡς ὄρῃς, ὄντα προσπεσεῖν τε αὐτοῖς κατόπιν καὶ δακεῖν ἐτι ὀμνύντας· καὶ τὸν ὄρκον οὕτωςι ξυγγέας ἐφίσταται τῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ κελεύει αὐτὸν ἐκείνων μὲν ἀμελεῖν, τὸ γὰρ δῆγγά σφω ἀνίατον εἶναι, σφῆζειν δὲ νῦν γοῦν αὐτὸν τε καὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ οἶκον· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ θεοὺς πάντα γινώσκειν, τοὺς δὲ ἥρωας θεῶν μὲν ἐλάττω, πλείω δὲ ἀνθρώπων—πολὺς ἐπιρρεῖ τῶν τοιούτων ὄχλος εἰ πάντων ἀπομνημονεύοιμι, ὄντων γε καὶ τῶν ἐν Φθίᾳ τε καὶ Φυλάκῃ φανερῶν πᾶσιν ὅσοι Θεσσαλίαν οἰκοῦσι· καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἐκείνῃ ἱερὸν ἐνεργὸν

Vinedresser. That is an excellent interpretation of the oracle, stranger.

16. *Phoenician*. What diseases does he heal? You said that many people pray to him.

Vinedresser. He heals every sort that exists, especially tuberculosis, dropsy, eye diseases, and malaria. A lover may seek his counsel also; he is very sympathetic to those unlucky in love, and suggests to them incantations and rituals to win their beloved boys. But he doesn't talk to adulterers, nor offer them any advice on love; he says he hates them, because they give love a bad name. At any rate, when once there came here an adulterer with the very woman he was seducing, and they wanted to conspire against her husband, who was here also, but knew nothing, well, he happened to be taking a midday nap here, while they had already taken their places before the altar and were taking their oath. . . .

Phoenician. What did Protesilaus do?

Vinedresser. He stirred up this dog—who as you know is very well-behaved—to attack them from behind and bite them, while they swore their oaths; after ruining their pledges in this way Protesilaus appeared to the husband in a dream and told him not to concern himself with them. The bite they had received would be incurable, but at least to save himself and his house; for the gods (he said) know everything, while heroes have less knowledge than gods, but more than men—but the mass of such stories swamps us if I should recount them all, since there are also incidents from Phthia and Phylake, well known to the inhabitants of Thessaly. The sanctuary there keeps Protesilaus

τῷ Πρωτεσίλειω, καὶ πολλὰ τοῖς Θεσσαλοῖς ἐπισημαίνει φιλάνθρωπά τε καὶ εὐμενῆ, καὶ ὀργίλα αὐ εἰ ἀμελοῖτο.

6 ΦΟΙΝ. Πείθομαι, νῆ τὸν Πρωτεσίλειον, ἀμπελουργέ· καλὸν γάρ, ὡς ὄρω, καὶ ὀμνῦναι τοιοῦτον ἦρω.

17. ἈΜΠ. Ἡ ἀδικήσεις γε ἀπιστῶν, ξένε, τόν τε Ἀμφιάρειον, ὃν λέγεται ἡ γῆ ἐν σοφῷ ἀδύτῳ ἔχειν, Ἀμφίλοχόν τε τὸν τούτου παῖδα πλείω ἴσως ἢ ἐγὼ 2 γινώσκεις, οὐ πολὺ ἀπέχων τῆς Κιλικίων ἡπείρου. καὶ Μάρωνα δὲ τὸν Εὐάνθου ἀδικοῖης ἂν ἐπιφοιτῶντα ταῖς ἐν Ἰσμάρῳ ἀμπέλοις καὶ ἡδυοῖνους αὐτὰς ἐργαζόμενον φυτεύοντά τε καὶ κυκλοῦντα, ὅτε δὴ ὄραται τοῖς γεωργοῖς ὁ Μάρων καλός τε καὶ ἀβρός καὶ ἀναπνέων πότιμόν τε καὶ οἰνώδες. γινώσκειν δὲ χρῆ καὶ 3 τὰ τοῦ Θρακῶς Ῥήσου· Ῥήσος γάρ, ὃν ἐν Τροίᾳ Διομήδης ἀπέκτεινε, λέγεται οἰκεῖν τὴν Ῥοδόπην καὶ πολλὰ αὐτοῦ θαύματα ἄδουσι· ἵπποτροφεῖν τε γάρ 4 φασιν αὐτὸν καὶ ὀπλιτεύειν καὶ θήρας ἄπτεισθαι. σημεῖον δὲ εἶναι τοῦ θηρῶν τὸν ἦρω τὸ τοὺς σὺς τοὺς ἀγρίους καὶ τὰς δορκάδας καὶ ὅποσα ἐν τῷ ὄρει θηρία φοιτᾶν πρὸς τὸν βωμὸν τοῦ Ῥήσου κατὰ δύο ἢ τρία, θύεσθαι τε οὐδενὶ δεσμῷ ξυνεχόμενα καὶ παρ-

⁶¹ For this sanctuary, see Introduction §8.

⁶² While fleeing from the battle of Thebes, Amphiarus was swallowed by the earth at Oropus on the border between Boeotia and Attica (Sophocles fr. 958 Radt); for his shrine and oracle

busy, and he makes many kind and beneficial pronouncements for the Thessalians and many angry ones also, if he is slighted.⁶¹

Phoenician. I believe you, vinedresser—by Protesilaus, I do; for I see this hero is a good one to swear by. 6

17. *Vinedresser.* Indeed if you continue to disbelieve you will offend not only Amphiarus, whom the earth is said to keep in a wise sanctuary, but also his son Amphilo-chus—you know him perhaps better than I, since you live not far from Cilicia.⁶² You would also offend Euanthes' son, who visits the vineyards at Ismaros and makes the wine so pleasant, when he plants and encircles⁶³ them; that is when visions of Maron, handsome, fair, and fragrant with fresh wine, appear to the farmers. You must also know about Rhesus the Thracian, for it's said that he, whom Diomedes killed at Troy, has his abode at Rhodope; and they praise many of his miracles. They say he keeps horses and wears heavy armor and joins in the hunt. It is said that the hero's hunting is confirmed by the fact that wild boar, roe deer and all animals living in the mountains visit Rhesus' altar in groups of two or three and without any restraint upon them, offer themselves to the knife and

there, see Petrakos (1968). On the even more famous oracle of his son Amphilo-chus at Mallos in Cilicia, see Latte, *RE* 18 (1939, 862ff.); Bouché-Leclercq (1879, 3:341–45). That oracle was a favorite target of Lucian's skepticism (Jones 1986, 37). The discussion of humans who are honored with city-sanctuaries at Paus. 1.34.2 also adduces Amphiarus at Oropus, Amphilo-chus in Cilicia, and Protesilaus at Elaious (as well as Trophonius at Lebadeia).

⁶³ Perhaps with trenches (Grossardt 2006a).

5 ἔχειν τῇ μαχαίρᾳ ἑαυτά. λέγεται δὲ ὁ ἥρωος οὗτος καὶ
 6 λουμοῦ ἐρύκειν τοὺς ὄρους· πολυανθρωποτάτῃ δὲ ἢ
 Ῥοδόπῃ καὶ πολλὰ περὶ τὸ ἱερόν αἱ κῶμαι. ὅθεν μοι
 δοκεῖ καὶ βοήσεσθαι ὑπὲρ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ συστρατιωτῶν
 ὁ Διομήδης, εἰ τὸν μὲν Θρᾶκα τούτον, ὃν ἀπέκτεινεν
 αὐτὸς μηδὲν εὐδόκιμον ἐν Τροίᾳ ἐργασάμενον, μηδὲ
 δεῖξαντά τι ἐκεῖ λόγου ἄξιον πλὴν ἵππων λευκῶν, εἶ-
 ναί τε ἠγοίμεθα καὶ θύοιμεν αὐτῷ διὰ Ῥοδόπης τε καὶ
 Θράκης πορευόμενοι, τοὺς δὲ θεῖά τε καὶ λαμπρὰ εἰρ-
 γασμένους ἔργα ἀτιμάζοιμεν, μυθώδη τὴν περὶ αὐτοὺς
 δόξαν ἠγοῦμενοι καὶ κεκομπασμένην.

18. ΦΟΙΝ. Μετὰ σοῦ λοιπόν, ἀμπελουργέ, τάττω
 ἐμαντὸν καὶ οὐδεὶς ἔτι τοῖς τοιούτοις ἀπιστήσῃ· οἱ δὲ
 ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τῷ ἐν Ἰλίῳ, οὗς ἔφασκες τὸν μάχιμον
 τρόπον δι' αὐτοῦ στείχειν, πότε ὤφθησαν;

2 ἌΜΗ. Ὅρωνται, ἔφην, ὀρώνται ἔτι βουκόλοις τε
 τοῖς ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ καὶ νομεῦσι μεγάλοι καὶ θεῖοι, καὶ
 θεῶνται ἔστιν ὅτε ἐπὶ κακῇ τῆς γῆς· εἰ μὲν γὰρ κεκο-
 νιμένοι φαίνονται, αὐχμούς ἐπισημαίνουσι τῇ χῶρᾳ,
 εἰ δὲ ἰδρώτος πλέοι, κατακλυσμούς τε καὶ ὄμβρους, εἰ
 δὲ αἷμα περὶ αὐτοῖς ἢ τοῖς ὄπλοις φαίνοιτο, νόσους
 τῷ Ἰλίῳ ἀναπέμπουσιν· εἰ δὲ μηδὲν τούτων περὶ τοῖς
 εἰδώλοις ὀρᾶτο, ἀγαθὰς ἤδη ἄγουσι τὰς ὥρας καὶ
 σφάττουσιν αὐτοῖς τότε οἱ νομεῖς, ὁ μὲν ἄρνα, ὁ δὲ
 3 ταῦρον, ὁ δὲ πῶλον, ὁ δ' ἄλλο τι ὦν νέμει. φθορὰς δέ,
 ὀπόσαι περὶ τὰς ἀγέλας γίνονται, πάσας ἐξ Αἴαντος

are sacrificed. This hero is said to keep his borders safe 5
 from plague and Rhodope is in fact very populous, with 6
 many villages near the sanctuary.⁶⁴ That is why I think
 Diomedes is likely to come to the aid of his comrades in
 arms if this Thracian, whom he killed although at Troy
 though totally undistinguished in valor or even (apart from
 his white horses) in appearance, we believe to exist and
 sacrifice to him when we travel through Rhodope and
 Thrace, and yet dishonor those who performed such god-
 like and glorious deeds, and consider their reputations
 fabulous and inflated.

18. *Phoenician*. From now on, vinedresser, I shall be
 on your side, and allow no one to doubt such stories. But
 about the heroes you said walk upon the plain of Troy
 looking warlike, when were they seen?

Vinedresser. I said that they *are* seen; they are still seen 2
 today, tall and godlike, by the cowherds and shepherds in
 the plain, and sometimes their appearances portend harm
 for the land. If they appear covered with dust, they pre-
 sage drought for the territory; if they are drenched with
 sweat, floods and thunderstorms; if there is blood on them
 or their weapons, they are sending diseases upon Iliion.
 But if none of these things accompanies their visions, they
 are bringing good weather, and then the shepherds sacri-
 fice to them a ram, a bull, a colt, or something else from
 their flocks. When losses occur among their flocks they 3

as a confirmation of the power of Diomedes his killer) was estab-
 lished at Amphipolis in 437 according to Polyaeus 6.53 (Pfister
 1909, 1.197–98), but the additional details may be an attempt to
 equate him with the “Thracian rider hero” well known from many
 inscriptions; see Liapis (2011).

⁶⁴ This hero cult of Rhesus (introduced somewhat artificially

ἤκειν φασίν, οἶμαι διὰ τὸν ἐν τῇ μανίᾳ λόγον, ὅτε δὴ ὁ Αἴας λέγεται ταῖς ἀγέλαις ἐμπροσθῶν διαφορησαί σφας οἶον κτείνων τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ κρίσει καὶ οὐδὲ νέμει περὶ τὸ σῆμα οὐδεὶς φόβῳ τῆς πύας· νο-
 4 σώδης γὰρ δὴ ἀναφύεται καὶ πονηρὰ βόσκειν. ἔστι δέ τις λόγος ὡς Τρῳῆς ποτε ποιμένες ἐς τὸν Αἴαντα ὑβρίζον νενοσηκότων αὐτοῖς τῶν προβάτων, καὶ περι-
 στάντες τὸ σῆμα πολέμιον μὲν Ἔκτορος τὸν ἥρωα ἐκάλουν, πολέμιον δὲ Τροίας τε καὶ ποιμνίων· καὶ ὁ μὲν μανῆσαι αὐτόν, ὁ δὲ μαίνεσθαι, ὁ δ' ἀσελγέστα-
 5 τος τῶν ποιμένων “Αἴας δ' οὐκέτ' ἔμιμνε,” μέχρι τού-
 του τὸ ἔπος αὐτῷ ἐπερραψῶδει ὡς δειλῷ· ὁ δὲ “ἀλλὰ ἔμιμνον” εἶπε βοήσας ἐκ τοῦ τάφου φρικῶδες τι καὶ ὀρθιον· λέγεται δὲ καὶ δονηθῆσαι τοῖς ὄπλοις, οἶον ἐν
 6 ταῖς μάχαις εἰώθει. τὸ μὲν δὴ τῶν κακοδαιμόνων ἐκεί-
 νων πάθος οὐ χρὴ θαυμάζειν, εἰ Τρῳῆς τε καὶ νομεῖς ὄντες ἐξεπλάγησαν ὀρμηὴν Αἴαντος, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἔπεσον αὐτῶν, οἱ δ' ἔτρεσαν, οἱ δ' ἄρχοντο φεύγοντες οὐ ἐποί-
 μαινον· τὸν δὲ Αἴαντα θαυμάσαι ἄξιον· ἀπέκτεινε γὰρ οὐδένα αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ τὴν παροιμίαν, ἣ ἐχρῶντο, ἐκαρ-
 6 τήρησε μόνον ἐνδειξάμενος αὐτοῖς τὸ ἀκούειν. ὁ δὲ Ἔκτωρ οὐκ ἐγίνωσκεν, οἶμαι ξένη, τὴν ἀρετὴν ταύτην· ὑβρίσαντος γὰρ ἐς αὐτὸν πέρυσσι μειρακίου τινὸς (ἦν δ' ὡς φασι κομιδῆ νέον καὶ ἀπαίδεντον), ἄρμησεν ἐπὶ τὸ μειράκιον καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτὸ ἐν ὁδῷ, ποταμῷ τὸ ἔργον προσθείς.

65 Philostratus refers loosely to sections of Homer's work this

attribute them all to Ajax, probably because of this story in the *Madness*⁶⁵ [of Ajax], where he is said to have attacked the flocks and cut them to pieces, thinking he was killing the Achaeans in revenge for their verdict. And no one even grazes his flock around the monument, because they fear the unhealthy and indigestible grass that grows
 4 there. There is a story that the Trojan shepherds once
 insulted Ajax when their animals were sick, by standing
 around his tomb and calling him an enemy of Hector and
 of Troy, and of their flocks. One of them said he had been
 insane, another added that he still was, and the most
 shameless of the shepherds recited to him, “Ajax remained
 no more” (*Il.* 14.727)—using only enough of the verse to
 imply he was a coward. Ajax, however, answered from his
 tomb with a loud and terrifying shout, “But I *did* remain,”
 and is said to have shaken his armor, just as he used to do
 in battle. What those poor men felt next isn't surprising—
 5 being Trojans and shepherds, they were terrified at Ajax' onset,
 and some of them fell down, others fled in terror,
 and others went running back to where they had left their
 flocks. But Ajax' action is surprising, since he killed not
 one of them, but put up with their drunken behavior, ex-
 cept to show them he was listening. But Hector knew no
 6 such restraint, I think, stranger; for last year, when a youth
 behaved disrespectfully to him—they say he was very
 young and uneducated—Hector attacked the lad on a road
 and killed him, though he delegated the task to a river.

way (25.3, 51.7); however, the madness of Ajax is not told in Homer, but rather in the epic cycle (*M. L. West* 2013, 159–62, 166–67), then in Sophocles' *Ajax*. No work entitled “The Madness [of Ajax]” is known. (*Astydamas' Ajax mainomenos* is closest.)

19. ΦΟΙΝ. Ἀγροοῦντι λέγεις, ἀμπελουργέ, καὶ σφόδρα ἐκπληττομένῳ τὸν λόγον· ὧμην γὰρ μηδαμοῦ φαίνεσθαι τὸν ἦρω τούτου; καὶ ὅποτε μοι τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπήγγελλες, ὑπερήλγουν τοῦ Ἑκτορος, εἰ μήτε ἀρότης τι ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λέγει μήτε αἰπόλος, ἀλλ' ἀφανής ἐστι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ ἀτεχνῶς κέεται. 2
 2 μὲν γὰρ τοῦ Πάριδος οὐδ' ἀκούειν ἀξιῶ οὐδέν, δι' ὃν τοιοῖδε καὶ τοσοῖδε ἔπεσον· περὶ δὲ τοῦ Ἑκτορος, ὃς ἔρεισμα μὲν τῆς Τροίας καὶ τοῦ ξυμμαχικοῦ παντὸς ἦν, ἵππους δὲ ξυνεῖχε τέτταρας, ὃ μηδεὶς τῶν ἠρώων ἕτερος, τὰς δὲ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν κατεπίμπρη ναῦς, ἐμάχετο δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁμοῦ πάντας ἐφορμῶντάς τε καὶ ξυνταττομένους ἐπ' αὐτόν, οὐκ ἂν ἐροίμην γέ τι, οὐδ' ἂν ἀκούσαιμι χαίρων, εἰ μὴ διαπηδῶς αὐτὰ μῆδ' ἀμελῶς λέγοις;
- 3 ἌΜΠ. Ἄκουε διὰ πλειόνων, ἐπειδὴ τοῦτο ἡγή τὸ μὴ ἀμελῶς φράζειν· τὸ ἐν Ἴλιῳ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Ἑκτορος ἡμθῆφ ἀνθρώπῳ ἔοικε καὶ πολλὰ ἤθη ἐπιφαίνει τῷ θεωροῦντι αὐτὸ ξὺν ὀρθῷ λόγῳ· καὶ γὰρ φρονηματώδες δοκεῖ καὶ γοργὸν καὶ φαιδρὸν καὶ ξὺν ἀβρότητι σφριγῶν καὶ ἡ ὥρα μετ' οὐδεμιᾶς κόμης. ἔστι δ' οὕτω 4
 4 τοῦτο ἴδρυνται μὲν ἐν περιβλέπτῳ τοῦ Ἴλιου, πολλὰ δὲ ἐργάζεται χρυστὰ κουνῆ τε καὶ ἐς ἓνα, ὅθεν εὗχονται αὐτῷ καὶ ἀγῶνα θύουσιν· ὅτε δὴ θερμὸν οὕτω καὶ ἐναγώνιον γίνεται, ὡς καὶ ἰδρώα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ λείβεται. 5
 5 σθαι. μειράκιον οὖν Ἀσσύριον ἦκον ἐς τὸ Ἴλιον ἐλοιδορεῖτο τῷ Ἑκτορι, προφέρον αὐτῷ τὰς τε ἔλξεις, αἰ

19. *Phoenician*. What you say is entirely new to me, vinedresser, and I am very surprised to hear it. I thought he was one hero who never was seen, and when you were telling about the Greeks, I felt badly for Hector, if neither farmer nor goatherd has anything to say about him, but instead he has disappeared and is totally neglected. About Paris, who caused the deaths of so many noble and strong men, I don't wish to hear a word; but about Hector, who was the bulwark of Troy and her allies, and drove four horses—a thing which no other hero did—and set the Achaeans' ships on fire, and fought the whole enemy army when they made a concerted attack against him, shouldn't I ask any questions, and hear the answers gladly, so long as you don't skip over them or speak offhandedly?
- Vinedresser*. I shall tell you in exhaustive detail—since that is what you mean by “not speaking offhand.” The statue of Hector in Ilium looks like a demigod, and reveals much of his character if one looks at it properly: for it seems self-confident, fierce, and alert, bursting with splendor, and its elegance doesn't need long hair.⁶⁶ It is so lifelike that it attracts the observer to touch it. The statue is set up on a spot in Ilium visible to all, and has performed many good deeds both for the city and individuals, which is why they address prayers to him and celebrate games in his honor. During these he becomes so excited and involved in the contest that the sweat drips off him. Well, an Assyrian youth arrived in Ilium and started to insult Hector, bringing up the draggings which had been inflicted on

⁶⁶ For Hector's short-cropped front hair, see ch. 37.2n. For his statue see Introduction §§6 and 11.

6 ἐξ Ἀχιλλέως ποτὲ ἐς αὐτὸν ἐγένοντο, καὶ τὸν τοῦ Αἴ-
 αντος λίθον, ᾧ βληθεὶς ἀπέθανε πρὸς βραχύ, καὶ ὡς
 Πάτροκλον τὰ πρῶτα ἔφυγε, καὶ ὡς οὐδὲ ἀπέκτεινεν
 ἀλλὰ ἕτεροι. μετεποίει δὲ τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Ἑκτορος·
 Ἀχιλλέως γὰρ ἔφασκεν εἶναι αὐτὸ μετὰ τὴν κόμην,
 ἦν ἐκείρατο ἐπὶ τῷ Πατρόκλῳ. τούτων ἐμφορηθὲν ἐξ-
 ἤλασεν ἐκ τοῦ Ἴλίου, καὶ πρὶν ἢ δέκα πορευθῆναι
 σταδίου, ποταμὸς οὕτω βραχύς, ὡς μηδὲ ὄνομα αὐ-
 τοῦ ἐν Τροίᾳ εἶναι, μέγας ἐκ μικροῦ αἴρεται, καὶ ὡς
 ἀπήγγελλον οἱ διαφυγόντες τῶν ὀπαδῶν, ὀπλίτης
 ἤγειτο τοῦ ποταμοῦ μέγας, παρακελευόμενος αὐτῷ
 7 βαρβάρῳ τῇ φωνῇ καὶ σφοδρᾷ ἐπιστρέφειν τὸ ὕδωρ
 εἰς τὴν ὁδόν, δι' ἧς τὸ μειράκιον ἤλαυνεν ἐπὶ τεττά-
 7 ρων ἵππων οὐ μεγάλων οὐς ὑπολαβὼν ὁ ποταμὸς
 ὁμοῦ τῷ μειρακίῳ βοῶντι τε καὶ ξυνιέντι λοιπὸν τοῦ
 Ἑκτορος, ἀπήγαγεν ἐς τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἦθη καὶ οὕτως ἀπ-
 ὄλεσεν ὡς μηδὲ ἀνελέσθαι ξυγχωρηῆσαι τὸ σῶμα·
 ὄψετο γὰρ οὐκ οἶδ' ὅποι ἀφανισθέν.
 8 ΦΟΙΝ. Οὔτε τὸν Αἴαντα χρὴ θαυμάζειν, ἀμπε-
 λουργέ, καρτερήσαντα τὰ ἐκ τῶν ποιμένων, οὔτε τὸν
 Ἑκτορα ἠγείσθαι βάρβαρον μὴ ἀνασχόμενον τὰ ἐκ
 9 τοῦ μειρακίου τοῖς μὲν γὰρ καὶ ξυγγνώμη ἴσως, οἷ
 Τρώες ὄντες, ἔτι καὶ πονήρως ἐχόντων σφίσι τῶν
 προβάτων, ἐπεπήδων τῷ τάφῳ μειρακίῳ δὲ Ἀσσυρίῳ
 πομπεύοντι ἐς τὸν τοῦ Ἴλίου ἥρω τίς συγγνώμη; οὐ
 γὰρ δὴ Ἀσσυρίοις ποτὲ καὶ Τρωσὶ πόλεμος ἐγένετο,
 οὐδὲ τὰς ἀγέλας σφῶν ὁ Ἑκτωρ ἐπόρθησεν, ὥσπερ
 τὰς τῶν Τρώων ὁ Αἴας.

him by Achilles, the rock thrown by Ajax which hit and
 nearly killed him, and that at first he ran from Patroclus,
 and did not even kill him himself, but let others do it. He
 even tried to change the statue's identity, saying it was one
 of Achilles after he had cut his hair in mourning for Patro-
 clus. When he had enough of that he drove out of Ilion, 6
 but before he had traveled ten stades a river, so small that
 it had no name at Troy, grew suddenly large; those of his
 servants who escaped said later that a tall man in armor
 led the river on, commanding it loudly in a barbarian lan-
 guage, to divert its water into the road along which the
 youth was driving with his four small horses. The river 7
 caught them together with the youth, who gave a shout in
 recognition at last of who Hector really was, and swept
 them away into its depths, doing away with him so com-
 pletely as not to permit the body's recovery. He was gone,
 disappeared, I don't know where.

8 *Phoenician.* I think we should neither be surprised at
 Ajax' forbearance toward the shepherds nor think Hector 8
 a barbarian for not enduring the youth's behavior. The 9
 shepherds could be forgiven if they, being Trojans whose
 flocks were failing, attacked the tomb; but who could for-
 give an Assyrian youth abusing the hero of Ilion? There
 was never a war between Trojans and Assyrians, and Hec-
 tor hadn't ravaged their flocks, as Ajax had those of the
 Trojans.

20. ἈΜΠ. Πεπουθέναι τι πρὸς τὸν Ἑκτορα, ὃ ξένε, δοκεῖς, καὶ οὐκ ἀξιῶ διαφέρεισθαι, ἀλλ' ἐπανίωμεν ἐπὶ τὰ τοῦ Αἴαντος· ἐκείθεν γὰρ οἶμαι τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ λόγου πεποιήσθαι.

ΦΟΙΝ. Ἐκείθεν, ἀμπελουργέ, καὶ ὡς δοκεῖ, ἐπανίωμεν.

2 ἈΜΠ. Πρόσεχε οὖν, ξένε νηὸς ποτε καθορμισαμένης ἐς τὸ Διάντειον δύο τῶν ξένων πρὸ τοῦ σήματος ἤλυόν τε καὶ πεττοῖς ἔπαιζον, ἐπιστὰς δὲ ὁ Αἴας “πρὸς θεῶν” ἔφη, “μετάθεσθε τὴν παιδιὰν ταύτην· ἀναμιμνήσκει γάρ με τῶν Παλαμῆδους ἔργων σοφοῦ τε καὶ μάλ' ἐπιτηδείου μοι ἀνδρός. ἀπολώλεκε δὲ καμὲ κάκεινον ἐχθρὸς εἰς ἄδικον εὐρῶν ἐφ' ἡμῖν κρίσιν.”

3 ΦΟΙΝ. Δεδάκρυκα, νῆ τὸν Ἥλιον, ἀμπελουργέ· τὰ γὰρ ἀμφοῖν πάθη παραπλήσιά τε καὶ ἐουκότα εἰς εὐνοίαν. ἀγαθῶν μὲν γὰρ κοινωνία τίκτει ποτὲ καὶ φθόνον, ὅσοι δ' ἂν κοινωνήσωσι συμφορῶν, ἀγαπῶσιν
4 ἀλλήλους τὸν ἔλεον τοῦ ἔλεου ἀντιδιδόντες. Παλαμῆδους δὲ εἶδωλον ἔχοις ἂν τινα εἰπεῖν ἑωρακότα ἐν Τροίᾳ;

21. ἈΜΠ. Τὰ μὲν ὁρώμενα εἶδωλα οὕτω δῆλα ὅτου ἕκαστον· πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ ἄλλοτε ἄλλα, διαλλάττει δὲ
2 ἀλλήλων καὶ ιδέα καὶ ἡλικία καὶ ὄπλοις. ἀκούω δὲ ὅμως καὶ περὶ τοῦ Παλαμῆδους τοιαῦτα· ἦν γεωργὸς ἐν Ἰλίῳ ταῦτόν ποτ' ἐμοὶ πράττων· οὗτος ἐπεπόνθει τι πρὸς τὸ τοῦ Παλαμῆδους πάθος καὶ ἐθρήνει αὐτὸν ἦκων ἐπὶ τὴν ἡίονα πρὸς ἣ λέγεται ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν

20. *Vinedresser*. You seem somehow sympathetic to Hector, stranger, and I have no desire to quarrel with you, but let us return to Ajax—for we were speaking of him before we digressed.

Phoenician. We were indeed, vinedresser; let us return, if you wish.

Vinedresser. Listen carefully, then. Once when a ship
2 had put in at the Aianteion, two foreigners were bored and playing backgammon in front of the monument, when Ajax appeared to them and said, “By the gods, leave off this game. It reminds me of the career of Palamedes, a wise man and a good friend of mine, for an enemy had both him and me killed, by contriving an unjust verdict against us.”⁶⁷

Phoenician. You have made me weep, by Helios, for
3 both their fates are indeed alike, and appropriate for mutual goodwill; shared good fortune sometimes produces envy, but those who share sorrows love each other and feel mutual sympathy. Could you say whether anyone has seen
4 Palamedes' spirit at Troy?

21. *Vinedresser*. Although spirits have been seen, it's
not yet clear to which hero each of them belongs, since different ones appear at different times, with variations in
2 appearance, age, and armor. But I have heard about Palamedes the following story: there was in Ilion a farmer, such as I, who had been moved by Palamedes' fate, and used to go to the beach on which the Achaeans are said to

⁶⁷ I.e., Odysseus. For Palamedes' invention of backgammon, see 33.2, below, and Paus. 10.31.1, 2.20.3 (dedication of *pressoi* in a temple).

3 βεβλήσθαι, καὶ ὅποσα νομίζουσιν ἐπὶ σημάτων ἀν-
 θρωποι, ἐπέφερε τῇ κόνει, τὰς τε ἡδίους τῶν ἀμπέλων
 ἐξαιρᾶν αὐτῷ κρατῆρα ἐτρύγα, καὶ ξυμπίνειν τῷ Πα-
 4 λαμῆδει ἔφασκεν ὅτε ἀναπαύοιτο τῶν ἔργων. ἦν δὲ
 αὐτῷ καὶ κύων τέχνη αἰκάλλων καὶ ὑποκαθήμενος
 τοὺς ἀνθρώπους· τοῦτον Ὀδυσσεῖα ἐκάλει καὶ ἐπαίετο
 5 ὑπὲρ τοῦ Παλαμήδους ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς οὗτος προσ-
 ακούων κακὰ μυρία. δοκεῖ δὴ τῷ Παλαμῆδει ἐπιφου-
 τήσαι ποτε τῷ ἔραστῇ τούτῳ καὶ ἀγαθόν τι αὐτῷ
 6 δοῦναι. καὶ δῆτα ὁ μὲν πρὸς ἀμπέλω τινὶ ἦν γόνυ
 αὐτῆς ἰώμενος, ὁ δὲ ἐπιστὰς αὐτῷ “σὺ γινώσκεις με”
 ἔφη “γεωργέ;”—“καὶ πῶς” εἶπεν, “ὄν οὐπω εἶδον;”—“τί
 οὖν” ἔφη, “ἀγαπᾶς ὄν μὴ γινώσκεις;” ξυνηῆκεν ὁ γε-
 7 ωργὸς ὅτι Παλαμήδης εἴη· καὶ τὸ εἶδος ἐς ἦρω ἔφερε
 μέγαν τε καὶ καλὸν καὶ ἀνδρείον, οὐπω τριάκοντα ἔτη
 γεγονότα· καὶ περιβαλὼν αὐτὸν μειδιῶν “φιλῶ σε, ὦ
 Παλάμηδες” εἶπεν, “ὅτι μοι δοκεῖς φρονιμώτατος ἀν-
 8 θρώπων γεγονέναι καὶ δικαιοτάτος ἀθλητῆς τῶν κατὰ
 σοφίαν πραγμάτων, πεπονηέναι τε ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν
 ἐλεεινὰ διὰ τὰς Ὀδυσσεῖας ἐπὶ σοὶ τέχνας, οὐ τάφος
 εἴ τις ἦν ἐνταῦθα, ἐξωρῶνκετ’ ἂν ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ πάλαι μι-
 9 αρὸς γὰρ καὶ κακίων τοῦ κυνός, ὄν ἐπ’ αὐτῷ τρέ-
 φω.”—“φειδώμεθα λοιπὸν τοῦ Ὀδυσσεῖως” ὁ ἦρω
 ἔφη, “τούτων γὰρ ἐπραξάμην αὐτὸν ἐγὼ δίκας ἐν
 10 Ἄιδου· σὺ δέ, ἐπειδὴ φιλεῖς πού τὰς ἀμπέλους, εἰπέ
 μοι τί μάλιστα περὶ αὐταῖς δέδοικας.”—“τί δ’ ἄλλο
 γε” εἶπεν “ἢ τὰς χαλάζας ὑφ’ ὧν ἐκτυφλοῦνται τε καὶ
 ῥήγγυνται;”—“ἰμάντα τοῖνυν” εἶπεν ὁ Παλαμήδης

have thrown his body,⁶⁸ and used to mourn him and offer
 the customary tomb offerings to his dust; he even chose
 the sweetest grapes and mixed him a bowl of wine, saying
 that he was having a drinking party with Palamedes when
 he rested from work. He also had a dog who was clever at
 3 fawning, and also at sneaking up on people; him he called
 Odysseus, and this Odysseus used to be beaten and re-
 viled constantly for what had been done to Palamedes.
 One day, Palamedes decided to visit his admirer and do
 4 him some good turn; while he straightened out a kink
 5 on some vine, Palamedes appeared to him, and said, “Do
 you recognize me, farmer?” “How could I,” he answered,
 “when I’ve never seen you?” “Why then,” the other said,
 “do you love someone you don’t recognize?” The farmer
 6 realized it was Palamedes—his appearance suggested a
 hero of great size, beauty and courage, not yet thirty years
 old—and embraced him with a smile, “I admire you, Pala-
 medes, because I think you were the most sensible of men,
 and the most just competitor in the contest of wisdom, and
 because you suffered a pitiable death at the Achaeans’
 hands because of Odysseus’ plots against you—if his tomb
 were here, I would have dug it up long ago, for he was foul
 and more evil than this dog, whom I keep under his name.”
 The hero answered, “Let us torment Odysseus no further,
 7 since I have exacted from him the penalty for that in the
 world below; but as for you, tell me, since you obviously
 8 take care of your vines, what do you most fear concerning
 them?” “Why, the hailstorms of course, which tear off the
 buds or break them.” “Then,” said Palamedes, “let us tie

⁶⁸ The actual burial spot was discovered by Apollonius of Tyana and honored with a shrine. Cf. 33.48 and Introduction §9.

“περιάπτωμεν μιᾷ τῶν ἀμπέλων καὶ οὐ βεβλήσονται αἱ λοιπαί.”

9 ΦΟΙΝ. Σοφός γε ὁ ἦρως, ἀμπελουργέ, καὶ αἰεὶ τι εὐρίσκων ἀγαθὸν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. Ἀχιλλέως δὲ πέρι τί ἂν εἶποις; τοῦτον γὰρ θειότατον τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ παντὸς ἠγοούμεθα.

22. ἌΜΠ. Τὰ μὲν ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ, ξένε, εἰ μήπω ἐς αὐτὸν πέπλευκας, καὶ ὅσα ἐν τῇ ἐκεί νήσῳ λέγεται πράττειν, ἐγὼ σοι ἀπαγγελῶ ὑστερον ἐν τῷ περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγῳ μακροτέρῳ ὄντι, τὰ δὲ ἐν Ἰλίῳ παραπλήσια τοῖς ἄλλοις ἦρωσι· καὶ γὰρ προσδιαλέγεται τισι καὶ 2 ἐπιφοιτᾷ καὶ θηρία διώκει. ξυμβάλλονται δὲ αὐτὸν Ἀχιλλέα εἶναι τῇ τε ὄρα τοῦ εἶδους καὶ τῷ μεγέθει καὶ τῇ ἀστραπῇ τῶν ὄπλων· κατόπιν δὲ αὐτοῦ ζάλη ἀνέμων εἰλείται πομπὸς τοῦ εἰδώλου.

3 ἐπιλείψει με ἡ φωνή, ξένε, τῶν τοιοῦτων μνημονεύοντα· καὶ γάρ τι καὶ περὶ Ἀντιλόχου ἔδουσι, ὡς κόρη Ἰλιάς φοιτῶσα ἐπὶ τὸν Σκάμανδρον εἰδῶλῳ τοῦ Ἀντιλόχου ἐνέτυχε καὶ προσέκειτο τῷ σήματι ἐρώσα τοῦ εἰδώλου, καὶ ὡς βουκόλοι μειράκια περὶ τὸν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως βωμὸν ἀστραγαλίζοντες ἀπέκτεινεν ἂν ὁ 4 ἕτερος τῇ καλαύροπι τὸν ἕτερον πλήξας, εἰ μὴ ὁ Πάτροκλος αὐτοὺς διεπτόησεν, “ἀρκεί μοι” εἰπὼν “ὑπὲρ ἀστραγάλων αἶμα ἔν.” γινώσκειν δὲ ὑπάρχει ταῦτα καὶ παρὰ τῶν βουκόλων καὶ πάντων τῶν οἰκούντων τὸ Ἴλιον· ἐπιμίγνυμεν γὰρ ἅτε τὰς ὄχθας οἰκούντες τῶν τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου ἐκβολῶν καὶ ποταμόν, ὡς ὄρῃς, πεπονημένοι τὴν θάλατταν.

a strap around one of the vines, so the rest will not be struck.”

Phoenician. The hero is wise, vinedresser, and as usual 9 he invented something to benefit mankind. But what could you say about Achilles? For we consider him the most godlike of the Greek army.

22. *Vinedresser.* As for his presence in the Black Sea, if you've never sailed to it, and his reports of activities on the island there, I shall speak of that later when I tell you of Achilles, which is a longer story; but in Ilion he is like the other heroes, since he visits and holds conversations with a few people and hunts wild animals. They assume 2 it is Achilles because of his physical grace, his size and the brilliance of his armor, and behind him there swirls a windstorm accompanying his spirit.

If I go on telling such stories my voice will fail me, 3 stranger; but there is also a legend about Antilochus, that a girl from Ilion on her way to the river Scamander met his spirit, fell in love with it and devoted herself to his tomb. It is also said some young shepherds were playing dice near Achilles' altar, and one struck the other with his staff and would have killed him if Patroclus had not frightened them: “One murder over a dice game is enough.”⁶⁹ 4 You may hear these stories from the cowherds and all the inhabitants of Ilion, since we keep in close touch, living as we do on the banks of the mouth of the Hellespont. For us, as you see, the sea is like a river.

⁶⁹ Patroclus had been forced into exile after killing a companion over a dice game (*Il.* 23.89–90).

23. Ἄγε δὴ, ξένε, τὴν ἀσπίδα ἤδη ἀναλάβωμεν, ἣν ὁ Πρωτεσίλειος Ὀμήρῳ τε ἠγνοήσθαι φησι καὶ ποιηταῖς πᾶσι.

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

ἌΜΠ. Σπανιώτατον προσέχων δὲ ἀκροῶ.

ΦΟΙΝ. Προσέχων λέγεις; οὐδὲ τὰ θηρία ἐς τὸν Ὀρφέα οὕτως ἐκεχῆρει ἄδοντα, ὡς ἐγὼ σου ἀκούων τά τε ὄτα ἴστημι καὶ τὸν νοῦν ἐγρήγορα καὶ ξυλλέγομαι ἐς τὴν μνήμην πάντα. ἠγοῦμαι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Τροίαν ἐστρατευκότων εἰς εἶναι τοσοῦτον κατέσχημαι τοῖς ἡμιθέοις ὑπὲρ ὧν διαλεγόμεθα.

3 ἌΜΠ. Οὐκοῦν, ἐπειδὴ φρονεῖς οὕτω, αἴρωμεν ἐξ Ἀυλίδος, ὦ ξένε. τὸ γὰρ ἐκεῖ ξυνειλέχθαι σφας ἀληθές. τὰ δ' ἐμβατήρια τοῦ λόγου τῷ Πρωτεσίλειῳ εὐχθω. ὡς μὲν δὴ τὴν Μυσίαν οἱ Ἄχαιοι πρὸ Τροίας ἐπόρθησαν ἐπὶ Τηλέφῳ τότε οὔσαν, καὶ ὡς ὁ Τηλέφος ὑπὲρ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ μαχόμενος ἐτρώθη ὑπὸ Ἀχιλλέως, ἔστι σοι καὶ ποιητῶν ἀκούειν οὐ γὰρ ἐκλείπειται αὐτοῖς ταῦτα.

5 τὸ δὲ πιστεύειν ὡς ἠγνοήσαντες οἱ Ἄχαιοι τὴν χάραν τὰ τοῦ Πριάμου ἄγειν τε καὶ φέρειν ᾤοντο, διαβάλλει τὸν Ὀμήρου λόγον ὃν περὶ Κάλχαντος ἄδει τοῦ μάντεως· εἰ γὰρ ἐπὶ μαντικῇ ἔπλεον καὶ τὴν τέχνην ἠγεμόνα ἐποιοῦντο, πῶς ἂν ἄκουτες ἐκεῖ καθωρμίσθησαν; πῶς δ' ἂν καθορμισθέντες ἠγνόησαν ὅτι μὴ ἐς Τροίαν ἦκουσι, καὶ ταῦτα πολλοῖς μὲν βουκόλοις ἐντετυχηκότες, πολλοῖς δὲ ποιμέσι; νέμεταί τε

23. But now, stranger, let us take up the story of the shield, which Protesilaus says is unknown to Homer and to all the other poets.

Phoenician. I am very eager for you to tell me about it, 2 vinedresser—I expect I am going to hear an unusual story.

Vinedresser. Very unusual, so listen attentively.

Phoenician. Attentively? Not even the beasts gaped at Orpheus' singing such as I do—my ears strained, my mind alert and ready to commit everything to memory. I feel as if I were one of the army which has sailed for Troy, so possessed am I by the demigods we are discussing.

Vinedresser. Since you feel that way, stranger, let us set 3 sail from Aulis—for the story that they mustered there first is true—and let the embarkation offerings for our story be made to Protesilaus. Now then, as to the story that 4 before Troy the Achaeans ravaged Mysia which was then under Telephus' rule, and that Telephus was wounded by Achilles while fighting to defend his people, you can learn that even from the poets, who haven't left out this part.⁷⁰

5 But to believe that the Achaeans, in ignorance of the country, thought they were plundering Priam's land, does an injustice to Homer's account of Calchas the prophet. For if they sailed after consulting a seer and allowed his skill to guide them, then how could they have landed in Mysia unless they wanted to? And once they had landed, 6 how could they not have known they weren't at Troy, although they encountered many cowherds and shepherds?

⁷⁰ On the narrative of the battle with Telephus, see Introduction §10.

γὰρ ἡ χώρα μέχρι θαλάσσης καὶ τοῦνομα ἐρωτᾶν τῆς
 7 ξένης ξύνηθες, οἶμαι, τοῖς καταπλέουσιν. εἰ δὲ καὶ
 μηδενὶ τούτων ἐνέτυχον, μηδὲ ἤρουντο τῶν τοιούτων
 οὐδέν, ἀλλ' Ὀδυσσεύς γε καὶ Μενέλεως ἐς Τροίαν ἦδη
 ἀφικμένω τε καὶ πεπρωσβευκότε καὶ τὰ κρήδεμνα τοῦ
 Ἰλίου εἰδότε, οὐκ ἂν μοι δοκοῦσι περιδεῖν ταῦτα, οὐδ'
 ἂν ξυγχωρήσαι τῷ στρατῷ διαμαρτάνοντι τῆς πολε-
 8 μίας. ἐκόντες μὲν δὴ οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ τοὺς Μυσοὺς ἐλί-
 ζοντο, λόγου ἐς αὐτοὺς ἤκουτος ὡς ἄριστα ἠπειρωτῶν
 πράττειεν, καὶ πη καὶ δεδιότες μὴ πρόσοικοι τῷ Ἰλίῳ
 9 ὄντες ἐς κοινωσίαν τῶν κινδύνων μετακληθῶσι. Τη-
 λέφῳ δὲ Ἡρακλείδῃ τε ὄντι καὶ ἄλλως γενναίῳ καὶ
 ὀπλισμένης γῆς ἄρχοντι, οὐκ ἀνεκτὰ ταῦτα ἐφαίνετο,
 ὅθεν πολλὴν μὲν ἀσπίδα παρέταπτε, πολλὴν δὲ ἵππον.
 10 ἦγε δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῆς ὑπ' αὐτῷ Μυσίας (ἦρχε δὲ,
 οἶμαι πάσης, ὀπόση ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ), οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἄνω
 Μυσῶν ξυνεμάχουν, οὓς Ἀβίους τε οἱ ποιηταὶ κα-
 11 λοῦσι καὶ ἵππων ποιμένας καὶ τὸ γάλα αὐτῶν πίνον-
 τας· τῆς τε γὰρ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν διανοίας καθ' ἣν ἐποιοῦ-
 ντο τοὺς περίπλους οὐκ οὔσης ἀδήλου, Τληπολέμου
 τε πέμψαντος ἐπὶ Ῥοδίας ὀλκάδος ἄγγελον ὡς ἀδελ-
 φὸν καὶ κελεύσαντος ἀπὸ γλώττης αὐτῷ σημαίνειν
 ὅποσα τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐν Αὐλίδι διήσθητο (γράμματα

71 Although he could have simply asserted the “authority” of Protesilaus, the vinedresser prefers to employ rationalistic arguments; see Introduction §5. 72 According to *Od.* 11.517–22 (cf. *Little Iliad*, M. L. West 2013, 190–91), Telephus’ son Eurypylos did in fact join the Trojans at a later stage in the war.

For the country is inhabited right to the coast, and of course those who arrive somewhere by sea customarily ask the name of the foreign country. But even if they met 7
 no one, and asked no such questions, still Odysseus and Menelaus, who had both already gone to Troy as ambas-
 sadors, and knew the battlements of Ilion, wouldn’t have stood by and allowed the army to miss the enemy com-
 pletely.⁷¹ No, the Achaeans were raiding Mysia delib- 8
 erately, since word had reached them that these were the wealthiest people on the mainland, probably also because they were afraid that, as Troy’s neighbors, the Mysians would be summoned to join in the war.⁷² Now Telephus, 9
 who was a son of Heracles, a man of spirit and ruler of a powerful country, wouldn’t stand for this; so he collected a large force of infantry and cavalry against them. His 10
 army was drawn from his part of Mysia. I believe he ruled all the coastal areas—and there came from upper Mysia as allies those whom the poets call the Abioi, the shep-
 herds of horses and drinkers of their milk.⁷³ Not only was 11
 the intent behind the Achaeans’ expedition obvious, but also Telephus’ brother Tlepolemos had sent him a mes-
 senger on a Rhodian merchant ship with orders to report verbally—writing hadn’t yet been invented—all he had

73 Cf. *Il.* 13.4–7, where the “close-fighting Mysians” are listed along with “horse-rearing Thracians, the noble Horse-milkers and the milk-eating Abioi, the most just of men.” These are normally taken as far northern barbarian tribes, but Posidonius (*Strabo* 7.3.2 = fr. 277a Edelstein-Kidd) interpreted them as northern kinsman to the southern Mysians, and the vinedresser adds them to the army of Telephus.

γὰρ οὕτω εὐρητο), πᾶσα ἡ μεσόγεια ἐς ξυμμαχίαν
 καταβεβήκει καὶ τῷ πεδίῳ ἐπεκύμαινε τὰ Μύσιά τε
 12 καὶ Σκυθικὰ ἔθνη. λέγει δὲ ὁ Πρωτεσίλεως ὅτι καὶ
 μέγιστος αὐτοῖς ἀγώνων γένοιτο τῶν τε ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ
 Τροίᾳ καὶ ὁπόσοι πρὸς βαρβάρους ὕστερον διεπολε-
 13 μῆθησαν Ἑλλησι. καὶ γὰρ κατὰ πλήθος εὐδόκιμοι
 καὶ κατ' ἄνδρα ἦσαν ἡ ξυμμαχία τοῦ Τηλέφου, καὶ
 ὡσπερ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν Αἰακίδαί τε ἤδοντο καὶ Διο-
 μῆδεις καὶ Πάτροκλοι, οὕτω Τηλέφου τε ὄνομα ἦν καὶ
 Αἴμου τοῦ Ἄρεος ὄνομαστότατοι δὲ ἦσαν Ἑλωρός
 14 τε καὶ Ἀκταῖος ποταμοῦ παῖδες τοῦ κατὰ Σκυθίαν
 Ἰστρου. τὴν μὲν δὴ ἀπόβασιν οὐ ξυνεχώρουσιν οἱ Μυ-
 σοὶ ποιέσθαι τοξεύοντες ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἀκοντίζου-
 15 τες, οἱ δὲ Ἀχαιοὶ καὶ μὴ ξυγχωρούντων ἐβιάζοντο,
 καὶ τινὰς καὶ ὄκελλον τῶν νεῶν οἱ Ἀρκάδες ἄτε
 πρῶτον πλέοντες καὶ θαλάσσης οὕτω γεγυμνασμέ-
 16 νοι. φησὶ γάρ, ὡς πον γινώσκεις, Ὅμηρος ὅτι μήτε
 ναυτικοὶ ἦσαν πρὸ Ἰλίου Ἀρκάδες μήτε ἔργων θαλατ-
 τίων ἤπτοντο, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ νεῶν ἐξήκοντα ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων
 ἐσπράγματο αὐτοῦς ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, αὐτοῦς ἐπιδοῦς
 πολεμικὴ καὶ ῥώμην ἐς τὰ πεζὰ παρείχοντο, πλέοντες
 δὲ οὔτε ὀπλίται ἀγαθοὶ ἦσαν οὔτε ἐρέται. τὰς μὲν δὴ
 νεῦς ἀπειρία τε καὶ τόλμη ὄκελλον καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν

⁷⁴ Tlepolemos was, like Telephus, a son of Heracles, who had colonized Rhodes when forced to flee Greece after murdering a kinsman (*Il.* 2.653–70; *Pind. Ol.* 7); thus he might be imagined to

heard the Achaeans say at Aulis.⁷⁴ As a result, all the peo-
 ples of the interior came west to join the army, and waves
 of Mysian and Scythian tribes covered the plain. Protesilaus
 12 says it was the largest battle of all, including not only
 those fought at Troy but also those fought later by Greeks
 against barbarians. The army of Telephus and his allies
 13 was glorious both in magnitude and in individuals, and
 the glory of the Aeacidae and men like Diomedes and
 Patroclus on the Achaean side was matched by the names
 of Telephus and Haimus, son of Ares. The most famous
 were Heloros and Actaeus, the sons of the river Danube
 in Scythia.⁷⁵ The Mysians resisted their attempt to land.
 14 They covered them with arrows and spears from the shore.
 The Achaeans, on the other hand, had to force their land-
 ing because of the fierce resistance, but also the Arcadians
 among them, who were at sea for the first time and inex-
 15 perenced in sailing, ran aground some of their ships. You
 know of course that Homer says the Arcadians had not
 sailed or learned anything of seafaring before Ilion, but
 that Agamemnon had brought them to sea in sixty ships,
 which he himself provided, to men who had never yet
 sailed.⁷⁶ As infantry therefore they contributed military
 skill and strength, but on board ship they were neither
 16 good soldiers nor oarsmen. At any rate, through inexperience
 and rashness they had run aground their ships, and

have been one of the Greek allies who assembled at Aulis but who was not averse to giving secret information to his neighbor and half brother, Telephus.

⁷⁵ They can be identified also in the frieze of the Pergamon altar (*Introduction* §10).

⁷⁶ Following *Il.* 2.603–14.

- αὐτῶν ἐτράθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπὶ τῇ ῥαχίᾳ τεταγμένων, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἀπέθανον. Ἀχιλλεὺς δὲ καὶ Πρωτεσίλεις δέισαντες ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἀρκάδων ὡσπερ ἀπὸ συνθήματος ἀμφω ἅμα ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐπεπήδησαν καὶ ἀπέωσαντο τοὺς Μυσοὺς εὐοπλοτάτω ὀφθέντε καὶ καλλίστω τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ, τοῖς δ' ἄγαν βαρβάροις καὶ δαίμονες
- 17 ἔδοξάτην. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Τήλεφος ἐπανήγαγε τὴν στρατιὰν ἐς τὸ πεδῖον καὶ προσέπλευσαν οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ καθ' ἥσυχίαν, ἐξεπήδων αὐτίκα τῶν νεῶν πλὴν κυβερνήτου καὶ
- 18 μάρχην πάντες οὓς ἡ ναὺς ἦγεν, ἐτάπτοντο δὲ ὡς ἐς μάχην κόσμον καὶ σιωπῆν ἐν θυμῷ ἔχοντες. ὀρθῶς γὰρ τοῦτο τὸν Ὅμηρον περὶ αὐτῶν εἰρηκέναι φησὶν ἐπαινοῦντα τὸ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς μάχης ἦθος, ἧς ζύμβουλον γενέσθαι Αἴαντα τὸν Τελαμώνος λέγει. Μενεσθέως γὰρ τοῦ Ἀθηναίου τακτικωτάτου τῶν βασιλέων ἐς Τροίαν ἐλθόντος καὶ διδάσκοντος ἐν Αὐλίδι τὴν στρατιὰν πᾶσαν ὡς χρὴ συνηρμόσθαι, κραυγῇ τε χρωμένοις μὴ ἐπιπλήττοντος, οὐ ξυνεχώρει ὁ Αἴας ἀλλ' ἐπέτιμα, γυναικεῖόν τε ἀποφαίνων καὶ ἄτακτον. ἔλεγε γὰρ ὅτι καὶ τὸν θυμὸν ἡ κραυγὴ κακῶς ἐρμηνεύει.
- 20 ταχθῆναι δὲ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς Μυσοὺς ἐάντων τε καὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα φησὶν ὁμοῦ τῷ Πατρόκλῳ, πρὸς δὲ τὸν τοῦ Ἄρεος Αἴμον Διομήδην τε καὶ Παλαμήδην καὶ Σθέnelον πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰστροῦ ἦκοντας οἱ Ἀτρεΐδαί τε καὶ ὁ Λοκρὸς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἐτάχθησαν.
- 21 Αἴας δὲ ὁ μέγας τοὺς μὲν τὰ πλήθη ἀποκτείνοντας θεριστὰς ἡγεῖτο μέγα οὐδὲν ἀμῶντας, τοὺς δὲ τῶν

many of them were wounded by the Mysian troops stationed on the rocky shore; but few were killed, because Achilles and Protesilaus became alarmed at their situation and both at the same moment, as if it had been prearranged, leaped ashore and routed the Mysians. They were the fairest and most impressively armed of the Greeks, and to these simple barbarians they seemed like gods. When Telephus had retired with his army to the plain, and the Achaeans had landed without further resistance, the whole force on each ship, except for a helmsman and non-combatant, immediately came ashore and arranged themselves for battle, remaining emotionally disciplined and quiet. Protesilaus says Homer relates about them this custom of Greek battle correctly and praises it, which he says was the idea of Ajax son of Telamon; when Menestheus of Athens, as the best tactician among the kings, had joined the expedition to Troy and taught the whole army at Aulis how to take up their positions, but didn't rebuke them when they raised a shout, Ajax objected and criticized this as being womanly and undisciplined. Shouting, he said, was a coward's way of showing spirit.

Protesilaus says that he himself, Achilles and Patroclus were drawn up against the Mysians, while Diomedes, Palamedes and Sthenelus faced Haimus, son of Ares; the Atreidae, Ajax the Locrian and the rest were opposite the troops from the Danube. The greater Ajax, however, used to consider soldiers who slew large numbers as reapers who harvested the small crops, and called those who over-

22 ἀρίστων κρατοῦντας δρυτόμους ἐκάλει καὶ ταύτης αὐτὸν τῆς μάχης ἡξίου μάλλον. ταυτὰ τοι καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς τοῦ ποταμοῦ παῖδας ἦξεν οὔτε τοῦ μέρους ἑαυτοῦ ὄντας καὶ τὸν τοῦ Ἐκτορος τρόπον ἀπὸ τεττάρων μαχομένους ἵππων, βαίνων τε σοβαρὸν μετὰ τῆς αἰχμῆς πρὸς τὴν ἀσπίδα ἐδούπησε ταραχῆς ἕνεκα τῶν ἵππων οἱ δὲ ἵπποι ἔκφρονές τε αὐτίκα ἐγένοντο καὶ ὀρθοὶ ἀνεσκίρτησαν, ὅθεν ἀπιστήσαντες οἱ Σκύθαι τῷ ἄρματι ἀπεπήδησάν τε αὐτοῦ ἀτακτοῦντος καὶ ξυνέπεσον τῷ Αἴαντι, λόγου τε ἀξίως μαχόμενοι ἄμφω

23 ἀπέθανον. μνημονεῖν ὁ Πρωτεσίλεως καὶ τῶν τοῦ Παλαμήδους ἔργων ὡς μεγάλων, οἷς αὐτὸς τε καὶ Διομήδης καὶ Σθένελος τὸν Αἴμον καὶ τοὺς ἄμφ' αὐτὸν ἀποκτείναντες, οὐδὲ ἀριστείων ὁ Παλαμήδης ἡξίου τυγχάνειν ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνα μὲν τῷ Διομήδει ξυνεχώρει ἔχειν, ἐπειδὴ πάνθ' ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν πολεμικῶν τιμῆς τε καὶ δόξης ἐγίνωσκεν αὐτὸν πράττοντα σοφίας δὲ εἴ τινα στέφανον προθείη τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, οὐκ ἂν ἐκστῆναι τούτου ἐτέρῳ, σοφίας τε ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἐρῶν καὶ μελετῶν τοῦτο.

24 Τηλέφῳ δὲ ὁ Πρωτεσίλεως αὐτὸς μὲν συμπλακῆναι φησι καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα ζῶντος περισπάσαι, τὸν δὲ Ἀχιλλεῖα γυμνῷ προσπεσόντα τρῶσαι αὐτὸν εὐθὺς τοῦ μηροῦ καὶ ἰατρὸν μὲν ὕστερον ἐν Τροίᾳ γενέσθαι τοῦ τραύματος, τότε δὲ λειποθυμήσαι τε ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ὁ Τηλεφῶς καὶ ἀποθανεῖν ἂν, εἰ μὴ οἱ Μυσοὶ ξυνδραμόντες ἀνείλοντο αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς μάχης· ὅτε δὴ λέγονται πολλοὶ τῶν Μυσῶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ πεσεῖν, ὑφ' ὧν ἡματω-

came their champions the woodcutters. He thought this share of the fighting more worth his attention; therefore 22 he rushed upon the sons of the river, even though they were not on his side of the field and were fighting, like Hector did, from a four-horse chariot. As he came on, he beat his spear violently against his shield to frighten the horses, who were immediately terrified and reared straight up. At that point the two Scythians lost confidence in their chariot, leaping from it as it went out of control, and attacked Ajax—they struggled bravely, but he killed them both. Protesilaus also told of the noble deeds of Palamedes, 23 in which he joined Diomedes and Sthenelus in slaying Haimus and his men, though Palamedes declined the prize for valor, conceding it to Diomedes because he knew his sole concern to be military glory and recognition. If the Greek army should ever offer a prize for wisdom, he said, he would yield it to no one, since this was what he had always loved and followed.

Protesilaus said that he himself came to grips with 24 Telephus and stripped him of his shield while he was still alive. When he had been disarmed, Achilles attacked and wounded him in the thigh—the wound he was later to heal at Troy,⁷⁷ but at that time Telephus lost consciousness from it, and would have been killed if the Mysians had not joined to rescue him from the battle. It was then that many of the Mysians are said to have fallen in the fight over him,

⁷⁷ Told in Euripides' *Telephus* (see Introduction §10). "Troy" here for "Aulis" looks like another slip by the vinedresser (see Introduction §7) rather than a variant version.

25 μένον ῥυήναι τὸν Κάικον. λέγει δὲ ὡς καὶ δικάσαιτο
 μὲν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς περὶ τῆς ἀσπίδος, ἐπειδὴ
 ἐτετρώκει τὸν Τηλέφον, οἱ δὲ Ἀχαιοὶ ψηφίσαιντο
 αὐτῷ μᾶλλον προσήκειν τὴν ἀσπίδα, ὡς οὐκ ἂν τοῦ
 26 Τηλέφου τρωθέντος εἰ μὴ ἐκείνης ἐγυμνώθη. φησὶ δὲ
 ὅτι καὶ Μυσαὶ γυναῖκες ἀφ' ἵππων ξυνεμάχοντο τοῖς
 ἀνδράσιν, ὥσπερ Ἀμαζόνες, καὶ ἦρχε τῆς ἵππου ταύ-
 27 τῆς Ἴερα γυνὴ Τηλέφου. ταύτην μὲν δὴ λέγεται Νι-
 ρεὺς ἀποκτείνειν (τὸ γὰρ μεираκιῶδες τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ
 οὐπω εὐδόκιμον πρὸς αὐτὰς ἔταξαν), πεσοῦσης δὲ
 ἀνέκραγον αἱ Μυσαὶ καὶ ξυνταράξασαι τὴν ἑαυτῶν
 28 ἵππον ἐς τὰ τοῦ Καΐκου ἔλη ἀπηνέχθησαν. τὴν δὲ
 Ἴεραν ταύτην ὁ Πρωτεσίλωος μεγίστην τε ὄν εἶδε
 γυναικῶν γενέσθαι λέγει, καλλίστην τε ἀπασῶν ὀπό-
 σαι ὄνομα ἐπὶ κάλλει ἦσαντο. Ἐλένην μὲν γὰρ τὴν
 Μενέλεω γυναῖκα ἰδεῖν οὐ φησιν ἐν Τροίᾳ, νυνὶ δὲ
 ὄραν μὲν αὐτὴν τὴν Ἐλένην καὶ οὐ μέμφεσθαι τὸ
 ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἀποθανεῖν εἰ δὲ ἐνθυμηθεῖη τὴν Ἴεραν,
 τοσοῦτον αὐτὴν φησὶ πλεονεκτεῖν τῆς Ἐλένης, ὅσον
 29 κάκεινη τῶν Τρωάδων. καὶ οὐδὲ αὐτῆ, ξένε, Ὀμήρου
 ἐπαινέτου ἔτυχεν, ἀλλὰ Ἐλένη χαριζόμενος οὐκ ἐση-
 γάγετο ἐς τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ποιήματα θεῖαν γυναῖκα, ἐφ' ἣ
 καὶ παθεῖν τι Ἀχαιοὶ καὶ πεσοῦση λέγονται, καὶ
 παρακελεύσασθαι πρῆσβύτεροι νέους μὴ σκυλεύειν
 30 Ἴεραν μηδὲ προσάπτεσθαι κειμένης. ἐν ταύτῃ, ξένε,
 τῇ μάχῃ πολλοὶ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐτρώθησαν, καὶ λουτρά

⁷⁸ According to *Il.* 2.671, Nireus was "the most beautiful man

with whose blood the Kaikos river flowed red. He says that 25
 Achilles disputed with him over the shield on the grounds 25
 that it was he who had wounded Telephus, but the Achae-
 ans voted that the shield belonged more properly to him,
 since Telephus would not have been wounded if he hadn't
 been stripped of it. He says that the women of Mysia also 26
 helped their husbands to fight on horseback, like Ama-
 zons, and the commander of this cavalry was Telephus'
 wife Hieras. She is said to have been killed by Nireus— 27
 the youngest and least well-known part of the army had
 been assigned to oppose the women⁷⁸—and when she had
 fallen the Mysian women shouted in alarm, frightening
 their horses, and were carried away to the marshy ground
 around the Kaikos. This Hieras, claims Protesilaus, was the 28
 tallest woman he had ever seen, and the fairest of all who
 were famous for beauty. As for Menelaus' wife Helen, he
 didn't see her at Troy, but he sees her now and finds no
 fault with dying for her; but when he remembers Hieras,
 she seems to him to surpass Helen by as far as Helen did
 the women of Troy. Yet not even such a woman, stranger, 29
 received Homer's praises, but in deference to Helen he
 did not introduce into his poems the godlike woman over
 whom the Achaeans are said to have been moved even
 when she had died, and the older soldiers commanded the
 younger ones not to strip the arms from Hieras, or even to
 touch her corpse.⁷⁹ Many of the Achaeans were wounded 30

before Troy" after Achilles, but he was weak and his army was small; he is not mentioned again in Homer.

⁷⁹ Hieras is identifiable also in the Pergamon frieze and clearly modeled after the beautiful Amazon Penthesileia, who fought and died at Troy (Introduction §10).

τοῖς τετραμένους μαντευτὰ ἐγένετο, πηγαὶ θερμαὶ ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ, ἃς ἔτι καὶ νῦν Ἀγαμεμνονείους καλοῦσιν οἱ Σμύρναν οἰκοῦντες. ἀπέχουσι δέ, οἶμαι, τετταράκοντα στάδια τοῦ ἄστεος καὶ ἀνήπτό ποτε αὐτοῖς αἰχμάλωτα κράνη Μύσια.

24. ΦΟΙΝ. Τί οὖν, ἀμπελουργέ, φῶμεν ἐκόντα τὸν Ὅμηρον ἢ ἄκοντα παραλιπεῖν ταῦτα οὕτως ἠδέα καὶ ποιητικὰ ὄντα;

2 ἈΜΠ. Ἐκόντα ἴσως, ξένε· βουληθεὶς γὰρ τὴν Ἑλένην ὡς ἀρίστην γυναικῶν ὑμῆσαι ἐπὶ τῷ κάλλει καὶ τὰς Τρωικὰς μάχας ὡς μεγίστας τῶν ἀλλαχοῦ διαπολημθεισῶν ἐπαινέσαι, Παλαμῆδην τε τὸν θεῖον ἐξαιρῶν ἅπαντος λόγου δι' Ὀδυσσέα, Ἀχιλλεῖ τε μόνῳ τὰ μαχμώτατα τῶν ἔργων οὕτως ἀνατιθεὶς ὡς ἐκλανθάνεσθαι τῶν ἄλλων Ἀχαιῶν ὅτε Ἀχιλλεὺς μάχοιτο, οὔτε Μύσια ἐποίησεν ἔπη, οὔτε ἐς μνήμην κατέστη τοῦ ἔργου τούτου ἐν ᾧ καὶ γυνὴ καλλίων Ἑλένης εὔρητο ἂν καὶ ἄνδρες οὐ παρὰ πολὺ Ἀχιλλεύς τὴν ἀνδρείαν καὶ ἀγῶν εὐδοκιμώτατος· Παλαμῆδους δὲ μνημονεύσας οὐκ ἂν εὔρεν ὅτῳ ποτὲ κρίψει τὸ τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως ὄνειδος ἐπ' αὐτῷ.

25. ΦΟΙΝ. Πῶς οὖν ὁ Πρωτεσίλῃως περὶ τοῦ Ὁμήρου φρονεῖ; βασιανίζειν γάρ που αὐτὸν ἔφασκες τὰ τούτου ποιήματα.

2 ἈΜΠ. Τὸν Ὅμηρον φησι, ξένε, καθάπερ ἐν ἄρμο-

in this battle, and a healing bath for the wounded was revealed to them by an oracle: the hot springs in Ionia, which the Smyrnaeans even to this day call the springs of Agamemnon.⁸⁰ They are forty stades away from the city, and they used to be decorated with captured Mysian helmets.

24. *Phoenician Well*, vinedresser, shall we say that it was against his will or on purpose that Homer left out such a fine story, and quite suited to a poem?

Vinedresser. It was probably intentional. He wished to glorify Helen as the best for her beauty, and to exalt the battles at Troy war as the greatest ever fought; he also expunged the godlike Palamedes from the entire story for Odysseus' sake, and attributed the greatest feat of arms to Achilles alone, so that when he was fighting we should forget about everyone else. So he neither composed a poem about the Mysian war, nor made any mention of this event, in which would have been found a more beautiful than Helen, men not far from⁸¹ Achilles in bravery, and a most glorious struggle. Also, if he once mentioned Palamedes he could not have found any way to conceal Odysseus' disgraceful act against him.⁸²

25. *Phoenician*. What does Protesilaus think of Homer? You said that he goes over his poems carefully.

Vinedresser. He says that, to borrow a phrase from mu-

⁸⁰ Bean (1966, 52, 272). Most warm springs were called "baths of Heracles" (Ath. 11.512f; Dover [1968] on Ar. *Nub.* 1051); Paus. 7.5.11 says that Agamemnon is honored at baths near Clazomenae.

⁸¹ Grossardt (2006a) disputes this meaning, but see Schmid (1887, 4:461-62). ⁸² The same observation in VA 4.16 (see Introduction §1; cf. Strabo 8.6.2) and in 43.15 it is made the result of an agreement with the ghost of Odysseus.

3 νία μουσικῇ πάντας ψῆλαι τοὺς ποιητικούς τῶν τρό-
 πων, καὶ τοὺς ποιητὰς ἐφ' οἷς ἐγένετο ὑπερβεβλήσθαι
 πάντας ἐν ὄτῳ ἕκαστος ἦν αὐτῶν κράτιστος· μεγα-
 λορρημοσύνην τε γὰρ ὑπὲρ τὸν Ὀρφέα ἀσκήσασαι,
 4 ἤδονη τε ὑπερβαλέσθαι τὸν Ἡσίοδον καὶ ἄλλω ἄλ-
 λον· καὶ λόγον μὲν ὑποθέσθαι Τρωικόν, ἐς δὲ ἢ τύχη
 τὰς πάντων Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ βαρβάρων ἀρετὰς ξυνή-
 νεγκεν, ἐσαγαγέσθαι δὲ ἐς αὐτὸν πολέμους τοὺς μὲν
 πρὸς ἄνδρας, τοὺς δὲ πρὸς ἵππους καὶ τείχη, τοὺς δὲ
 πρὸς ποταμούς, τοὺς δὲ πρὸς θεοὺς καὶ θεάς, καὶ
 5 ὅποσα κατ' εἰρήνην εἰσὶ καὶ χοροὺς καὶ ᾠδὰς καὶ
 ἔρωτας καὶ δαίτας, ἔργα τε ὧν γεωργία ἀπτεται, καὶ
 ὄρας, αἱ σημαίνουσιν ὅποσα χρῆ ἐς τὴν γῆν πράτ-
 6 τευ, καὶ ναυτιλίας καὶ ὀπλοποιίαν τὴν ἐν Ἡφαίστῳ,
 4 εἶδη τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἦθη ποικίλα. πάντα ταῦτα τὸν
 Ὀμηρον δαιμονίως ἐξεργάσθαι φησὶ καὶ τοὺς μὴ
 5 ἐρῶντας αὐτοῦ μαίνεσθαι. καλεῖ δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ οἰκι-
 στήν Τροίας, ἐπεὶ εὐδοκίμησεν ἐκ τῶν Ὀμήρου ἐπ'
 6 αὐτῇ θρήνων. θαυμάζει δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅσα ἐπιτιμᾶ τοῖς
 ὁμοτέχοις, ὅτι μὴ τραχέως διορθοῦνται σφας ἀλλ'
 7 οἶον λανθάνων· Ἡσίοδον μὲν ἐν ἄλλοις τε οὐκ ὀλίγους
 καὶ νῆ Δί' ἐν τοῖς ἐκτυπώμασι τῶν ἀσπίδων· ἐρμη-
 νεύων γὰρ οὕτως ποτε τὴν τοῦ Κύκνου ἀσπίδα, τὸ τῆς
 Γοργούδος εἶδος ὑπτίως τε καὶ οὐ ποιητικῶς ἦσεν, ὅθεν
 ἐπιστρέφων αὐτὸν ὁ Ὀμηρος

τῇ δ' ἐπὶ μὲν Γοργῷ βλοσυρῶπις ἐστεφάνωτο
 δεινὸν δερκομένη, περὶ δὲ Δεῖμός τε Φόβος τε

sic, Homer played all the modes of poetry, and surpassed
 all the poets preceding him in their strongest qualities. He
 practices much more forceful expressions than Orpheus,
 in charm he surpasses Hesiod, and so on. He chose for his
 3 subject the story of Troy, in which fate brought together
 the virtues of Greeks and barbarians. To it he added war-
 fare against men, against horses and walls, against rivers,
 gods and goddesses, as well as all the pursuits of peace:
 dancing, song, love, banqueting, the life of the farmer and
 the seasons which show him his agricultural tasks, seafar-
 ing, the making of armor in his section on Hephaestus, the
 types of men and their varied characters. All these he
 4 worked out with divine skill, and those who do not love
 him are out of their minds. He calls Homer the founding
 5 hero of Troy, since it was through his lament for it that its
 fame began. He admires in Homer also the way he points
 6 out faults in his fellow poets, since he does not correct
 them harshly, but almost imperceptibly. He corrects Hes-
 7 iod, for example, in many other passages, but especially in
 the reliefs on the shields. That poet, describing Cycnus'
 shield (*Shield of Heracles* 223-24) had composed the Gor-
 gon's appearance flat and unpoetically, and Homer con-
 verted it to tell of the Gorgon this way (*Il.* 10.36-37):

Upon the shield was set a grim-faced Gorgon,
 with terrible glance, around her fright and fear.

8 οὕτωςι τὴν Γοργῶ ἄδει. Ὀρφέα δὲ ἐν πολλοῖς τῶν κατὰ θεολογίαν ὑπερήρε, Μουσαῖον δὲ ἐν ᾧδαῖς χρησμών, καὶ μὴν καὶ Παμφῶ σοφῶς μὲν ἐνθυμηθέντος ὅτι Ζεὺς εἶη τὸ ζωογονοῦν καὶ δι' οὗ ἀνίσταται τὰ ἐκ τῆς γῆς πάντα, εὐηθέστερον δὲ χρησαμένου τῷ λόγῳ καὶ καταβεβλημένα ἔπη ἐς τὸν Δία ἄσαντος. ἔστι γὰρ τὰ τοῦ Παμφῶ ἔπη·

Ζεῦ κύδιστε, μέγιστε θεῶν, εἰλυμένε κόπρῳ
μηλείη τε καὶ ἵππειη καὶ ἡμιονείη

τὸν Ὀμηρον ὁ Πρωτεσίλεως φησιν ἐπάξιον τοῦ Διὸς ἄσαι ὕμνον.

Ζεῦ κύδιστε, μέγιστε, κελαινεφές, αἰθέρι ναίων,

9 ὡς οἰκοῦντος μὲν αὐτοῦ τὸ καθαρῶτατον, ἐργαζομένου δὲ ἔμβια τὰ ὑπὸ τῷ αἰθέρι. καὶ τὰς μάχας δέ, ὅποσαι Ποσειδῶνι μὲν πρὸς Ἀπόλλω, Δητοὶ δὲ πρὸς Ἑρμῆν ἐγένοντο, καὶ ὡς ἐμάχοντο ἢ Ἀθηνα τῷ Ἄρει καὶ ὁ Ἥφαιστος τῷ ὕδατι, ταῦτα τὸν Ὀρφέως τρόπον πεφιλοσοφῆσθαι τῷ Ὀμήρῳ φησὶ καὶ οὐ μεμπτὰ εἶναι πρὸς ἐκπληξιν καὶ θεία, ὥσπερ τὸ

ἀμφὶ δὲ σάλπιγγε μέγας οὐρανός,

καὶ <ὡς> ἀνεπήδησεν Ἀἰδωνεύς τοῦ θρόνου τινασσομένης τῆς γῆς ἐκ Ποσειδῶνος.

10 μέμφεται δὲ τοῦ Ὀμήρου ἐκεῖνα· πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι θεοὺς ἐγκαταμίξας ἀνθρώποις, περὶ μὲν τῶν ἀνθρώπων μεγάλα εἶρηκε, περὶ δὲ τῶν θεῶν μικρὰ καὶ

Orpheus he surpassed in many ways in his descriptions of the gods, Musaeus in his poetic oracles, and even Pamphos, who sagely realized that it was Zeus who engenders life and through whom all things on earth came into being, but expressed himself rather clumsily and addressed Zeus in vulgar verses. Pamphos' verses run:

Zeus most glorious, greatest of gods, in dung
enfolded
of sheep and horse and ass. . . .

Whereas Homer, Protesilaus says, sang a hymn worthy of Zeus (*Il.* 2.412):

Zeus most glorious, greatest, dark-clouded, dwelling
in heaven. . . .

because he lives in the purest air, and gives life to all under heaven. As for the battles between Poseidon and Apollo, Leto and Hermes, Athena's fight against Ares, and that of Hephaestus against the river, he says these have been treated by Homer philosophically in the manner of Orpheus, and faultless in their breathtakingness and divinity, for example the passage beginning

great heaven trumpeted around (*Il.* 21.388)

and when Aidoneus leaped from his throne as the earth was shaken by Poseidon (*Il.* 20.61-65).

He finds fault with Homer, however, in the following: first, because he confuses the gods with men, and says great things about men, but about the gods petty and in-

- φαῦλα· εἶτα ὅτι σαφῶς γινώσκων ὡς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἢ Ἑλένη ἐγένετο ἀπενεχθεῖσα ὑπὸ ἀνέμων ὁμοῦ τῷ Πάριδι, ὁ δὲ ἄγει αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἰλίου τείχος ὀψομένην τὰ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ κακά, ἦν εἰκός, εἰ καὶ δι' ἑτέραν γυναικα ταῦτα ἐγένετο, ξυγκαλύπτεσθαί τε καὶ μὴ ὄραν αὐτὰ διαβεβλημένου τοῦ γένους, ἐπαινουμένου δὲ οὐδὲ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Τροίᾳ Πάριδος ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρπαγῇ τῆς Ἑλένης, οὐτ' ἂν Ἐκτορα τὸν σωφρονέστατον καρτερησαί φησι τὸ μὴ οὐκ ἀποδοῦναι αὐτὴν τῷ Μενέλεω ἐν Ἰλίῳ οὔσαν, οὐτ' ἂν Πρίαμον ξυγχωρήσαι τῷ Πάριδι τρυφᾶν, πολλῶν ἤδη ἀπολωλότων αὐτῷ παίδων, οὐτ' ἂν τὴν Ἑλένην διαφυγεῖν τὸ μὴ οὐκ ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν Τρωάδων ὀπόσων ἤδη ἄνδρες ἀπωλώλεισαν καὶ ἀδελφοὶ καὶ παῖδες· ἴσως δ' ἂν καὶ ἀποδρᾶναι αὐτὴν παρὰ τὸν Μενέλεω διὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ Τροίᾳ μῖσος, ἐξηρήσθω δὴ ὁ ἀγὼν ὃν φησιν Ὀμηρος ἀγωνίσασθαι τῷ Μενέλεω τὸν Πάριν ἐπὶ σπονδαῖς τοῦ πολέμου κατ' Αἰγυπτίον τε γὰρ τὴν Ἑλένην εἶναι καὶ τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς πάλαι τοῦτο γινώσκοντας, ἐκείνη μὲν ἐρῶσθαι φράζειν, μάχεσθαι δὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐν Τροίᾳ πλούτου.
- οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνα ὁ Πρωτεσίλειος ἐπαινεῖ τοῦ Ὀμήρου, ὅτι λόγον ὑποθέμενος Τρωικόν, ἀποπηδᾷ τοῦ λόγου μετὰ τὸν Ἐκτορα, καθάπερ σπεύδων ἐπὶ τὸν ἕτερον

⁸³ Cf. "Longinus," *Subl.* 9.7 (conflating the same two Homeric passages cited separately here): "In relating the wounds of the gods, their civil wars, vendettas, weeping, kidnapping and all sorts

significant things;⁸³ secondly, although he knew perfectly well that Helen was in Egypt—she and Paris had been carried there by a storm—he makes her go up on the wall of Troy to watch the sufferings on the field, although it is plausible that if any other woman had caused such things she would have veiled herself and refused to watch, when it was a disgrace to her sex. Since Paris' kidnapping of Helen was viewed with disapproval even in Troy itself, Protesilaus says that such a prudent man as Hector would never have condoned not giving her back to Menelaus if she had really been there, nor would Priam have permitted Paris such license when many of his sons had already died, nor would Helen have escaped death at the hands of the Trojan women whose husbands, brothers, and children had perished. Perhaps she would even have deserted to Menelaus because of her unpopularity at Troy. Indeed, the single combat which Homer says Menelaus had against Paris during a truce in the fighting must be canceled, since Helen was in Egypt, as the Achaeans had long known. They couldn't have cared less about her—they were fighting for Troy's wealth.⁸⁴

Protesilaus also disapproves of Homer in this, that although his subject was Troy, he drops this story after Hector's death because he is in a hurry to get to the other

of sufferings, Homer seems to me to have done his best to make the men in the Trojan War into gods, and the gods into men."

⁸⁴ The allegation that Helen was not really in Troy at all is as old as Stesichorus (fr. 192), Hdt. 2.112–20, and Eur. *Hel.*, although in those accounts the Greeks attacked in the belief that she *was* there. The shade of Achilles in VA 4.16 tells the same story as Protesilaus here (see Introduction §1).

τῶν λόγων, ᾧ τὸν Ὀδυσσεῖα ἐπιγράφει, καὶ ᾗδει μὲν ἐν ᾠδαῖς Δημοδόκου τε καὶ Φημίου τὴν τε τοῦ Ἰλίου πόρθησιν καὶ τὸν Ἐπειοῦ τε καὶ Ἀθηναῖς ἵππον, δίδεισι δὲ αὐτὰ ἀποτεμῶν τοῦ λόγου καὶ ἀνατιθεῖς Ὀδυσσεῖ μᾶλλον, δι' ὃν Κυκλώπων τε αὐτῷ ἐπενοήθη γένος οὐδαμοῦ τῆς γῆς φύντες, Λαιστρυγόνες τε ἀνευτηθήσαν, οὓς οὐδεὶς οἶδεν ὅπου γενόμενοι, Κίρκη τε δαίμων ἐξεπονήθη <ῆ> σοφῆ ἐπὶ φαρμάκοις καὶ θεαὶ ἔτεραι ἐρᾶν αὐτοῦ καίτοι προήκοντος ἤδη ἐς ὠμὸν γῆρας, ὅτε καὶ τὰς ὑακινθίνας κόμας, αἱ ἐπὶ τὴν Νηυσικαῶν αὐτῷ ἤνθησαν, φαίνεται ἔχων.

- 14 ὅθεν ὁ Πρωτεσίλειος παίγνιον τὸν Ὀδυσσεῖα καλεῖ τοῦ Ὀμήρου· οὐδὲ γὰρ τῆς λεγομένης αὐτοῦ σοφίας ἤρα ἢ κόρη· τί γὰρ σοφὸν ἢ εἶπε πρὸς τὴν Νηυσικαῶν ἢ ἔπραξε; καλεῖ δὲ αὐτὸν Ὀμήρου παίγνιον καὶ ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ καθεύδων τε γὰρ πολλαχοῦ ἀπόλλυται καὶ ἐκφέρεται τῆς νεῶς τῶν Φαιάκων ὡσπερ ἀποθανῶν ἐν
- 15 τῇ εὐπλοίᾳ. τὴν δὲ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος μῆνιν, δι' ἣν οὔτε ναῦς ὑπελείφθη τῷ Ὀδυσσεῖ οὐδεμία καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες οἱ πληροῦντες αὐτὰς ἀπώλοντο, οὐχ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Πολυφῆμου γενέσθαι φησὶν· οὔτε γὰρ ἀφικέσθαι τὸν Ὀδυσσεῖα ἐς ἣθη τοιαῦτα, οὗτ' ἂν, εἰ Ποσειδῶνι Κύκλωψ παῖς ἐγένετο, μνηῖσαι τὸν Ποσειδῶνι ποτε ὑπὲρ τοῦ τοιοῦτου παιδός, ὃς λέοντος ὠμοῦ δίκην τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἤσθιεν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ Παλαμῆδους νίωνοῦ ὄντος ἄπλον μὲν τὴν θάλασσαν τῷ Ὀδυσσεῖ ἐποίει, διαφυγόντα δὲ αὐτὸν τὰ ἐκεῖ πάθη ἀπώλεσεν <ἐν> αὐτῇ Ἰθάκῃ ὕστερον, θαλαττίαν, οἶμαι, αἰχμὴν ἐπ' αὐτὸν

one—which he named after Odysseus—and he sings only in the poems given to Demodocus and Phemius Troy's fall and the horse built by Epeius and Athena, while his narration of these events is separated from the story and connected rather with Odysseus, the man for whose sake the race of Cyclopes (which don't exist anywhere) was invented, and Laestrygonians were imagined (although no one knows where they are), and the divine Circe who knew all about magic potions, as well as other goddesses were made to fall in love with him, although he was already reaching a premature old age, even when he was made to appear with the hyacinth hair which blossomed on him while he was with Nausicaa.

That is why Protesilaus calls Odysseus "Homer's plaything," since the girl didn't fall in love with his so-called wisdom either; for what wise thing did he do or say in Nausicaa's presence? He also calls him Homer's plaything in his wanderings; for he was constantly being undone when he fell asleep, and he was carried asleep off the Phaeacians' ship as if he had died during a calm crossing. As for the anger of Poseidon which made all his ships lost and their crews perish, he says it was not on account of Polyphemus; for Odysseus never reached such haunts, and even if the Cyclops had been his child, Poseidon would never have felt indignant on behalf of a son who ate men like a savage lion. No it was for the sake of his grandson Palamedes that Poseidon made the sea impassable to Odysseus, and after he had escaped his sufferings at sea Poseidon had him killed in Ithaca itself, since it must have

16 δούς. λέγει δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἀχιλλέως μῆνιν οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῆς
 τοῦ Χρύσου θυγατρὸς ἐμπεσεῖν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, ἀλλὰ
 17 κἀκέινον ὑπὲρ τοῦ Παλαμήδους μνηῖσαι. καὶ ἀποκεί-
 σθω μοι ὁ λόγος οὗτος ἐς τὰ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως ἔργα·
 δίειμι γὰρ καὶ κατὰ ἕνα τοὺς ἥρωες, ἀπαγγέλλων ὅσα
 τοῦ Πρωτεσίλεω περὶ αὐτῶν ἤκουσα.

18 ΦΟΙΝ. Ἦκεις ἐπὶ τὸν ἡδιστον ἐμοὶ τῶν λόγων.
 ἵππων γὰρ ἤδη δὴ με καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἀμφὶ κτύπος οὐατα
 βάλλει” καὶ μαντεύομαί τι ἀγαθὸν ἀκούσεσθαι μέγα.
 ἈΜΠ. Ἄκουε, ξένε· παρέλθοι δέ με, ὦ Πρωτεσίλεω,
 μηδέν, μηδὲ ἐκλαθοίμην τινὸς ὧν ἤκουσα.

26. Πρεσβύτατον μὲν τοῖνυν τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ φησιν
 ἐλθεῖν ἐς Τροίαν τὸν Νηλέως Νέστορα, πολέμων τε
 πολλῶν γεγυμνασμένον, οἱ ἐφ’ ἡλικίας αὐτῷ ἐπολε-
 μήθησαν, ἀγώνων τε γυμνικῶν, ἐν οἷς πυγμῆς καὶ
 πάλης ἄθλα ἐτίθετο, τακτικὴν τε ὁπόση ὀπλιτῶν τε
 καὶ ἵππων ἀριστα δὴ ἀνθρώπων γινώσκοντα, δημα-
 γωγία τε ἐκ μειρακίου ξυμβεβηκότα, μὰ Δί’ οὐ τῇ
 κολακευούσῃ τοὺς δήμους ἀλλὰ τῇ σωφρονιζούσῃ·
 πράττειν δὲ αὐτὸ ξὺν ᾧρα τε καὶ ἡδονῇ τῶν λόγων,
 ὅθεν καὶ τὰς ἐπιπλήξεις, ἃς ἐποιεῖτο, μὴ ἀγροίκους
 μηδὲ ἀηδεῖς φαίνεσθαι.

2 καὶ ὅποσα Ὀμήρῳ περὶ αὐτοῦ εἴρηται, ξὺν ἀληθείᾳ

⁸⁵ *Od.* 11.134 prophecies a death to Odysseus from the sea; the cyclic *Telegony* (M. L. West 2003a, 166–71) had his unknown son, Telegonus, kill him with a spear made from a stingray. For

been he who provided the seaborne spear.⁸⁵ He says that 16
 the anger of Achilles fell upon the Greeks not for Chryses’
 daughter, but that he too was enraged about Palamedes.
 But let that story be reserved for the account of Achilles’ 17
 deeds; for I shall tell about the heroes one by one, and
 report whatever Protesilaus has told me about them.

Phoenician. You are coming to what is for me the best 18
 part of your story. For “there assaults my ears the din” (*Il.*
 10.535) of horses and men even now, and I foresee that I
 am going to hear something impressive.

Vinedresser. Then listen, stranger. I pray to Protesilaus
 that I not omit or forget any of what I have heard.⁸⁶

26. He says that the oldest in the Greek army that came
 to Troy was Nestor son of Neleus, who had been trained
 not only in many wars fought by him in his youth, but also
 in athletic competitions in which prizes had been awarded
 for boxing and wrestling; furthermore he was most knowl-
 edgeable of men in infantry and cavalry tactics, and had
 engaged in public oratory since his youth—not, by Zeus,
 the kind that caters to the rabble, but chastens it—and did
 it with such elegance pleasantness that the rebukes he
 made⁸⁷ never seemed crude or insulting.

He says that what is said about him by Homer is cor- 2

an attempt to sort out these details, see M. L. West (2013, 307–
 15), but no source other than *Heroicus* attributes the death to
 Poseidon.

⁸⁶ For the following biographies of heroes, see Introduction
 §9. In each case, for the hero’s presentation in Homer, see the
 article under each name in Finkelberg (2011), and for the myth-
 ographic tradition, see the index in Cantz (1996).

⁸⁷ To fellow soldiers in the *Iliad*.

3 φησὶν εἰρήσθαι. καὶ μὴν καὶ ὅποσα ἕτεροι περὶ τῶν
 τοῦ Γηρύνου βοῶν εἶπον, ὡς ἀφείλοντο αὐτὰς τὸν
 Ἡρακλέα Νηλεύς τε καὶ οἱ Νηλεΐδαι πλὴν Νέστορος,
 ἐπαινεῖ ὁ Πρωτεσίλειος ὡς ἀληθῆ καὶ μὴ παρερρη-
 μένα· τὸν γὰρ τοι Ἡρακλέα δικαιοσύνης μισθὸν τῷ
 4 Νέστορι δοῦναι τὴν Μεσσήνην, ἐπεὶ μηδὲν ὦν οἱ ἀδελ-
 φοὶ περὶ τὰς βοῦς ἤμαρτε. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἀλῶναι
 αὐτοῦ ὁ Ἡρακλῆς σαφρονεστάτου τε ὄντος καὶ καλ-
 λίστου, ἀγαπήσαί τε αὐτὸν μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν Ἰλλαν τε
 καὶ τὸν Ἄβδηρον· οἱ μὲν γὰρ παιδάρια ἦσαν καὶ κο-
 μιδῆ νέοι, Νέστορι δὲ ἐφήβω ἤδη ἐντυχεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ
 ἀρετὴν ἀσκούντι ὅποση ψυχῆς τε καὶ σώματος, ὅθεν
 5 ἀγαπήσαί τε καὶ ἀγαπηθῆναι. τό τοι διομύναι τὸν
 Ἡρακλέα οὐπω ξύνηθες τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὄν, πρῶτόν
 γε νομίσαι φησὶ τὸν Νέστορα καὶ παραδοῦναι τοῖς
 ἐν Τροίᾳ.
 6 γενέσθαι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ παῖδα Ἀντίλοχον, ὃν μεσοῦν-
 7 τος ἤδη τοῦ πολέμου ἔλθειν. νέον μὲν γὰρ εἶναι τὸν
 Ἀντίλοχον καὶ οὐκ ἐν ὥρᾳ τῶν πολεμικῶν ὅποτε ξυν-
 ελέγοντο ἐς Αὐλίδα, βουλομένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ στραπεύειν
 οὐ ξυγχαρῆσαι τὸν πατέρα, τὸν δ', ἐπειδὴ πέμπτον
 ἔτος ἤδη προβεβήκει τῷ πολέμῳ, νεῶς τε ἐπιβάντα
 ἀφικέσθαι καὶ παρελθόντα ἐς τὴν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως σκη-
 νῆν, ἐπειδὴ τοῦτον ἐπιτηδεϊότατον εἶναι τῷ πατρὶ
 ἤκουεν, ἱκετεῦσαι τὸν Ἀχιλλέα παραιτήσασθαι αὐτὸν
 8 τοῦ πατρός, εἴ πως ἀπειθήσαντι μὴ ἄχθοιτο. ὁ δὲ
 ἤσθεις τῇ τοῦ Ἀντιλόχου ὥρα καὶ τῆς προθυμίας
 ἀγασθεὶς αὐτόν, "οὐπω τὸν πατέρα" εἶπεν, "ὦ μερᾶ-

3 rect. And also what others wrote, that it was Neleus and
 his children, without Nestor's help, who stole Geryon's
 cattle from Heracles, he approves as the unvarnished
 truth, because Heracles in fact gave Messene to Nestor as
 a reward for his fairness, since he did not join his brothers
 in the cattle crime.⁸⁸ Heracles is rumored to have been
 4 captivated by his goodness and beauty, and loved him
 more than he did Hyllas and Abderos,⁸⁹ they being quite
 young and little more than children, whereas Nestor was
 a youth who sought moral and physical excellence; it was
 from this that their mutual affection developed. Inciden-
 5 tally, Protesilaus adds that oaths by Heracles, which were
 not yet widespread, were first practiced and popularized
 among the troops at Troy by Nestor.

6 Nestor's son was Antilochus, who arrived only when the
 war was halfway over. He was still not of age for military
 7 service when the troops were mustered at Aulis, and even
 though he wanted to campaign his father would not allow
 it. But when the war had already entered its fifth year, the
 boy took ship and on arrival went to the tent of Achilles,
 whom he heard was his father's closest friend, and begged
 him to intercede himself for him so that his father not
 grow angry at his disobedience. Achilles was delighted and
 8 impressed by this youthful zeal, and told him, "You don't

⁸⁸ Heracles' killing of the sons of Neleus (except for Nestor) is told, without his motive, in *Il.* 11.689-92. The idea that Nestor alone had refused to steal is found in *Isoc.* 6.19 (Gantz 1996, 426-27).

⁸⁹ Hylas was stolen by nymphs while accompanying Heracles with the Argonauts. Abderos was torn apart by some man-eating horses that Heracles had captured (Gantz 1996, 348, 396).

- κίον, τὸν σεαυτοῦ γινώσκεις, εἰ μὴ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπαινε-
 θήσεσθαι μᾶλλον οἶει ἔργον φιλότιμόν τε καὶ νεανι-
 9 κὸν εἰργασμένον." καὶ ὀρθῶς εἶπεν ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς ταῦτα·
 ὑπερησθεὶς γὰρ τῷ παιδί ὁ Νέστωρ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ
 φρονήσας ἄγει αὐτὸν παρὰ τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα, ὁ δὲ
 10 αὐτίκα ξυγκαλεῖ τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ λέγεται ἄριστα
 ἑαυτοῦ διαλεχθῆναι τότε ὁ Νέστωρ. ξυνηλθεῖν μὲν
 γὰρ αὐτοὺς χαίροντας ἐπὶ τῷ παῖδα ὄψεσθαι Νέστο-
 ρος (οὐδὲ γὰρ εἶναι αὐτῷ ἐν Τροίᾳ υἱόν, οὔτε Θρα-
 συμήδην τινα οὔτε ἕτερον), ἐστάναι δὲ τὸν Ἀντιλόχον
 ἐρυθριῶντά τε καὶ ἐς τὴν γῆν βλέποντα καὶ θαν-
 11 μαστὰς κτήσασθαι τοῦ κάλλους οὐκ ἐλάττους ἢ
 Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐκέκτητο. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐκείνου εἶδος ἐκπλη-
 κτικόν τε φαίνεσθαι καὶ θεῖον, τὸ δὲ τοῦ Ἀντιλόχου
 12 τερπνόν τε καὶ ἡμερον δοκεῖν πᾶσι. καὶ τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς
 ὁ Πρωτεσίλεως οὐδὲ ἄλλως ἐκκλησημένους τότε δὴ
 μάλιστα εἰς ἔννοιαν ἑαυτοῦ ἀφικέσθαι λέγει, ξυμβαί-
 νοντος ἑαυτῷ τοῦ Ἀντιλόχου τὴν ἡλικίαν τε καὶ τὸ
 μέγεθος· πολλοῖς δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ δάκρυα ἐπελθεῖν φη-
 13 σιν οἴκτῳ τῆς ἀμφοῖν ἡλικίας, εὐφημίαις τε χρῆσα-
 σθαι τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἐς τὸν Νέστορα ἐφ' οἷς εἶπε δι-
 ἐκείντο γὰρ ὡς παῖδες πρὸς πατέρα.
- ἔστι σοι καὶ ἀγαλμα παραγαγεῖν τοῦ Νέστορος. ὁ
 γὰρ Πρωτεσίλεως αὐτὸν ὦδε ἐρμηνεύει, ὡς φαιδρὸς
 μὲν αἰεὶ φαίνοιτο καὶ ἐν ὀρμῇ μειδιάματος, γενειῶν δὲ
 σεμνῶς τε καὶ ξυμμέτρως, τὰ δὲ ἀμφὶ παλαίστραν
 αὐτῷ πεπονημένα τὰ ὄντα κατηγοροῖ καὶ ὁ αὐχὴν
 ὑπονεάζων ἔτι καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὀρθὸν εἶναι τὸν Νέ-

know your father yet, young man, if you don't think that
 you will rather be *praised* by him, for acting with such
 ambition and boldness." And he was right; Nestor was
 9 overjoyed with his son, and proudly led him to meet
 Agamemnon, who in turn assembled all the Greeks, and
 in addressing them Nestor surpassed himself. For the
 10 Greeks assembled full of joy at the prospect of seeing
 Nestor's son (for he had not had a son with him at Troy—
 not a Thrasymedes or any other one⁹⁰); and there stood
 Antilochus, blushing, staring at the ground and gaining as
 many admirers of his beauty as of Achilles'; Achilles' ap-
 11 pearance was striking and godlike, but Antilochus was
 universally judged pleasantly gentle. Protesilaus says that
 12 at that moment the Greeks, although they had always been
 mindful of him, thought back to Protesilaus himself more
 strongly than ever, because Antilochus' age and stature
 were so similar. He says tears of grief for the two youths
 came to the eyes of many, and the Greeks praised Nestor
 for his speech as warmly as if he had been their father.

I can also present to you Nestor's statue, for Protesilaus
 13 expresses him as follows: He always looks cheerful
 and about to smile, with a dignified and symmetrical
 beard, ears that betray his experience in wrestling, and a

⁹⁰ In disagreement with Homer, who makes Thrasymedes
 fight alongside his brother in the *Iliad*.

- στορα καὶ μὴ ἡττώμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ γήρωσ, εἶναι δὲ καὶ
 μελανόφθαλμον καὶ μὴ ἀποκρεμώμενον τὴν ῥίνα.
 ταυτὶ δὲ ἐν γήρῳ μόνοι ἴσχυουσιν οὐδὲ μὴ ἐπιλίπτοι τὸ
 14 ἔρρῶσθαι. τὸν δὲ Ἀντίλοχον τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὁμοίον
 φησι γενέσθαι τῷ Νέστορι, δρομικώτερον δὲ καὶ
 περιεπτισμένον τὸ εἶδος καὶ μὴ φρονούonta ἐπὶ τῇ
 κόμῃ.
 15 κάκεινά μοι τοῦ Ἀντιλόχου ἐρμηνεύει φιλιππότα-
 τὸν τε γενέσθαι αὐτὸν καὶ κυνηγετικώτατον καὶ ταῖς
 τῶν πολέμων ἀνοχαῖς ἐπὶ τὰ θηρία χράμενον ἀνα-
 φοιτᾶν γοῦν ἐς τὴν Ἰδην τὸν Ἀντίλοχον ξὺν Ἀχιλλεῖ
 καὶ Μυρμιδόσι, καὶ ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ μετὰ Πυλίων τε καὶ
 Ἀρκάδων, οἱ θηρίων ἀγορὰν παρέιχον τῷ στρατῷ διὰ
 πλῆθος τῶν ἀλισκομένων· τὰ δὲ πολέμια γενναῖόν τε
 εἶναι καὶ πτηνὸν τῷ πόδε καὶ ταχὺν τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὄπλοις
 κίνησιν, εὐξύνετόν τε τοῖς παραγγελλομένοις χρῆσα-
 σθαι καὶ τὸ ἐπίχαρι μηδὲ ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἀπολεί-
 16 ποντα. ἀποθανεῖν δὲ οὐχ, ὡς οἱ πολλοὶ ᾄδουσιν, ὑπὸ
 Μέμνονος ἐξ Αἰθιοπίας ἦκοντος· Αἰθιοπία μὲν γὰρ
 γενέσθαι Μέμνονα, δυναστεύσαντα ἐπὶ τῶν Τρωικῶν
 ἐν Αἰθιοπία, ἐφ' οὗ καὶ τὸ ψάμμινον ὄρος ἀναχωσθή-
 ναι λέγεται ὑπὸ τοῦ Νείλου, καὶ θύουσιν αὐτῷ κατὰ
 Μερὸν καὶ Μέμφιν Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ Αἰθίοπες, ἐπειδὴν
 ἀκτῖνα πρώτην ὃ ἥλιος ἐκβάλλῃ, παρ' ἧς τὸ ἀγαλμα
 φωνὴν ἐκρήγγουσιν ἢ τοὺς θεραπεύοντας ἀσπάζεται.
 17 Τρῶα δὲ ἕτερον γενέσθαι Μέμνονα, νεώτατον τοῦ

youthful neck. Nestor stands erect, not burdened by age; his eyes are dark and his nose is not crooked—the sort of things that only continued vigor allows one to maintain in old age. Antilochus resembled his father, except that he 14 was a faster runner and more trim in build, and not as proud of his hair.

And he also expresses this about Antilochus: he was a 15 superb horseman and hunter, and spent every respite from the war hunting; he went regularly to Mt. Ida with Achilles and Patroclus, and also by himself joined the men of Pylos and Arcadia, who sold game to the troops because they caught so much of it. In fighting he was noble, with great speed and agility in moving fully armed, alert in executing orders, and even in battle he never lost his cheerful disposition. He says that he was killed not by 16 Memnon who came from Ethiopia, as many poets have sung;⁹¹ there *was* an Ethiopian Memnon, but he was a king in that country at the time of the Trojan war, in whose time the sand mountain is said to have been constructed by the Nile.⁹² It is to this Memnon that the Egyptians and Ethiopians sacrifice around Memphis and Meroe whenever the sun casts its first light, which causes his statue to speak and greet his worshippers.⁹³ But there was also another 17

⁹¹ Among them Homer (*Od.* 4.187–88), and the cyclic poem *Aithiopsis* (M. L. West 2013, 145–46). ⁹² Hdt. 2.8.2, 2.99.2.

⁹³ The hypothesis of multiple Memnons (a common technique in “revisionist” mythography [Pffister 1909, 221–23] and the description of the so-called *Memnoneion* in Thebes [on which see Tac. *Ann.* 2.61.1; Strabo 17.1.46, *CIL* 3.1.30–66; it was restored by Septimius Severus, after which it ceased to “sing”]) are presented in greater detail in VA 6.4 and *Imag.* 1.7.3; see Platt (2009, 136–49).

Τρωικοῦ, ὃν ζῶντος μὲν Ἑκτορος οὐδὲν βελτίω δόξαι
 τῶν ἀμφὶ Δηϊφοβόν τε καὶ Εὐφορβον, ἀποθανόντος
 δὲ προθυμώτατόν τε καὶ ἀνδρειότατον νομισθῆναι, καὶ
 τὴν Τροίαν ἐς αὐτὸν βλέψαι κακῶς ἤδη πράττουσαν.
 18 οὗτος, ξένη, τὸν καλόν τε καὶ χρηστὸν Ἀντίλοχον
 ἀποκτείνει λέγεται προασπίζοντα τοῦ πατρὸς Νέστο-
 ρος, ὅτε δὴ τὸν Ἀχιλλεῖα πυρὰν τε νῆσαι τῷ Ἀντιλόχῳ
 καὶ πολλὰ ἐς αὐτὴν σφάζει, τὰ τε ὄπλα καὶ τὴν κε-
 19 φαλὴν τοῦ Μέμνονος ἐπικαῦσαι αὐτῷ· τὸ γὰρ τοῦ
 ἀγῶνος, ὃν ἐπὶ Πατρόκλῳ [τε καὶ Ἀντιλόχῳ] ὁ Ἀχιλ-
 λεὺς ἔθηκεν, ἐπὶ πλείον τοῖς ἀρίστοις νενομίσθαι φη-
 σίν· ὅθεν τεθῆναι μὲν ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ ἐνταῦθα, τεθῆναι δὲ
 ἐπ' Ἀχιλλεῖ τε καὶ ἐπὶ Πατρόκλῳ καὶ Ἀντιλόχῳ ἐν
 20 Ἰλίῳ. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἑκτορι τεθῆναι ἀγῶνα
 δρόμου καὶ τόξου καὶ αἰχμῆς, πάλην δὲ καὶ πυγμὴν
 μηδένα ἀποδύσασθαι Τρώων· τὸ μὲν γὰρ οὐπω ἐγι-
 νωσκον, τὸ δὲ οἶμαι ἐφοβοῦντο.

27. Διομήδης καὶ Σθένελος ἡλικίας μὲν ταῦτόν εἶ-
 χον, ἥσστην δὲ ὁ μὲν Καπανέως, ὁ δὲ Τυδέως, οἱ λέ-
 γονται τειχομαχοῦντες ἀποθανεῖν ὁ μὲν ὑπὸ Θηβαίων,
 2 ὁ δ' οἶμαι κεραυνωθεῖς. κειμένων δὲ ἀτάφων τῶν νε-
 κρῶν, τὸν μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν σωμάτων ἀγῶνα Ἀθηναῖοι

94 The detail that Antilochus died rescuing his father (whose chariot had been broken by Memnon) is known also from Pind. *Pyth.* 6.28–42 (cf. Quintus of Smyrna 2.243).

95 Achilles killed the Ethiopian Memnon in the *Aithiopiis* (M. L. West 2013, 143–49); he had promised Patroclus the head and armor of Hector (*Il.* 18.334) but did not carry this out.

Memnon, a Trojan and the youngest of their army; he was thought no better than Deiphobus and Euphorbus and the rest while Hector was alive, but after their champion's death he was accounted their fiercest and bravest fighter, and it was to him that Troy turned in its hour of need. It was this man, stranger, who killed the noble and steady Antilochus while he was protecting Nestor with his shield,⁹⁴ and it was on this occasion that Achilles built Antilochus a funeral pyre and offered on it many sacrificial victims, and even burned for his ghost the armor and the head of Memnon.⁹⁵ He says that the competition, which Achilles held for Patroclus, was generally customary for the best warriors; that is why Protesilaus himself received one here in Elaious, and Achilles, Patroclus and Antilochus at Troy. It is said that even Hector's death was followed by contests in running, archery and the javelin, although no Trojan ever stripped for wrestling or boxing—the first they hadn't yet learned, the second (as I suspect) they feared.

27. Diomedes and Sthenelus⁹⁶ were the same age; their fathers had both been killed while attacking cities. Tydeus was killed by the Thebans, Capaneus I believe was struck by a bolt of lightning.⁹⁷ Their bodies lay unburied, and the struggle for them was undertaken by the Athenians,

96 Diomedes is one of the foremost fighters in the *Iliad*; in his greatest exploit (*Il.* 5), Athena helps him not only kill Pandarus and wound Aeneas but even wound Aphrodite and Ares himself. Sthenelus is his lesser companion.

97 Philostratus avoids the grisly story (Gantz 1996, 518) that Tydeus, despite being mortally wounded by Melanippus, decapitated him and sucked out his brains.

ἤθραυτο καὶ ἔθαψαν αὐτοὺς νικῶντες· τὸν δὲ περὶ τῶν ψυχῶν οἱ παῖδες ὑπὲρ τῶν πατέρων ἐνίκησαν ὅτε ἤβησαν, καὶ τὸ κράτος τῆς μάχης εἰς Διομήδην τε καὶ Σθένελλον ἦλθεν ὡς ἀρίστω τε καὶ ὁμοίῳ ἀνδρῶν.

- 3 Ὅμηρος δὲ οὐκ ἀξιοῖ σφας τῶν ἴσων· τὸν μὲν γὰρ λέοντί τε εἰκάζει καὶ ποταμῷ γεφύρας ἀπάγοντι καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἔργα (καὶ γὰρ οὕτως ἐμάχετο), ὁ δ' οἶον θεατῆς τοῦ Διομήδους ἕστηκε, φυγῆς τε ξύμβουλος
4 αὐτῷ γινόμενος καὶ ἄρχων φόβου. καίτοι φησὶν ὁ Πρωτεσίλωος μὴ ἐλάττω τοῦ Διομήδους ἔργα τὸν Σθένελλον μηδὲ ἐκεῖ δρᾶσαι· φιλιαν μὲν γὰρ σφισιν εἶναι οὐ μείω ἢ Ἀχιλλεῖ τε καὶ Πατρόκλῳ ἐγένετο, φιλοτιμείσθαι δὲ οὕτω πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὡς ξὺν ἀθυμίᾳ ἐπανήκειν ἐκ τῆς μάχης τὸν ἀπολειφθέντα τοῦ ἑτέρου.
5 καὶ τὸ ἔργον δὲ τὸ ἐς Αἰνείαν τε καὶ Πάνδαρον πεπράχθαι αὐτοῖς φησιν ὁμοῦ· τὸν μὲν γὰρ τῷ Αἰνείᾳ προσπεσεῖν μεγίστῳ τοῦ Τρωικοῦ ὄντι, τὸν Σθένελλον δὲ τῷ Πανδάρῳ προσαγωνίσασθαι καὶ κρατῆσαι αὐτοῦ. ἀλλὰ τὸν Ὅμηρον Διομήδει μόνῳ ἐξηγηκέναι
6 ταῦτα ὥσπερ ἐκλαθόμενον ὄντι πρὸς τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα ὑπὲρ τοῦ Σθενέλου εἶπε· τὸ γὰρ

ἡμεῖς τοι πατέρων μέγ' ἀμείνονες εὐχόμεθ' εἶναι,
ἡμεῖς καὶ Θήβης ἕδος εἰλομεν

⁹⁸ As described in Euripides' *Suppliants* (in Aeschylus' lost play *Eleusinians*, the Athenians won back the bodies by diplomacy alone, without military action). The so-called "graves of the seven" were to be seen at Eleusis (Paus. 1.39.2; Plut. *Thes.* 29).

who buried them after their victory;⁹⁸ the struggle to avenge their fathers' spirits was won by the sons, when they grew up;⁹⁹ in that battle Diomedes and Sthenelus, equally matched in bravery, were superior.

Homer doesn't rank them equally; Diomedes he compares to a lion (*Il.* 5.136, 161; 10.485), or a river which washes away bridges and the works of men (*Il.* 5.87-92)—for that is how he fought—but Sthenelus stands like a mere spectator of Diomedes, urging him to run away and starting to be afraid (*Il.* 5.249-50). And yet Protesilaus asserts that even at Troy Sthenelus did deeds no less than Diomedes'; their friendship was as strong as that of Achilles and Patroclus, but they were so competitive against each other that if one was surpassed by the other he returned from the fighting in poor spirits. And he adds that the exploits against Aeneas and Pandarus were performed by them both, when Diomedes attacked Aeneas, the greatest in the Trojan army, while Sthenelus fought against Pandarus as well, and defeated him. But Homer reserved this exploit for Diomedes alone, as if he had forgotten the words he had made Sthenelus say to Agamemnon. For his words (*Il.* 4.405-6):

We are the ones who claim to be better by far than
our fathers;

We are the ones who captured the seat of Thebes. . . .

⁹⁹ For the expedition of the *Epigonoι* (successors) to avenge their fathers' deaths at Thebes, see Gantz (1996, 522-25) and M. L. West (2003a, 9-10, 54-57).

ἀνδρός πού ἐστι παραπλήσια τούτοις καὶ ἐν Ἰλίῳ
πράττουτος.

7 ἔστω σοι κάκεινα περὶ Σθενέλου εἰδέναι, ὡς τείχος
μὲν οὐδὲν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἐξεποινήθη ἐν Τροίᾳ, οὐδὲ
ἔστιν ᾧ ἐφράξαντο ἢ τὰς ναῦς ἢ τὴν λείαν, ἀλλὰ
8 τειχομαχίας ᾧδαί ταῦτα Ὀμήρῳ ἐπενοήθησαν, δι' ἃς
καὶ τὸ τείχος αὐτῷ ξυνετέθη. ὀρμηὴ μέντοι τειχοποίας
ὁμολογεῖται τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα εἰσελθεῖν μηνύοντος
Ἀχιλλέως, ἢ πρῶτον ἀντειρηκέναι τὸν Σθένελον εἰ-
πόντα "ἐγὼ μέντοι ἐπιτηδεύωτερος τείχη καθαιρεῖν ἢ
ἐγείρειν"· ἀντειρηκέναι δὲ καὶ τὸν Διομήδη τῷ τείχει
φήσαντα μεγάλων ἀξιούσθαι τὸν Ἀχιλλέα "εἰ ξυγ-
κλείσασμεν ἑαυτοὺς λοιπὸν ἐπειδὴ ἐκεῖνος μηνίει."
9 Αἴας δὲ λέγεται ταυρηθδὸν ὑποβλέψας τὸν βασιλέα
"δείλαιε" εἰπεῖν, "τί οὖν αἱ ἀσπίδες;" καὶ τὸν ἵππον δὲ
τὸν κοῖλον παρηγτέϊτο Σθένελος, οὐ τειχομαχίαν τοῦτο
φάσκων εἶναι ἀλλὰ κλοπὴν τῆς μάχης.

10 τὰ μὲν δὴ μάχιμα ὁμοίῳ ἦσθη καὶ ἴσου τοῖς
Τρωσὶ φόβου ἄξιοι, ἐλείπετο δὲ τοῦ Διομήδους ὁ Σθέ-
νελος ξύνεσιν τε καὶ λόγου ἰσχὺν καὶ καρτερήσεις,
ὅποσαι ψυχῆς τέ εἰσι καὶ σώματος· ὀργῆς τε γὰρ
ἦττων ἦν καὶ ὑπέρφρων τοῦ ὁμίλου καὶ τραχὺς ἐπι-
πλήττεσθαι καὶ τὰ ἐς τὴν δίαυαν ἀβρότερον ἢ ἐπὶ

¹⁰⁰ A reference to two distinct sections of the *Iliad*: "The wall building" (*teichopoia*, cf. scholia to *Il.* 21.446a²) is the passage in *Il.* 7.433-464 in which the Greeks build a stockade to defend their camp; the "battle at the wall" or "siege" (*teichomachia*, cf. Pl. *Ion* 539B) is the Trojan attack on that wall in *Il.* 12. An ancient Homer commentator gives the same view expressed here (scholia to [T]

are surely those of a man whose deeds are the same at Troy also.

There is one more thing you should know in connection with Sthenelus: no wall was built by the Greeks at Troy, nor did they protect their ships and booty with anything; this was rather invented by Homer as the poetic episodes of the battle at the wall, and it was for their sake that he added a fortification.¹⁰⁰ Protesilaus agrees that the plan of building a wall occurred to Agamemnon while Achilles had withdrawn in anger, but Sthenelus was the first to speak against it, saying, "I am better at tearing walls down than erecting them." Diomedes spoke against the wall also, saying they valued Achilles too highly "if we are locking ourselves up forever just because he is angry." Ajax is said to have given the king an angry look and said, "What do you think our shields are for, you coward?" Sthenelus disagreed with the wooden horse as well, saying that this was not siegecraft but battle by theft.

In fighting they were both alike and equally terrifying to the Trojans, but Sthenelus was inferior to Diomedes in intellect, forcefulness in speaking and mental and physical endurance; for he was emotional, scornful at conversation and harsh at being rebuked,¹⁰¹ and his lifestyle was some-

Il. 12.3-35): "Obviously Homer wishes to convert the battle on the plain into a *teichomachia*, and for this reason he added the *teichopoia*, so that he could introduce contests as part of a siege; this would have been impossible in relation to the Trojan wall, since it had been built by a god." (For the construction of Troy's walls by Poseidon and Apollo, see *Il.* 7.452-53, 21.446-9, and ch. 35.12, below.)

¹⁰¹ As when Agamemnon rebukes them both (*Il.* 4.401-18) and Sthenelus (unlike Diomedes) responds angrily.

- 11 στραποπέδου ἐχρήν κατεσκευάστο. Διομήδει δὲ τὰ
 ναυτία τούτων ἐπράττετο· μετρίως τε γὰρ πρὸς τὰς
 ἐπιπλήξεις εἶχε καὶ ἐκόλαζε τὸ ἐξοιδούν τῆς ὀργῆς,
 ὑβρίζειν τε οὐ ξυνεχώρει τοῖς πλήθεσιν οὐδὲ ἀθυμεῖν,
 αὐτὸς τε αὐχμῶν φαίνεσθαι στρατιωτικὸν ἠγείτο καὶ
 τὸ ὡς ἔτυχε καθεύδειν ἐπήνει, σιτία τε ἦν αὐτῷ τὰ
 ἐπιτυχόντα, καὶ οὐδὲ οἶνω ἔχαιρεν εἰ μὴ καθίκουτο
 12 αὐτοῦ οἱ πόνοι. τὸν δὲ Ἀχιλλεῖα ἐπήνει μὲν, οὐ μὴν
 ἐξεπέπληκτό γε οὐδὲ ἐθεράπευεν, ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοί·
 καὶ ἀνέκραγέ ποτε ὁ Πρωτεσίλωος ἐπ' ἐκείνοις τοῖς
 ἔπεσιν, οἷς ὁ Διομήδης πεποιήται λέγων·

μὴ ὄφελος λίσσεσθαι ἀμύμονα Πηλεΐωνα
 μυρία δῶρα διδούς· ὁ δ' ἀγήνωρ ἐστὶ καὶ ἄλλως.

ταῦτα γὰρ τὸν Ὅμηρον ὡς συστρατιώτην ἔφη εἶρη-
 κέναι, καὶ οὐχ ὡς ὑποτιθέμενον ἀλλ' αὐτὸν ξυγγεγο-
 νότα τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἐν Τροίᾳ· τὸν γὰρ Διομήδη καθ-
 ἄπτεσθαι τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως παρὰ τὴν μῆνιν τρυφῶντος
 ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας.

- 13 τὰ δὲ εἶδη ἀμφοῖν, τὸν μὲν Σθένελον εὐμήκη ὁ
 Πρωτεσίλωος οἶδε καὶ ἀνεστηκότα, γλαυκόν τε καὶ
 γρυπὸν καὶ οἶον κομῶντα, ὑπέρυθρόν τε καὶ ἔτοιμον
 τὸ αἷμα· τὸν Διομήδη δὲ βεβηκότα τε ἀναγράφει καὶ
 χαροπὸν καὶ οὐπω μέλανα καὶ ὀρθὸν τὴν ῥίνα, καὶ
 οὐλλῆ δὲ ἡ κόμη καὶ σὺν αὐχμῷ.

28. Φιλοκτήτης δ' ὁ Ποϊάντος ἐστράτευσε μὲν ὀψὲ

¹⁰² Alluded to briefly in the catalog of ships (Il. 2.718–28). His wound and abandonment were told in the *Cypria* (M. L. West

what more luxurious than suited an army. Diomedes did 11
 just the opposite of all this, being temperate when re-
 buked, restrained in his anger, good at keeping the men
 from extremes of exhilaration or discouragement. Being
 himself of the opinion that appearing unwashed suited a
 soldier, he advised them to sleep as they could, his food
 was indifferent to him, and he enjoyed wine only if his
 troubles were weighing on him. He used to admire Achil- 12
 les, but was not an awestruck flatterer of him as most were;
 and Protesilaus once expressed outrage over those verses
 which Diomedes is made to speak (Il. 9.698–99):

You ought not to beg and entreat Achilles the
 blameless
 Giving him endless gifts; he is prideful even without
 this.

For he says that Homer spoke here as a fellow soldier, not
 as if he were a poet but *himself* one of the Greeks in Troy.
 For Diomedes criticized Achilles only while he was acting
 spoiled toward the Greeks because of his anger.

As for their appearance, Protesilaus knows that Sthen- 13
 elus stood tall and erect, with blue eyes, a hooked nose and
 rather long hair, and a complexion that was ruddy and
 quick to color. Diomedes he describes as steady, with clear
 eyes, a complexion just short of dark, and a straight nose;
 his hair was curly and dirty.

28. Philoctetes son of Poias¹⁰² joined the Trojan expedi-

2013, 112–13), and his return and killing of Paris in the *Little Iliad* (M. L. West 2013, 181–85). His return from Lemnos was the subject of plays by Aeschylus and Euripides as well as by Sophocles (Dio Chrys. 52.1). For connections with Lemnos in particular, see Masciadri (2008, 38–111).

τῶν Τρωικῶν, ἄριστα δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἐτόξευσε, Ἡρακλέους, φασί, τοῦ Ἀλκμήνης μαθὼν αὐτό. καὶ κληρονομήσαι λέγεται τῶν τόξων ὁπότε Ἡρακλῆς, ἀπιὼν τῆς ἀνθρωπείας φύσεως, αὐτὸν τε παρεστήσατο καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ Οἴτῃ πῦρ. τοῦτον ἐν Δήμῳ καταλειφθῆναι φασιν ἄτιμον τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς, ὕδρου ἐνσκήψαντος αὐτῷ ἐς τὸν πόδα, ὑφ' οὗ νοσεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ἀκτῆς ὑψηλῆς ἐν πέτρᾳ κείμενον, καὶ μαντευτὸν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἐλθεῖν ὕστερον ἐπὶ τὸν Πάριον, ὃν ἀποκτείναι τὴν μὲν Τροίαν ἐλεῖν τοῖς Ἡρακλέους τόξοις αἰθῆς, ἰαθῆναι δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀσκληπιαδῶν αὐτός.

3 ταῦτά φησιν ὁ Πρωτεσίλεως οὐ παρὰ πολὺ τῆς ἀληθείας εἰρήσθαι. τὰ τε γὰρ [τόξα] τοῦ Ἡρακλέους εἶναι ὅποια ὑμνῆται, καὶ τὸν Φιλοκτήτην ξυλλαβεῖν αὐτῷ τοῦ ἐν τῇ Οἴτῃ ἄθλου, τὰ τόξα τε ἀπελθεῖν ἔχοντα καὶ μόνον ἀνθρώπων γινώσκειν ὡς χρῆ ἔλκειν αὐτά, τυχεῖν τε ἀριστείων λαμπρῶν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀλώσει τοῦ Ἰλίου. τὰ δὲ τῆς νόσου καὶ τῶν ἰασαμένων αὐτὸν ἐτέρως λέγει καταλειφθῆναι μὲν γὰρ ἐν Δήμῳ τὸν Φιλοκτήτην, οὐ μὴν ἔρημον τῶν θεραπευσόντων οὐδὲ ἀπερριμμένον τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ πολλούς τε γὰρ τῶν Μελίβοιαν οἰκούντων ξυγκαταμείναι (στρατηγὸς δὲ τούτων ἦν), τοῖς τε Ἀχαιοῖς δάκρυα ἐπελθεῖν ὅτι ἀέλιπε σφᾶς ἀνὴρ πολεμικὸς καὶ πολλῶν ἀντάξιος.

5 ἰαθῆναι δὲ αὐτὸν αὐτίκα ὑπὸ τῆς βάλου τῆς Δημνίας,

103 An allusion to Heracles' apotheosis: his wife Deianeira had unwittingly given him a robe that devoured his flesh; in agony, he

tion late, but was the best archer alive; he is said to have learned his skill from Heracles, and inherited his bow when, as he was leaving his mortal life, he made his witnesses both Philoctetes and the fire on Mount Oita.¹⁰³ Philoctetes is supposed to have been scorned and abandoned by the Greeks on Lemnos, after a water snake had attacked his foot and made him sick; he lay in a cave high on the coast, and returned in response to an oracle to seek Paris, by killing whom he captured Troy with Heracles' weapons a second time.¹⁰⁴ Then he was healed by the sons of Asclepius.

Protesilaus says that this is not far from¹⁰⁵ the truth. For Heracles' deeds are described correctly, and Philoctetes really did help him in his struggle at Mt. Oita and leave with the bow, which he alone of men could draw, and won glory at the fall of Troy. But he tells the story of his illness and those who healed him differently, saying that Philoctetes was left behind at Lemnos, but not without people to care for him or an outcast from the army; for many of the inhabitants of Meliboea (whose contingent he commanded) stayed with him, and the Greeks shed many tears to think that such a warlike and worthy man was staying behind. He was healed immediately by the Lem-

commanded Philoctetes to light a funeral pyre for him to be burned alive and gave him his bow (Gantz 1996, 459). The story is not in Sophocles' *Philoctetes* or *Trachiniae*.

¹⁰⁴ Heracles had sacked Troy in an earlier generation to force its king, Laomedon, to pay him for rescuing his daughter Hesione (*Il.* 5.640-642; Gantz 1993, 442-44).

¹⁰⁵ For the translation, see 24.2n.

εἰς ἣν λέγεται πεσεῖν ὁ Ἥφαιστος· ἡ δὲ ἐλαύνει μὲν
τὰς μανικὰς νόσους, ἐκραγὲν δὲ αἷμα ἕσχει, ὕδρου δὲ
ἰάται μόνου δῆγμα ἔρπετων.

- 6 ὃν δὲ ἐτρίβοντο οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ χρόνον ἐν τῷ Ἰλίῳ,
τοῦτου ὁ Φιλοκτῆτης Εὐνέῳ τῷ Ἰάσονος συνεξήρει
τὰς μικρὰς τῶν νήσων, Κάρας ἐξελαύνων ὑφ' ὧν κατ-
είχοντο, καὶ μισθὸς τῆς συμμαχίας αὐτῷ μοῖρα τῆς
7 Λήμνου ἐγένετο, ἣν Ἄκεσαν ὁ Φιλοκτῆτης ἐκάλεσεν
ἐπειδὴ ἐν Λήμνῳ ἰάθη. ἐκέθην αὐτὸν Διομήδης καὶ
Νεοπτόλεμος ἐκόντα ἐς Τροίαν ἤγαγον, ἱκετεύσαντες
ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ καὶ ἀναγνόντες αὐτῷ τὸν ὑπὲρ
τῶν τόξων χρησμόν, ἐκ Λέσβου ὡς φησιν ἦκοντα.
8 χρῆσθαι μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοῖς οἴκοι μαντείοις τοὺς Ἀχαι-
οὺς, τῷ τε Δωδωναίῳ καὶ τῷ Πυθικῷ καὶ ὅποσα μαν-
τεῖα εὐδόκιμα Βοιωτιά τε ἦν καὶ Φωκικά· Λέσβου δὲ
9 ὀλίγον ἀπεχούσης τοῦ Ἰλίου, στέλλειν ἐς τὸ ἐκεῖ μαν-
τεῖον τοὺς Ἑλληνας. ἔχρα δέ, οἶμαι, ἐξ Ὀρφέως· ἡ
κεφαλὴ γὰρ μετὰ τὸ τῶν γυναικῶν ἔργον ἐς Λέσβου
κατασχοῦσα, ῥῆγμα τῆς Λέσβου ὤκησε καὶ ἐν κοίλῃ
10 τῇ γῆ ἐχρησμάδει. ὅθεν ἐχρώντό τε αὐτῇ τὰ μαντικά
Λέσβιοι τε καὶ τὸ ἄλλο πᾶν Αἰολικὸν καὶ Ἴωνες Αἰο-
λεῦσι πρόσοικοι, χρησμοὶ δὲ τοῦ μαντείου τούτου καὶ
11 ἐς Βαβυλῶνα ἀνεπέμποντο. πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ ἐς τὸν

¹⁰⁶ Cf. the *Lithica* ascribed to Orpheus, 346–56, and for this prized remedy see Hasluck (1909). This and the following stories might be local traditions, since Philostratus was a native of Lemnos (Mascardi 2008, 306–7).

nian earth, into which Hephaestus is said to have fallen.¹⁰⁶ It drives away madness, clots blood, and heals the bite of one particular reptile, the water snake.

While the Greeks were in Troy Philoctetes joined Eue- 6
nus the son of Jason in subduing the smaller islands by
driving out the Carians by whom they were being opp-
ressed, and as a reward for his help he was given a part
of Lemnos which he named Akesa, because he had been
healed in Lemnos.¹⁰⁷ From there Diomedes and Neoptol- 7
emus brought him back to Troy voluntarily, appealing to
him on behalf of the army and reading him the oracle
about the bow, which Protesilaus says came from Lesbos.
He says the Greeks usually employed the oracles near 8
their home, like Dodona, Delphi and other well-known
oracles of Boeotia and Phocis; but since Lesbos was near
Troy they sent to the oracle there. I suppose that the
prophecy in this case came from Orpheus.¹⁰⁸ For after the 9
women had done their work, his head drifted to Lesbos,
lodged in a chasm on Lesbos and sang its prophecies in an
earthen chamber. Therefore it was used for prophecies 10
not only by the Lesbians, but also by all the Aeolians and
their neighbors the Ionians; oracles from this shrine were
even sent to Babylon, and the head sang many prophecies 11

¹⁰⁷ Akos is the Greek word for “cure.”

¹⁰⁸ Legend said that Orpheus was torn apart by the women of Thrace and his parts cast into the sea; his head floated to Antissa in Lesbos, where it used to sing prophecies, until silenced by order of Apollo; see VA 4.14, and (especially for the theme in art) Faraone (2004).

- ἄνω βασιλέα ἢ κεφαλὴν ἦδε, Κύρω τε τῷ ἀρχαίῳ χρη-
 σμὸν ἐντεῦθεν ἐκδοθῆναι λέγεται "τὰ ἐμά, ὦ Κύρε,
 σά". καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως ἐγίνωσκει, ὡς Ὀδρύσας τε καὶ
 τὴν Εὐρώπην καθέξω, ἐπειδὴ Ὀρφεὺς ποτε, μετὰ τοῦ
 σοφοῦ καὶ δυνατὸς γενόμενος, ἀνά τε Ὀδρύσας ἴσχυ-
 σεν ἀνά τε Ἑλλήνας ὁπόσοι τελεταῖς ἐθείαζον, ὁ δ'
 12 οἶμαι τὰ ἑαυτοῦ πείσεσθαι ἐδήλου τὸν Κύρον. ἐλάσας
 γὰρ Κύρος ὑπὲρ ποταμὸν Ἰστρον ἐπὶ Μασσαγέτας
 καὶ Ἰσσηδόνας (τὰ δὲ ἔθνη ταῦτα Σκύθαι), ἀπέθανε
 τε ὑπὸ γυναικὸς ἢ τούτων ἦρχε τῶν βαρβάρων, καὶ
 ἀπέτεμεν ἢ γυνὴ τὴν Κύρου κεφαλὴν, καθάπερ αἱ
 13 Θρᾷτται τὴν Ὀρφέως. τοσαῦτα, ξένε, περὶ τοῦ μαν-
 τείου τούτου Πρωτεσίλειώ τε καὶ Λεσβίων ἤκουσα.
- 14 ἐλθεῖν δὲ ἐς Τροίαν τὸν Φιλοκτῆτην οὔτε νοσοῦντα
 οὔτε νεοσηκότε ὅμοιον, ἀλλὰ πολὺν μὲν ὑφ' ἡλικίας
 (ἐξήκοντα γάρ που ἔτη γεγονέναι), σφριγῶντα δὲ
 παρὰ πολλοὺς τῶν νέων, βλέπειν δεινότατα ἀνθρώ-
 πων καὶ φθέγγεσθαι βραχυλογώτατα καὶ ὀλίγοις τῶν
 βουλευμάτων ξυντίθεσθαι.
29. Ἀγαμέμνονα δὲ καὶ Μενέλεων οὔτε τὸ εἶδος
 2 ὁμοίω γενέσθαι φησὶν οὔτε τὴν ῥώμην. τὸν μὲν γὰρ
 ἐν αὐτουργίᾳ τῶν πολεμικῶν εἶναι, μαχόμενόν τε
 οὐδενὸς τῶν ἀρίστων ἡττοῦ καὶ ὁπόσα ἐς βασιλέα
 ἠκεῖ πράττοντα· γινώσκει τε αὐτὸν ἂ ἡρὴ τὸν ἄρ-
 χοντα, καὶ ὁ τι ἕτερος γνούη πείθεσθαι, πρέπειν τε τῇ
 τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀρχῇ καὶ δι' αὐτὸ τὸ εἶδος· σεμνὸν γὰρ

relating to the king of Persia. And a prophecy from there is said to have been given to Cyrus the great: "What was mine, O Cyrus, will be yours." He understood by this that he was going to conquer the Odrysians and Europe, since Orpheus had been powerful as well as poetic, with authority among Odrysians and all the Greeks who were inspired by his rituals; but Orpheus seems rather to have meant that Cyrus would suffer his own fate. For when the king 12 crossed the Danube to attack the Massagetai and Issedones (these tribes are Scythians), he was killed by the woman who ruled these barbarians and the woman cut off Cyrus' head, just as the Thracian women had done with Orpheus.¹⁰⁹ That, stranger, is what I have learned about 13 this oracle from Protesilaus and the Lesbians.

Well, he says that when Philoctetes went to Troy he was 14 not sick at all—a little gray from his age (he was about sixty years old), but stronger than many of the youths; with a fierce look in his eye, he spoke little, and agreed with very few of their plans.

29. He says that Agamemnon and Menelaus were dif- 2 ferent both in appearance and in physical strength. Agamemnon participated in hand to hand combat, not only fighting as well as any of the champions but also doing what pertained to a king also. He himself knew what a king should do, and if someone else did, Agamemnon followed his advice. He was suited to rule the Greeks for his ap-

¹⁰⁹ The story of Cyrus' defeat by Tomyris, the queen of the Massagetae, is told (without reference to Orpheus' oracle) by Hdt. 1.201-15.

καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῆ φαίνεσθαι καὶ οἶον ταῖς Χάρισι θύοντα.

- 3 τὸν δὲ Μενέλεων μάχεσθαι μὲν μετὰ πολλοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἀποχρησθαι δὲ τῷ ἀδελφῷ πάντα, καὶ τυγχάνοντα προθύμου τε καὶ εὖνον τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος ὁμῶς βασκαίνειν αὐτῷ καὶ ὦν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἔπραττεν, ὑπὸ τοῦ ἄρχειν μὲν αὐτὸς ἐθέλειν, μὴ ἀξιοῦσθαι δέ.
- 4 τὸν γοῦν Ὀρέστην, Ἀθήνησι μὲν καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν εὐδοκιμοῦντα, ἐπειδὴ τῷ πατρὶ ἐτιμώρησεν, ἐν δὲ τῷ Ἄργει κινδυνεύοντα, βληθέντα ἂν περιεΐδεν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀργείων, εἰ μὴ Ὀρέστης ἐμπεσὼν τούτοις μετὰ ξυμμάχων Φωκέων, τοὺς μὲν ἐτρέψατο, τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἄκοντος τοῦ Μενέλεω κατεκτήσατο.
- 5 κομᾶν τὸν Μενέλεων μεираκιωδῶς φησιν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ Σπάρτη ἐκόμα, ξυγγινώσκειν αὐτῷ τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἐπιχωριάζοντι. (οὐδὲ γὰρ τοὺς ἀπ' Εὐβοίας ἦκοντας ἐτώ.
- 6 θαζον, καίτοι γελοίως κομῶντας.) διαλεχθῆναι δὲ αὐτὸν βῆστα ἀνθρώπων φησὶ καὶ βραχυλογώτατα, ξυγκεραννύοντα ἡδονὴν τῷ λόγῳ.

30. Κρήτα Ἰδομενέα ὁ Πρωτεσίλεως οὐκ εἶδεν ἐν

¹¹⁰ Adapting the advice that Plato is said to have given his student, the austere and conscientious Xenocrates: "Sacrifice to the Muses" (Diog. Laert. 4.11; Plut. *Mor.* 141f, 769c). Plut. *Lyc.* 21.7 reports that Spartan kings sacrificed to the Muses before battle. Agamemnon's portrait here follows *Il.* 3.166–80.

¹¹¹ The negative characterization of Menelaus is derived from tragedy; see Sophocles' *Ajax* and (for his attitude to his nephew) Euripides' *Orestes*. See in general Stelow (2005, 271).

pearance alone; he says he looked august and noble, as if he sacrificed to the Graces.¹¹⁰

He says that Menelaus fought worse than many of the 3
Greeks, and exploited his brother in everything; even though he was treated with kindness and concern he was jealous of him, even for the things Agamemnon did for him; this was because he wanted to rule himself, but was considered unworthy. At any rate he says that when Orestes, 4
glorious in Athens and throughout Greece, because he had avenged his father, was in danger in Argos, Menelaus would have allowed him to be stoned by the Argives; but Orestes attacked and routed them with allies from Phocis, and regained his father's throne even against Menelaus' will.¹¹¹

He says that Menelaus wore a rather juvenile long hair- 5
style, but since long hair was the fashion at Sparta the Greeks tolerated this practice of his local custom. (They even refrained from ridiculing those who came from Euboea, though their long hair was quite absurd.)¹¹² He says 6
he was the most facile speaker of them all and the most concise, and mixed charm into his words.¹¹³

30. Protesilaus did not see Idomeneus of Crete¹¹⁴ at

¹¹² *Il.* 2.542; according to Strabo 10.3.6 and Archemorus of Euboea (*FGrHist* 424 F 9) they wore it very long in back and shaved in front (Grossardt 2006a). The vinedresser adds this detail on his own, not from Protesilaus.

¹¹³ *Il.* 3.212–15 (Antenor's report of a speech Menelaus made at Troy).

¹¹⁴ Philostratus denies that Idomeneus was ever at Troy, thus implicitly rejecting the whole of the Dictys story, for which Idomeneus' secretary was the source; see Introduction §5.

Ἰλίῳ, ἀλλ' ἐν Αὐλίδι ὄντων πρεσβείαν ἀφικέσθαι
 παρ' Ἰδομενέως φησίν, ὑπισχνουμένου τὸ Κρητῶν
 2 συμμαχικόν, εἰ συμμετέχοι τῆς ἀρχῆς τῷ Ἀγα-
 μέμνονι. τὸν μὲν δὴ Ἀγαμέμνονα σωφρόνως ἀκούσαι
 ταῦτα καὶ παραγαγεῖν τὸν ἦκοντα, τὸν δὲ λαμπρῶ τῆ
 φωνῇ καὶ φρονιμῶδει "ὦ Ἀχαιοὶ" φάναί, "ἄνθρωπὸν τὴν
 Μίνω τοῦ Κρητὸς ἀρχὴν ἔχων δίδωσιν ὑμῖν ξυμμά-
 3 χους ἑκατὸν πόλεις ὡς καὶ τὴν Τροίαν ἐλεῖν παίζου-
 ντας, ἀξιοὶ δὲ συντετάχθαι τῷ Ἀγαμέμνονι καὶ ἄρχειν
 ὑμῶν ὡσπερ οὗτος." πρὸς ταῦτα εἰπόντος τοῦ Ἀγα-
 μέμνονος: "ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ πάσης τῆς ἀρχῆς παραχωρεῖν
 ἔτοιμος εἰ βελτίων ἐμοῦ φαίνοιτο," παρελθεῖν φησι
 τὸν Τελαμώνος Αἰάντα καὶ διαλεχθῆναι ὧδε: "ἡμεῖς,
 Ἀγάμεμνον, ἐδώκαμέν σοι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ὑπὲρ εὐ-
 ταξίας τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ τοῦ μὴ πολλοὺς ἄρχειν,
 στρατεύομεν δὲ οὐχ ὑπὲρ τοῦ δουλεύειν ἢ σοὶ ἢ ἐτέρῳ,
 ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ καταδουλώσασθαι Τροίαν, ἣν λάβοι-
 4 μεν, ὦ θεοί, λαμπρὰ καὶ καλὰ ἐργασάμενοι. τοιοῦτοι
 γὰρ ἔσμεν τὰς ἀρετάς, οἷοι Τροίαν μὲν ἐσπουδακότες
 λαβεῖν, Κρήτην δὲ παίζοντες."

31. Αἰάντα δὲ τὸν Λοκρὸν τὰ μὲν πολέμια φησι
 κατὰ Διομήδη τε καὶ Σθένελον γεγονέναι, ξυνητὸν δὲ
 ἦττον δόξαι, προσέχειν δὲ οὐδὲν τῷ Ἀγαμέμνονι πα-
 τρὸς τε γὰρ εἶναι Λοκρῶν δυνατωτάτου, στρατιάν τε
 οὐκ ἀφανῆ ἄγειν, οὐδὲ δουλεύσειν ποτὲ ἐκὼν οὐτ' ἂν
 Ἀτρεΐδαις οὔτε ἄλλω οὐδενί, "ἔστ' ἂν ἦδε ἀστράπτῃ."
 τὴν αἰχμὴν δεικνύς ταῦτα ἔλεγε, γοργὸν βλέπων καὶ

Troy; when the Greeks were at Aulis an embassy came
 from Idomeneus, who promised an allied force of Cre-
 tans if he could share the command with Agamemnon;
 Agamemnon listened to him politely and introduced the 2
 arrival, who spoke loudly and boldly: "Greeks, the man
 who holds the empire of Minos of Crete offers you a hun-
 dred cities as allies such that it is child's play to capture
 even Troy; but he demands that he be ranked equal to
 Agamemnon, and rule you as he does." Agamemnon re- 3
 sponded, "For my part, I am ready to withdraw entirely
 from command if you think this man better." But then
 Ajax son of Telamon stepped forth and spoke as follows:
 "Agamemnon, we gave you the command to keep the army
 in good order and to avoid having too many rulers. We are
 not going to war to become the slaves of you or any man,
 but to enslave Troy—may the gods grant we do it, and do
 fine and noble deeds. We are brave enough to capture
 Troy if we work hard—Crete we can capture like child's
 play."

31. He says that Ajax of Locris¹¹⁵ was as good a warrior
 as Diomedes and Sthenelus, but seemed less intelligent,
 and paid no attention to Agamemnon; he was the son of
 the most powerful man in Locris and he himself led a
 considerable army, and would never be the slave of the
 Atreidae or anyone if he could help it, "until this (pointing

¹¹⁵ Sometimes called Ajax "the lesser" to distinguish him from
 the homonymous son of Telamon. Philostratus retains his tradi-
 tional arrogance but gives him distinctive features (familiar snake,
 fighting for Europe against barbarians, ship burial) and alters the
 story of his death to make him, like Palamedes, an innocent victim
 of slander.

ἀναχαιτίζων τὴν κόμην ὑπὸ τοῦ τῆς γνώμης ἐτοίμου.
 2 καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἔφασκεν, ὅσοι προσεῖχον τῷ
 Ἀγαμέμνονι, ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλένης ἦκειν, ἑαυτὸν δ' ὑπὲρ
 τῆς Εὐρώπης· δεῖν γὰρ δὴ Ἕλληνας ὄντας κρατεῖν
 3 βαρβάρων. εἶναι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ χειροθήθη δράκοντα πεν-
 τάπηχυν τὸ μέγεθος, ὃν ξυμπίνειν τε καὶ συνεῖναι τῷ
 Αἴαντι καὶ ὀδῶν ἠγεῖσθαι καὶ ξυνομαρτεῖν οἶον κύνα.
 4 τὴν δὲ Κασσάνδραν ἀποσπάσαι μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς
 Ἀθηναῖς ἔδους προσκειμένην τῇ θεῷ καὶ ἱκετεύουσαν,
 οὐ μὴν βιάσασθαι γε, οὐδὲ ὑβρίσαι ἐς αὐτὴν ὀπίστα
 οἱ μῦθοι ἐς αὐτὸν ψεύδονται, ἀλλ' ἀπαγαγεῖν μὲν ἐς
 τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σκηνὴν, τὸν δὲ Ἀγαμέμνονα ἰδόντα τὴν
 Κασσάνδραν (πρὸς γὰρ τῇ ὥρᾳ καὶ κατέστυπτο παρὰ
 τῆς τέχνης) ἀλώναί τε αὐτίκα τῆς κόρης καὶ ἀφελέ-
 σθαι αὐτὴν τὸν Αἴαντα,

ἔριδος τε αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ δασμῷ γενομένης ὃ μὲν
 ἠέξιον ἑαυτοῦ εἶναι ἂ εἶλεν, ὃ δὲ οὔτε ἀπεδίδου καὶ
 5 ἀσεβῆσαι αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν Ἀθηναῖαν ἔφασκε. καθέιντο δὲ
 τῷ Ἀγαμέμνονι λογοποιοὶ ἐς τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν διὰ τὸ αἰεὶ
 πρὸς τὸν Αἴαντα ἔχθος, τὴν θεὸν πολλὰ καὶ ἄτοπα
 ἐπισημαίνειν ὑπὲρ τῆς κόρης, καὶ ἀπολείσθαι τὴν
 6 στρατιὰν εἰ μὴ ἀπολέσειεν αὐτόν. ὃ δ' ἐνθυμηθεὶς
 ὅπως Αἴαντα μὲν ἀπώλεσεν ἄδικος κρίσις, Παλαμῆδην
 δὲ οὐδὲν ἢ σοφία ἄνησε τὸ μὴ οὐκ ἀποθανεῖν δια-
 βληθέντα, ἀποδρᾶναι νύκτωρ ἐν πορθμείῳ οὐ μεγάλῳ

116 For snakes and hero cult, see Introduction §3.

117 In the cyclic *Sack of Troy* (Proclus in M. L. West 2003a,

to his spear) flashes like lightning." He used to tell them
 this with a fierce look, shaking his long hair with a bold
 attitude. He used to say that the others who had obeyed
 2 Agamemnon had come for Helen, but he had come for
 Europe, since as Greeks it was their duty to conquer bar-
 3 barians. As a drinking and living companion he had a tame
 snake that was five cubits long, which led the way when he
 traveled and otherwise followed him like a dog.¹¹⁶

Ajax dragged Cassandra out of the temple of Athena
 4 when she was kneeling and supplicating the goddess, but
 did not rape her, or treat her in any way violently as the
 stories falsely have it; he took her away to his own tent, but
 Agamemnon had seen her and had to have her—for her
 natural beauty had been crowned by art—and took her
 away from Ajax.

They quarreled over the division of spoils, one claiming
 as his right what he had captured, the other refusing to
 return her, and charging Ajax with impiety to Athena.
 Agamemnon sent his agents through the army to exploit
 5 their hostility to Ajax, saying that Athena was giving many
 strange portents for the girl, and that the army would
 be destroyed if they did not destroy Ajax first.¹¹⁷ The
 6 Locrian remembered that an unjust verdict had killed the
 other Ajax, and that Palamedes' wisdom had not pre-
 vented him from being slandered and killed,¹¹⁸ fled by
 night in a small troop transport, although it was winter

146, and M. L. West 2013, 235–37), Ajax, while dragging Cas-
 sandra away, also dislodges Athena's statue, for which he was
 condemned to be stoned but escaped by taking refuge at Athena's
 altar. Athena herself contrives his later death at sea. For later
 versions see Gantz (1996, 651–55).¹¹⁸ Compare Dictys
 5.15.

χειμῶνός τε καὶ ὡς ἔτυχεν, ὅτε δὴ πλέων εὐθὺ Τήνου
τε καὶ Ἄνδρου πρὸς Γυραῖς ἀπέθανεν.

7 ἀγγελίας δὲ τοῦ πάθους ἐς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἐλθούσης
ὀλίγους μὲν αὐτῶν σίτου ἄψασθαι, πάντας δὲ ὡς ἐπ'
ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθῷ χεῖρας ἄρασθαι, προσεσχηκότας τε τῇ
θαλάσῃ ἀνακαλεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ ὀλοφύρεσθαι καὶ τὸν
Ἄγαμέμνονα ἐν ὀργῇ ἔχειν μονοῦ χερσὶ πράξαντα
τὴν ἀπόλειαν τοῦ Αἴαντος.

8 ἐναγισμάτων τε αὐτὸν τυχεῖν ἂ μῆπω ἐπηνέχθη
πρότερον μῆτε μὴν ὕστερον ἀνθρώπῳ τινί, μηδὲ ὀπό-
9 σους ναυμαχίαι ἀφανεῖς ἔσχον· ἐς γὰρ Δοκρίδα ναῦν,
ἢ τὸν Αἴαντα ἦγε, ξύλα νήσαντες ὥσπερ ἐς πυράν,
ἔσφαξαν μέλανα πάντα, καὶ στείλαντες αὐτὴν ἰστίους
μέλασι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅποσα ἐς τὸ πλεῖν εὔρηται,
ξυνεῖχον πείσμασιν ἔστε πνεῦσαι τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς
ἀνεμον, ὃν περὶ ὄρθρον μάλιστα ἢ Ἰδη ἀποστέλλει·
ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμέρα διεφαίνετο καὶ κατῆι τὸ πνεῦμα, πῦρ
ἐς κοίλῃν τὴν ναῦν ἐνήκαν. ἔπλει τε δὴ μετεωρίζουσα
ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, καὶ οὐπω ἡλίου ἀνίσχοντος αὐτῇ τε
κατεφλέχθη καὶ ὅποσα τῷ Αἴαντι ἔφερεν.

32. Χείρωνα δὲ τὸν ἐν Πηλῳ γενέσθαι μὲν φησιν
ἀνθρώπῳ ὁμοιον, σοφὸν δὲ καὶ λόγους καὶ ἔργα (θῆ-

119 In *Od.* 4.499–510 Ajax dies on these same rocks, but in a storm that sinks the returning Greek fleet. The Gyraean rocks were variously placed at Cape Caphareus on the southern tip of Euboea, on the island of Mykonos (where one version had it that his body had been saved for burial), or on Tenos, as evidently

and he had made no preparations; it was then, as he was sailing for Tenos and Andros, that he was killed on the rocks of Gyrai.¹¹⁹

When the news of his fate reached the Greeks few of 7
them touched their food, and every one of them raised his 7
hand for the death of this brave man,¹²⁰ and gazing at the
sea called out his name and grieved; they were enraged at
Agamemnon, who had virtually murdered him.

Ajax received a funeral ceremony that was given to no 8
one before or after, not even among those who are lost in 9
sea battles: they stacked a sort of pyre of wood on the
Loerian ship on which he had sailed to Troy, slaughtered
in sacrifice only black victims, and fitted it out with sails
and all the other sailing gear which was black. They held
it with lines until there blew the offshore wind which
Mount Ida emits about dawn; but when day broke and the
wind descended, they set a fire in the hull. It sailed high
above the water toward open sea, and before the sun had
risen the boat itself, and the offerings it carried for Ajax,
were consumed by the flames.¹²¹

32. Protesilaus says that Chiron of Mt. Pelion¹²² looked
like a man, and was wise in both words and deeds (for he

here; see Preller, Robert, and Kern (1894–1926, vol. 2, pt. 2, 1450–52), and Gantz (1996, 695–97).

¹²⁰ For this gesture of grief, see *Il.* 18.317, 23.18, 23.136, 24.712, 24.724; Collard on *Eur. Supp.* 772–73.

¹²¹ For this unusual ritual see Introduction §12.

¹²² The centaur Chiron did not of course go to Troy, but the discussion of him here forms a transition to Palamedes. It is based on Xenophon's *On Hunting*, preface (cf. 1.11), with which Philostratus however disagrees by making Palamedes largely self-taught (not a student of Chiron).

2 ρας τε γὰρ ποικίλης ἤπτετο καὶ τὰ πολεμικὰ ἐπαίδευε
καὶ ἰατροὺς ἀπέφαινε καὶ μουσικοὺς ἤρμωτε καὶ δι-
καίους ἐποίει), βιώναι τε ἐπὶ μήκιστον, φοιτῆσαι δὲ
αὐτῷ Ἀσκληπιὸν Τελαμῶνά τε καὶ Πηλέα καὶ Θησέα,
2 θαμίξειν δὲ καὶ Ἡρακλέα τῷ Χείρωνι, ὅτε μὴ ἀπα-
γοιεν αὐτὸν οἱ ἄθλοι. μετασχεῖν δὲ τῆς τοῦ Χείρωνος
ὀμιλίας καὶ αὐτὸς φησι Παλαμῆδει ἅμα καὶ Ἀχιλλεῖ
καὶ Αἴαντι.

33. Καὶ τὰ τοῦ Παλαμῆδους ὡς ἀπαγγέλλει αὐτο-
μαθῆ ἀφικέσθαι αὐτὸν καὶ σοφίας ἤδη γεγυμνασμέ-
νον καὶ πλείω γινώσκοντα ἢ ὁ Χείρων πρὸ γὰρ δὴ
Παλαμῆδους ὦραι μὲν οὐπω ἦσαν οὐσαι, μηνῶν δὲ
οὐπω κύκλος, ἐνιαυτὸς δὲ οὐπω ὄνομα ἦν τῷ χρόνῳ,
οὐδὲ νόμισμα ἦν, οὐδὲ σταθμὰ καὶ μέτρα, οὐδὲ ἀριθ-
μῆν, σοφίας τε οὐπω ἔρωσ, ἐπεὶ μήπω ἦν γράμματα.
2 βουλομένου δὲ τοῦ Χείρωνος ἰατρικὴν διδάσκειν αὐ-
τόν, “ἐγὼ” ἔφη, “ὦ Χείρων, ἰατρικὴν μὲν ἠδῶς οὐκ
οὔσαν ἂν εὔρου, εὐρημένην δὲ οὐκ ἀξιώ μανθάνειν,
καὶ ἄλλως τὸ ὑπέροσφόν σου τῆς τέχνης ἀπήχθηται
μὲν Δί, ἀπήχθηται δὲ Μοίραις, καὶ διήκει ἂν τὰ
3 Ἀσκληπιοῦ, εἰ μὴ ἐνταῦθα ἐβέβλητο.” ὄντων δὲ τῶν
Ἀχαιῶν ἐν Αὐλίδι πεττοὺς εὔρεν, οὐ ῥάθυμον παιδιὰν
ἀλλ’ ἀγχίνουν τε καὶ εἴσω σπουδῆς.

123 See, in general, Introduction §9. 124 The story is told by Pind. *Pyth.* 3: Asclepius had learned to heal from Chiron on Mt. Pelion, but he was eventually induced by a large sum of money to bring back a man from the dead. For this offense against the gods, he was struck with a thunderbolt by Zeus.

used to practice all sorts of hunting and teach the art of war, train doctors, mold musicians and make men just). He lived to a great age, and among his students were Asclepius, Telamon, Peleus and Theseus, and Heracles when labors did not distract him; Protesilaus himself says he 2 enjoyed his company, as did Palamedes and Achilles and Ajax.

33. As for Palamedes,¹²³ he reports as follows: he arrived at Chiron’s already self-taught and practiced in wisdom, indeed with more of it than Chiron; for before Palamedes there were not yet any “seasons,” nor the progression of the months, and “year” did not yet exist as a customary designation of time, nor was there currency or weights and measures or counting, nor was there any desire for learning since there was as yet no writing. When Chiron wanted 2 to teach him medicine, he said, “I would gladly have discovered it if it had not yet existed, but since it does I do not think I want to learn it; in any case your excessively wise craft is hated by Zeus and the Fates—I would remind you of the story of Asclepius, if it were not exactly here 3 that he had been struck down.”¹²⁴ When the Greeks were at Aulis he invented backgammon,¹²⁵ not as an idle pastime but as a game requiring skill and concentration.

125 Probably the closest modern equivalent to the Greek *pes-soi*; see Austin (1940, 265–66) and Kurke (1999). Eur. *IT* 195–97 also places the invention of this game at Aulis, but most other sources consider it a device to kill time at Troy, and numerous vases depict Ajax and Achilles playing it (Romero Mariscal 2011; and see on 33.34 below). The rock he used for a playing board was still shown at Ilion in the time of Polemon the Periegete (fr. 32 Preller from Eustathius, quoted by Radt on Sophocles fr. 479).

4 τὸν δὲ λόγον, ὃς πολλοῖς τῶν ποιητῶν εἴρηται, ὡς
στρατεῦοι μὲν ἐπὶ Τροίαν ἢ Ἑλλάς, Ὀδυσσεὺς δὲ ἐν
Ἰθάκῃ μανίαν πλάττειτο καὶ πρὸς ἀρότρῳ εἶη βοῦν
ἵππῳ ξυμβαλῶν, Παλαμῆδης τε αὐτὸν ἐλέγξειε τῷ
Τηλεμάχῳ, οὗ φησιν ὑγιᾶ εἶναι· προθυμότηα γὰρ δὴ
5 παραδεδοῦσθαι τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐπὶ δεινότητι. διενεχθή-
ναι δὲ αὐτὸν τῷ Παλαμῆδει ἐντεῦθεν ἔκλειψις ἡλίου
ἐν Τροίᾳ ἐγένετο καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ἄθυμοι ἦσαν λαμβά-
6 νοντες τὴν διοσημίαν ἐς τὰ μέλλοντα. παρελθὼν οὖν
ὁ Παλαμῆδης αὐτὸ τε τὸ πάθος τοῦ ἡλίου διεξῆλθε
καὶ ὅτι τῆς σελήνης ὑποτρεχούσης αὐτὸν ἐξαμαυ-
ροῦται καὶ ἀχλὺν ἔλκει· “κακὰ δὲ εἴ τινα σημαῖοι,
ταῦτα δήπου οἱ Τρῶες πείσονται· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀδίκων
ἦρξαν, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀδικούμενοι ἤκομεν. προσήκει δὲ καὶ
7 ἀνίσχοντι τῷ Ἥλῳ εὐχεσθαι, πᾶλλον αὐτῷ κατα-
θύσαντας λευκὸν τε καὶ ἄρετον.” ταῦτα τῶν Ἀχαιῶν
ἐπαινεσάντων (καὶ γὰρ ἤττητο τῶν τοῦ Παλαμῆδους
λόγων), παρελθὼν ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς “ἂ μὲν χρὴ θύειν”
ἔφη, “ἢ ὅ τι εὐχεσθαι ἢ ὅτῳ, Κάλχας ἐρεῖ· μαντικῆς
γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα· τὰ δὲ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ ἦτις τῶν
ἄστρον ἀταξία τε καὶ τάξις, Ζεὺς οἶδεν, ὑφ’ οὗ ταῦτα
κεκόσμηται τε καὶ εἴρηται. σὺ δέ, Παλάμηδες, ἤττονα
ληρήσεις προσέχων τῇ γῆ μάλλον ἢ τὰ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ
8 σοφίζόμενος.” ὑπολαβὼν οὖν ὁ Παλαμῆδης “εἰ σοφὸς
ἦσθα, ὦ Ὀδυσσεῦ” εἶπε, “ξυνηκας ἂν ὅτι μηδεὶς ἂν
δύναιτο λέγειν σοφόν τι περὶ τῶν οὐρανίων μὴ πλείω
περὶ τῆς γῆς γινώσκων. σὲ δὲ ἀπολελείφθαι τούτων

The story told by most of the poets, that the rest of 4
Greece was sailing against Troy, but Odysseus feigned
madness in Ithaca and had yoked an ox to a horse for plow-
ing, and that Palamedes had exposed him by using Telema-
chus, all this Protesilaus says is misguided; for Odysseus
came to Aulis with the greatest enthusiasm, and his repu-
tation for cleverness was already established among the
Greeks. His hostility to Palamedes came rather from this: 5
a solar eclipse occurred at Troy and the army, taking it as
a portent for the future, was nervous; but Palamedes stood 6
up and explained to them exactly what had happened to
the sun, and that when the moon passed in front of it the
result was darkness and difficulty in seeing. “If it portends
any harm,” he said, “I think that the Trojans will suffer it,
since it was they who first wronged us, and we have come
as the injured party. It is best to pray to the rising sun and
sacrifice to it a consecrated white colt.” When the Greeks 7
had been persuaded by his reasoning and approved his
plan, Odysseus came forward and said, “It is Calchas who
will determine what we must sacrifice and what to pray
and to whom, since that is the task of prophecy. And it is
Zeus, by whom all this was put together and invented, who
knows what is in heaven, and what constitutes order or
disorder among the stars. As for you, Palamedes, you will
talk less nonsense if you spend more time looking at the
earth than being wise about the heavens.” Palamedes 8
answered, “If you were wise, Odysseus, you would know that
no one can say anything wise about the heavens unless he
first knows much more about the earth. I have no doubt

- οὐκ ἀπιστῶ· φασὶ γὰρ ὑμῶν τοῖς Ἰθακησίοις μήτε
 9 ὄρας μήτε γῆν εἶναι." ἐκ τούτων ὁ μὲν Ὀδυσσεὺς ἀ-
 ἤλθεν ὀργῆς πλέως, Παλαμῆδης δὲ ὡς πρὸς βασκαί-
 νοντα ἤδη παρασκευάζων ἑαυτόν.
- 10 ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ δέ ποτε τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ὄντων γέρανοι
 μὲν ἔτυχον πετόμεναι τὸν εἰωθότα ἑαυταῖς τρόπον, ὁ
 δὲ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐς τὸν Παλαμῆδην βλέψας "αἱ γέρανοι"
 11 ἔφη "μαρτύρονται τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ὅτι αὐταὶ γράμματα
 εὗρον, οὐχὶ σύ." καὶ ὁ Παλαμῆδης "ἐγὼ γράμματα
 οὐχ εὗρον" εἶπεν, "ἀλλ' ὑπ' αὐτῶν εὗρέθην· πάλαι γὰρ
 ταῦτα ἐν Μουσῶν οἴκῳ κείμενα ἐδεῖτο ἀνδρὸς τοιού-
 του, θεοὶ δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα δι' ἀνδρῶν σοφῶν ἀναφαί-
 νουσι. γέρανοι μὲν οὖν οὐ μεταποιῶνται γραμμάτων
 ἀλλὰ τάξιν ἐπαινοῦσαι πέτονται πορεύονται γὰρ ἐς
 Διβύην ξυνάψουσαι πόλεμον μικροῖς ἀνθρώποις. σὺ
 12 δ' οὐδὲν ἂν περὶ τάξεως εἶποις· ἀτακτεῖς γὰρ τὰς μά-
 χας." αἰτίαν δὲ οἶμαι, ξένη, Ὀδυσσεὺς εἶχεν ὡς, εἴ ποῦ
 "Ἐκτορα ἢ Σαρπηδόνα ἢ Αἰνείαν ἴδοι, καταλείπων τὴν
 τάξιν καὶ μεθιστάμενος πρὸς τὰ ῥαστώνην ἔχοντα
 τοῦ πολέμου.
- 13 μεираκιώδης δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας δόξας καὶ πρε-
 σβύτερος νέου τοῦ Παλαμῆδους ἠττηθείς, ἐπετείχιζεν
 αὐτῷ τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα ὡς πρὸς τὸν Ἀχιλλεῖα τοὺς
 Ἀχαιοὺς μεθιστάντι.

¹²⁶ Ithaca's lack of land for horses and field crops is admitted by Telemachus (*Od.* 4.600-608) and Athena (*Od.* 13.242-47).

that you are somewhat backward in all this, for they say that in Ithaca you have neither seasons nor land."¹²⁶ Odysseus stalked off in a rage, while Palamedes became cautious against a man who now bore him a grudge.

Once while the Greeks were in assembly some cranes happened to be flying in their customary formation,¹²⁷ and Odysseus looked at Palamedes and said, "The cranes call the Greeks to witness that it was they who discovered writing, not you." Palamedes answered, "I did not discover writing—I was discovered *by* writing, since it had long been stored in the house of the muses waiting for the right man; the gods customarily make known such things through wise men. The cranes, however, do not claim to make letters; they show their admiration for military order and arrangement in their flight; in fact, they are flying to Libya to fight with some tiny men.¹²⁸ But then, arrangement is something you can't speak of, since you always ignore it in battle." I believe that Odysseus was commonly charged with deserting the formation, and moving to where the fighting was slow whenever he saw Hector, Sarpedon or Aeneas.¹²⁹

Odysseus was senior to the young Palamedes, but had been overcome by him in the assembly and made to look childish; so he began to turn Agamemnon against Palamedes, by claiming that he was urging the Greeks to favor Achilles.

¹²⁷ That is, in the shape of a delta (or some other letter); see D. Thompson (1936, 72). ¹²⁸ For the battle of the cranes and pygmies, see *Il.* 3.6; D. Thompson (1936, 72-73).

¹²⁹ Odysseus is rebuked by Agamemnon in *Il.* 4.339-48 for lagging behind the ranks, and he ignores Diomedes' call to return to face Hector in 8.97.

- 14 διενεχθῆναι πάλιν αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοιούτου φησί· λύκοι καταβαίνοντες ἐκ τῆς Ἰδης ἐσίοντο τὰ σκευοφόρα παιδάρια καὶ τῶν ὑποζυγίων τὰ περὶ τὰς σκηρὰς· ὁ μὲν δὴ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐκέλευσεν ἀραμένους τόξα καὶ ἀκόντια φοιτᾶν ἐς τὴν Ἰδην ἐπὶ τοὺς λύκους, ὁ δὲ Παλαμῆδης ὡς Ὀδυσσεὺς ἔφη, “τοὺς λύκους ὁ Ἀπόλλων προοίμιον λοιμοῦ ποιεῖται καὶ τοξεύει μὲν αὐτοὺς καθάπερ τοὺς ὀρέας τε καὶ τοὺς κύνας ἐνταῦθα, πέμπει δὲ πρότερον παρὰ τοὺς νοσήσοντας εὐνοίας εἵνεκα τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τοῦ φυλάξασθαι. εὐχόμεθα οὖν Ἀπόλλωνι Δυκίῳ τε καὶ Φυξίῳ, τὰ μὲν θηρία ταῦτα τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ τόξοις ἐξελεῖν, τὴν νόσον δὲ ἐς αἶγας, φασί, τρέψαι. καὶ ἡμεῖς δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, ἐπιμελώμεθα ἡμῶν αὐτῶν· δεῖ δὲ τοῖς φυλαττομένοις τὰ λοιμώδη διαίτης λεπτήης καὶ κινήσεων συντόνων. 15 ἰατρικῆς μὲν γὰρ οὐχ ἠψάμην, σοφία δὲ καταληπτὰ ἅπαντα.” εἰπὼν ταῦτα τὴν μὲν τῶν κρεῶν ἀγορὰν ἐπέσχε καὶ τὰ στρατιωτικὰ τῶν σιτίων ἐκέλευσε παραιτήσασθαι, τραγήμασι δὲ καὶ λαχάνοις ἀγρίοις δι- 16 ἤγε τὸν στρατὸν πειθομένους αὐτῷ καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἐκ Παλαμῆδους θεῖον τε ἡγουμένους καὶ χρησμάδες· καὶ γὰρ δὴ ὁ λοιμὸς ὃν προῖλεγεν ἐνέσκηψε μὲν ἐς τὰς Ἑλλησποντικὰς πόλεις, ἀρξάμενος, φασίν, ἐκ τοῦ

¹³⁰ When Apollo sent a plague upon the Greeks in *Il.* 1.50, he “first attacked the mules and the idle dogs.” Scholia (A) *Il.* 1.50c explains “the god kills first mules and dogs and dumb animals because he loves mankind, so that by using them to frighten the Greeks he can make them pious.” The Homeric idea that a god

- Protesilaus says that bad feelings arose from another 14 incident also: wolves from Mount Ida were attacking the slaves who carried the baggage and the pack animals in camp. Odysseus ordered the Greeks to take their bows and spears and go to Mount Ida to attack the wolves, but Palamedes said, “Odysseus, Apollo is starting the plague with the wolves and striking them down first, just as he is doing to the mules and dogs here;¹³⁰ and he is sending them to those who are going to suffer the plague next because he cares for men, and to help us take precautions. Let us pray therefore to Apollo Lykios and Phyxios, not only to destroy these wolves with his own arrows, but also to direct the disease, as they say, to the goats.¹³¹ But we, men of Greece, must take care of ourselves, and if we want to keep away disease we must have a light diet and vigorous movement. For even though I haven’t studied medicine, anything can be learned by wisdom.” Following these 15 words he stopped the sale of meat and commanded them to reject their army rations of food, and fed them wild fruits and vegetables; they obeyed, thinking every word he said like an oracle from god. In fact, the plague he had 16 predicted actually devastated the cities of the Hellespont—they say it began in Pontus—and Ilion as well, but it

would kill innocent animals and spare guilty humans had been criticized in antiquity; see Buffière (1956, 196) and *FGrHist* 71 (Zoilus of Amphipolis, F 5). Palamedes means that, since the wolves are driven from the mountain by the beginnings of a plague, it is better to *avoid* Mt. Ida and concentrate on remaining healthy themselves.

¹³¹ “Send it to the wild goats” was proverbial for consigning something to oblivion; see Pfeiffer on Callimachus fr. 75.13.

Πόντου, προσέπεσε δὲ καὶ τῷ Ἰλίῳ, τῶν δὲ Ἑλλήνων οὐδενὸς ἦφατο καίτοι στρατοπεδεύοντων ἐν γῆ νοσοῦσῃ.

- 17 πρὸς γὰρ τῇ διαίτῃ καὶ τὰς κινήσεις αὐτῶν ὡδὲ ἐσοφίστατο καθελκύσας ἑκατὸν ναῦς ἐνεβίβαζε τὸν στρατὸν κατὰ μέρος, ἐρέττοντάς τε καὶ ἀμιλλωμένους ἀλλήλοις ἢ ἀκρωτήριον περιβαλεῖν ἢ σκοπέλου ἀψασθαι ἢ προκατάραι τῶν πέλας ἐς λιμένα τινὰ ἢ ἀκτὴν, ἔπεισε δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα προθεῖναί σφισι τοῦ
- 18 ταχυναυτεῖν ἄθλα. χαίροντες οὖν ἐγυμνάζοντο καὶ ξυνιέντες τὸ ὑγιαίνειν· καὶ γὰρ ἐδίδασκεν αὐτοὺς ὅτι τῆς γῆς παρεφθορίας τε καὶ οὕτως ἐχούσης ἡδίων ἢ θάλαττα καὶ ἀσφαλεστέρα ἀναπνεῖν.
- 19 ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ μὲν σοφίας ἀριστεία ἐστεφανοῦτο ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὁ δὲ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἀτίμως τε ἠγείτο πράττειν καὶ πανουργίας ὅ τι εἶχεν ἐπὶ τὸν Παλαμήδη ἔστρεφεν. ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Πρωτεσίλειος τοιαῦτα ἀπαγγέλλει τὸν Ἀχιλλεῖα στρατεύοντα ἐπὶ τὰς νήσους καὶ τὰς ἀκταίας πόλεις, αἰτῆσαι τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς
- 20 ξὺν Παλαμῆδει στρατεῦσαι. ἐμάχοντο δὲ ὁ μὲν Παλαμήδης γενναίως καὶ σωφρόνως, ὁ δὲ Ἀχιλλεὺς οὐ καθεκτῶς· ὁ γὰρ θυμὸς ἐξαίρων αὐτὸν εἰς ἀταξίαν ἦγεν, ὅθεν ἔχαιρε τῷ Παλαμῆδει συνασπίζοντι καὶ ἀπάγοντι μὲν αὐτὸν τῆς φορᾶς, ὑποπιθεμένῳ δὲ ὡς
- 21 χρῆ μάχεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐφκει λεοντοκόμῳ λέοντα γενναῖον πραῦνοντί τε καὶ ἐγείροντι, καὶ οὐδὲ

touched none of the Greeks even though they were encamped in the territory of the disease.

After seeing to their diet, he devised exercise for them 17 as follows: he launched one hundred ships and put the army on as crew in teams, to compete against each other to round a cape, or reach a headland, or to put in at some harbor or shore before the others, and he persuaded Agamemnon to offer prizes for speed in sailing. They en- 18 joyed the exercise, as well as knowing they were staying healthy. He also taught them that when the earth was in such a corrupt condition the sea was better, and its air was safer to breathe.

For these services Palamedes was awarded the prize 19 for wisdom by the Greeks—while Odysseus felt shamed, and turned all his villainy against him. On this Protesilaus reports in this way: when Achilles was leading an expedi- 20 tion against the islands and the coastal cities,¹³² he requested from the Greeks to campaign with Palamedes. In 21 battle Palamedes was noble and restrained, but Achilles was unchecked—his emotions sometimes led him into carelessness, so that he was glad to have Palamedes beside him in battle, who would prevent him from being carried away, and also instruct him in tactics. For he was like a trainer alternately calming and rousing a noble lion, nor

¹³² Achilles says in *Il.* 9.327–33, “I sacked twelve cities of men with my ships, and eleven on foot, around fertile Troy; from all of these I took much fine booty, all of it I brought and gave to Agamemnon son of Atreus. He took it, though he stayed behind by the swift ships, and distributed little, but kept much.” These expeditions must have been narrated in full in the *Cypria* (M. L. West 2013, 120–21; cf. Dictys 2.16–17).

ἐκκλίνων ταῦτ' ἔπραττεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ βάλλον καὶ φυ-
λαττόμενος βέλη καὶ ἀσπίδα ἀντερείδων καὶ διώκων
στίφος.

- 22 ἐξέπλευσαν μὲν δὴ χαίροντες ἀλλήλους, εἶποντο
δὲ αὐτοῖς Μυρμιδόνες τε καὶ οἱ ἐκ Φυλάκης Θετταλοί.
(ταχθῆναι γὰρ μετὰ ταῦτα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν ὁ
23 Πρωτεσίλεις ὑπ' Ἀχιλλεῖ, καὶ Μυρμιδόνας οὕτως
ὀνομασθῆναι πάντας Θετταλούς.) αἱ μὲν οὖν πόλεις
ἠλίσκοντο καὶ εὐδόκιμα τοῦ Παλαμῆδους ἔργα ἀπηγ-
γέλλετο· ἰσθμῶν διορυχαὶ καὶ ποταμοὶ ἐς τὰς πόλεις
ἐπιστρεφόμενοι καὶ σταυροὶ λιμένων καὶ ἐπιτει-
χίσματα νυκτομαχία τε ἢ περὶ Ἄβυδου, ὅποτε τρωθέν-
τες ὁ μὲν Ἀχιλλεὺς ἀνεχώρησεν, ὁ Παλαμῆδης δὲ οὐκ
ἀπέειπεν ἀλλὰ πρὶν μέσσην ἑστάναι νύκτα, εἶλε τὸ χω-
ρίον.
- 24 ὁ δὲ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐν Τροίᾳ ξυνετίθει λόγους πρὸς τὸν
Ἀγαμέμνονα, ψευδεῖς μὲν, πιθανοὺς δὲ πρὸς τὸν εὐ-
ήθως ἀκούοντα, ὡς ἐρώη μὲν ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς τῆς τῶν Ἑλ-
λήνων ἀρχῆς, μιστροπῶ δὲ τῷ Παλαμῆδει χρῶτο·
25 “καὶ ἀφίξονται μὲν” ἔφη “μικρὸν ὕστερον, σοὶ μὲν
βοῦς τε ἀπάγοντες καὶ ἵππους καὶ ἀνδράποδα, ἑαυ-
τοῖς δὲ χρήματα, οἷς ὑποποιήσονται δήπου τοὺς δυ-
νατοῦς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπὶ σέ· Ἀχιλλεὺς μὲν οὖν ἀπ-
έχεσθαι χρῆ καὶ γινώσκοντας αὐτὸν φυλάττεσθαι,
τὸν σοφιστὴν δὲ ἀποκτείνειν τούτον. εὖρηται δέ μοι
κατ' αὐτοῦ τέχνη, δι' ἧς μισηθήσεταιί τε ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλ-
26 λήνων καὶ ἀπολεῖται ὑπ' αὐτῶν.” καὶ διεξῆλθεν, ὡς
ἠτοίμασται αὐτῷ τὰ περὶ τὸν Φρύγα καὶ τὸ χρυσίου

did he hang back while he did so, but followed the thick
of the fighting, throwing and fending off spears and thrust-
ing his shield forward.

They sailed together joyfully, in command of the Myr- 22
midons and the Thessalians from Phylake (Protesilaus
says his men were later under Achilles' command, the
whole group now being called Myrmidons). The cities 23
were captured, and there were reports of great deeds by
Palamedes: of channels dug through isthmuses, rivers di-
verted toward cities, piles driven in harbors, forts in en-
emy territory, and a night battle at Abydos in which Achil-
les and Palamedes were both wounded: the former had to
retire, but Palamedes stayed on, and captured the place
before midnight came.¹³³

At Troy, meanwhile, Odysseus was telling Agamemnon 24
stories that were false, but persuasive to a foolish listener:
that Achilles lusted after the Greek command, and was
using Palamedes as his pimp to have it. “Soon they will 25
return bringing cattle and horses and slaves for you, but
for themselves money, with which of course they intend to
turn the most powerful on the army against you. As for
Achilles, we must not touch him and be on guard, knowing
who he is; but the sophist we must kill, and I have discov-
ered a trick by which he will become hated by the Greeks
and be killed at their hands.” He then explained to him 26
how everything concerning the Phrygian and the gold cap-

¹³³ Grossardt (2006a) notes that Abydos is not usually in-
cluded in other lists of the cities captured on this expedition, and
it put up fierce resistance to Philip V (Polyb. 16.33).

27 τὸ ληφθὲν ὑπὸ τῷ Φρυγί. σοφῶς δὲ τούτων ἐπινεοῦσθαι δοκούντων καὶ ξυνθεμένου τῇ ἐπιβουλῇ τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος, “ἄγε δῆ, ὦ βασιλεῦ” ἔφη, “τὸν μὲν Ἀχιλλεῖα φύλαττέ μοι περὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐν αἷς ἐστὶ νῦν, τὸν Παλαμῆδη δὲ ὡς τειχομαχήσοντα τῷ Ἰλίῳ καὶ μηχανὰς εὐρήσοντα μεταπέμπον ἐνταῦθα· ἄνευ γὰρ τοῦ Ἀχιλλεύως ἤκων, οὐκ ἐμοὶ μόνῳ ἔσται ἀλωτὸς ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλῃ ἦττον σοφῶ.”

28 ἔδοξε ταῦτα καὶ ἔπλεον οἱ κήρυκες ἐς Λέσβον ἐαλώκει δ' οὐπω πᾶσα, ἀλλ' ὦδε τὰ περὶ αὐτὴν εἶχε πόλις Αἰολίς Λυρνησοῦς ὠκεῖτο τειχίῃρης τὴν φύσιν καὶ οὐδὲ ἀτείχιστος, ἣ φασὶ τὴν Ὀρφέως προσε-
 29 εχθῆναι λύραν καὶ δοῦναι τινα ἤχην ταῖς πέτραις, καὶ μεμουσῶνται ἔτι καὶ νῦν τῆς Λυρνησοῦ τὰ περὶ τὴν θάλατταν ὑπ' ὧδῆς τῶν πετρῶν. ἐνταῦθα προσκαθη-
 30 μένων δεκάτην ἡμέραν (χαλεπὸν γὰρ ἦν ἀλῶναι τὸ χωρίον), ἀπήγγειλαν μὲν οἱ κήρυκες τὰ τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος, ἔδοκει δὲ πείθεσθαι καὶ τὸν μὲν καταμένειν, τὸν Παλαμῆδη δὲ ἀπιέναι, καὶ ἀπήλθον ἀλλήλων δακρύοις ἅμα.

ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέπλευσεν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ τὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀπήγγειλεν ἀνατιθεὶς ἅπαντα Ἀχιλλεῖ, “ὦ βασιλεῦ” ἔφη, “κελεύεις με τειχομαχεῖν τῇ Τροίᾳ; ἐγὼ δὲ μηχανήματα μὲν γενναῖα ἠγοῦμαι τοὺς Αἰακίδας

¹³⁴ Philostratus assumes that readers know of Odysseus' plot more or less as it was told in tragedy, although there Agamemnon was not usually an accomplice; see Introduction §9.

tured by the Phrygian had been arranged. This seemed 27 to have been cleverly devised, and Agamemnon agreed to the plan.¹³⁴ “In that case, my king,” said Odysseus, “keep Achilles in the cities where he is now, but send for Palamedes to come to help you invent siege machines to take Troy. For if he comes without Achilles, not just I but even a man less wise can take him.”

This was agreed, and heralds sailed for Lesbos, but this 28 place had not yet been entirely conquered. Things in that region stood like this: there was an Aeolian city called Lyrnessus which was not only well-protected by nature but had man-made walls also, where they say Orpheus' lyre was carried, and resounded among the rocks; even today the seacoast around Lyrnessus is full of music from the song of the cliffs.¹³⁵ Here they had been encamped for 29 ten days (the place was difficult to capture), when the heralds gave them Agamemnon's orders, and they decided to obey. One stayed behind while Palamedes went away, and they took a tearful leave of each other.

When Palamedes had sailed back to the camp and reported 30 on the expedition, giving all the credit to Achilles, he said, “King, do you really want me to plan the siege of Troy? In my opinion the Aeacidae,¹³⁶ the sons of Capaneus

¹³⁵ There are many references in the *Iliad* to Achilles' capture of the mainland city of Lyrnessus, which was described in the *Cypria* (M. L. West 2013, 120). It was there that Achilles captured Briseis (*Il.* 2.688, 19.59–60) and nearly killed Aeneas (*Il.* 20.90–91, 191–94). For remains of Orpheus in the area, cf. 28.9, above.

¹³⁶ Achilles and the greater Ajax.

καὶ τὸν Καπανέως τε καὶ Τυδέως καὶ τοὺς Λοκρούς, Πάτροκλόν τε δήπου καὶ Αἴαντα· εἰ δὲ καὶ ἀψύχων μηχανημάτων δέισθε, ἤδη ἠγάεισθε τὴν Τροίαν τό γε ἐπ' ἐμοὶ κείσθαι.”

- 31 ἀλλ' ἔφθησαν αὐτὸν αἱ Ὀδυσσεύς μηχαναὶ σοφῶς
 ξυντεθείσαι, καὶ χρυσοῦ μὲν ἦττων ἔδοξε προδότης τε
 εἶναι κατεψεύσθη, περιαχθεὶς δὲ τῷ χεῖρε κατελιθώθη,
 βαλλόντων αὐτὸν Πελοποννησίων τε καὶ Ἰθακησίων,
 ἢ δὲ ἄλλη Ἑλλὰς οὐδὲ ἑώρα ταῦτα ἀλλὰ καὶ δο-
 32 κοῦντα ἀδικεῖν ἠγάπα. ὦμόν καὶ τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ κή-
 ρυγμα· μὴ γὰρ θάπτειν τὸν Παλαμῆδην μηδὲ ὀσιοῦν
 τῇ γῆ, ἀποθνήσκειν δὲ τὸν ἀνελόμενόν τε καὶ θά-
 33 ψαντα. κηρύττοντος δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος, Αἴας
 ὁ μέγας ἐπιρρώφας ἑαυτὸν τῷ νεκρῷ πολλὰ μὲν δά-
 κρυα περὶ αὐτῷ ἀφήκεν, ἀναθέμενος δὲ αὐτὸν διεξ-
 ἔπαισε τοῦ ὀμίλου γυμνῷ τῷ ξίφει καὶ ἐτοίμῳ· θάψας
 οὖν ὡς εἰκὸς ἦν τὸν εἰργόμενον, οὐ προσῆει τῷ κοινῷ
 τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οὐδὲ βουλῆς ἢ γνώμης ἤπτετο, οὐδὲ
 ἐξῆει ἔτι ἐς τὰς μάχας.
- 34 Ἀχιλλεύς τε ἀφικομένου μετὰ τὴν τῆς Χερρονήσου
 35 ἄλωσιν, ἄμφω ἐπὶ τῷ Παλαμῆδει ἐμήνισαν. ὁ μὲν
 Αἴας οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ· ὡς γὰρ ἦσθετο τῶν ξυμμάχων
 κακῶς πραττόντων, ἠλγιστὸν τε καὶ τὴν ὀργὴν μετέθη-
 36 κεν. ὁ δὲ Ἀχιλλεύς ἐπεμήκυνε τὴν μῆνιν· ᾧδῆν τε γὰρ
 τῆς λύρας τὸν Παλαμῆδην ἐπεποίητο καὶ ᾗδεν αὐτὸν
 ὅσα τοὺς προτέρους τῶν ἡρώων, ἐδείτό τε ὄναρ ἐφί-

and Tydeus, and the Locrians (obviously I mean Patroclus and Ajax) are splendid siege machines; but if you need inanimate machines as well, then rest assured that, as far as is in my power, Troy is already fallen.”

But the machinery of Odysseus' plot had been ingeniously constructed before he realized it, and Palamedes was framed for accepting bribes and falsely accused of treason. His hands were tied behind his back and he was stoned to death by the Peloponnesians and Ithacans; the rest of the Greeks did not witness the trial, but went along with his presumed guilt.¹³⁷ Even the announcement of his death sentence was harsh: that no one must bury Pala-
 medes or sanctify him with earth, but whoever should
 raise him up and bury him would die. As Agamemnon
 announced this, the greater Ajax threw himself on the
 body with a flood of tears, raised it and burst through the
 crowd, his sword drawn and ready. When he had buried
 him appropriately in spite of the edict, he stopped contact
 with the rest of the Greeks, did not join in their plans and
 councils, nor even go into battle any more.

When, after the capture of the Chersonnese, Achilles
 returned, they both were in a rage over Palamedes.¹³⁸ For
 Ajax this did not last long, for when he saw that his allies
 were in desperate straits he was pained, and altered his
 anger. But Achilles was angry for a long time: he composed
 a song for the lyre on Palamedes, and sang of him as of the
 heroes of old; and he prayed that he visit him in a dream,

¹³⁷ Again Philostratus avoids the details, for which see Introduction §9.

¹³⁸ Romero Mariscal (2011) notes that it is precisely these two heroes who are so often depicted playing the board game that Palamedes invented.

στασθαι οἷ, σπένδων ἀπὸ κρατήρος οὗ Ἑρμῆς ὑπὲρ
ὀνείρων πίνει.

37 ἔοικέ τε ὁ ἥρωσ οὗτος οὐκ Ἀχιλλεῖ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ
πᾶσιν οἷς βώμης τε καὶ σοφίας ἔρωσ, παρέχειν ἑαυτὸν
ζήλου τε καὶ φθῆς ἄξιον, ὃ τε Πρωτεσίλεωσ, ἐπειδὴ
ἐσ μνήμην αὐτοῦ ἀφικώμεθα, ἀστακτὶ δακρῦει, τὴν τε
ἄλλην ἀνδρείααν τοῦ ἥρω ἐπαινῶν καὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ
θανάτῳ· οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἰκετεύσαι τὸν Παλαμήδη, οὐδὲ
οἰκτρὸν τι εἰπεῖν οὐδὲ οὐδύρασθαι, ἀλλ' εἰπὼν “ἐλεῶ
σε, ἀλήθεια· σὺ γὰρ ἐμοῦ προαπόλωλασ,” ὑπέσχε τὴν
κεφαλὴν τοῖσ λίθοισ, οἷον ξυνιέισ ὅτι ἡ Δίκη πρὸσ
αὐτοῦ ἔσται.

38 ΦΟΙΝ. Ἔσται καὶ τὸν Παλαμήδη ἰδεῖν, ἀμπελουργέ,
καθάπερ καὶ τὸν Νέστορα εἶδον καὶ τὸν Διομήδη καὶ
τὸν Σθέnelον, ἢ οὐδὲν περὶ τῆσ ἰδέασ αὐτοῦ ὁ Πρωτε-
σίλεωσ ἐρμηνεύει;

39 ἈΜΠ. Ἐπάρχει, ξένε, καὶ ὄρα· μέγεθος μὲν τοίνυν
αὐτὸν κατὰ Αἴαντα τὸν μείζω γενέσθαι, κάλλοσ δὲ
Ἀχιλλεῖ τε ἀμιλλᾶσθαι καὶ Ἀντιλόχῳ καὶ ἑαυτῷ φη-
σιν ὁ Πρωτεσίλεωσ καὶ Εὐφύορβῳ τῷ Τρωί· γένεια μὲν
γὰρ αὐτῷ ἀπαλὰ ἐκφέεσθαι καὶ ξὺν ἐπαγγελίᾳ βο-
στρύχων, τὴν κόμην δὲ ἐν χρῶ εἶναι, τὰσ δὲ ὀφρῦσ
ἐλευθέρασ τε καὶ ὀρθὰσ καὶ ξυμβαλλούσασ πρὸσ τὴν
40 ῥίνα τετράγωνόν τε οὔσαν καὶ εἰ βεβηκυῖαν. τὸν δὲ
τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν νοῦν ἐν μὲν ταῖσ μάχαισ ἀτρεπτόν τε
φαίνεσθαι καὶ γοργόν, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἡσυχίᾳ φιλέταιρόν τε
καὶ εὐπροσήγορον τὰσ βολὰσ· λέγεται δὲ καὶ μεγί-
41 στοισ ἀνθρώπων ὀφθαλμοῖσ χρήσασθαι. καὶ μὴν καὶ

offering wine from the bowl where Hermes drinks to send
dreams.¹³⁹

This hero appeared not only to Achilles, but to all those 37
who loved strength and wisdom, to be worthy of song and
admiration; and whenever I discuss him with Protesilaus
he weeps profusely, praising especially his courage in the
face of death. He did not beg for his life, or speak words of
misery or lament, but said, “I pity you, truth; for you have
died even before I do.” He held his head out to receive
the stones, as if he understood that justice was with him.

Phoenician. Is it possible to behold Palamedes as I did 38
with Nestor, Diomedes and Sthenelus? Or does Protesilaus
give no interpretation of his appearance?

Vinedresser. Yes you may, so behold: Protesilaus says 39
he is as tall as the greater Ajax, in beauty he rivals Achilles
or Antilochus, or himself, or Euphorbus of Troy. He is
growing a light beard, just beginning to curl, with hair
shaved to the skin; his eyebrows are free and straight, and
meet at a four-cornered and solid nose. The look in his 40
eyes seems unshakeable and fierce in battle, but when
relaxed is amiable and friendly in its glance. It is said that
he had the largest eyes of any mortal. Stripped, they say 41

139 For Hermes receiving the final libation before sleep, cf. *Od.* 7.136-38; PCG Strattis fr. 23. For his control of sleep and dreams, cf. *Hymn to Hermes* 14, scholia *Od.* 23.198V = *FGrHist* 244 (Apollodorus of Athens) F 129. The mysterious “bowl where Hermes drinks to send dreams” may have meant for Philostratus something like the jar pictured in a fifth-century *lekythos* now in Jena (Vermeule [1979, 26], from which Hermes sent forth winged creatures [souls or dreams? or, like Palamedes, both?] into the light).

γυμνόν φησι τὸν Παλαμῆδη μέσα φέρεσθαι βαρέος ἀθλητοῦ καὶ κούφου, καὶ αὐχμὸν περὶ τῷ προσώπῳ ἔχειν πολὺν ἠδὲ τῶν Εὐφόρβου πλοκάμων τῶν χρυσῶν. αὐχμοῦ δὲ ἐπεμεμέλητο ὑπὸ τοῦ καθεύδειν τε ὡς ἔτυχε, ἀλλίεσθαι τε πολλάκις ἐν τῇ ἀκρωνυχίᾳ τῆς Ἴδης ἐν σχολῇ τῶν πολεμικῶν τὴν γὰρ κατάληψιν τῶν μετεώρων ἐντεύθεν ἀπὸ τῶν ὑψηλοτάτων οἱ σοφοὶ ποιοῦνται.

- 42 ἦγε δὲ εἰς Ἴλιον οὔτε ναῦν οὔτε ἄνδρα, ἀλλ' ἐν πορθμείῳ ξὺν Οἰακί τῷ ἀδελφῷ ἔπλευσε, πολλῶν,
 43 φασί, βραχιόνων ἀντάξιον ἑαυτὸν ἠγοούμενος. οὐδὲ ἀκόλουθος ἦν αὐτῷ οὐδὲ θεράπων οὐδὲ Τέκμησά τις ἢ Ἴφιδος λούουσα ἢ στρωννύσα τὸ λέχος, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦργος βίος καὶ ἔξω τοῦ κατεσκευάσθαι. εἰπόντος γοῦν ποτε πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀχιλλεύς "ὦ Παλάμηδες, ἀγροικότερος φαίην τοῖς πολλοῖς, ὅτι μὴ πέπασαι τὸν θεραπεύσοντα," "τί οὖν, ὦ Ἀχιλλεῦ, ταῦτα;" ἔφη τῷ χεῖρε
 44 ἀμφω προτείνας. δίδόντων δὲ αὐτῷ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐκ δασμοῦ χρήματα καὶ κελεύοντων αὐτὸν πλουτεῖν, "οὐ λαμβάνω" ἔφη, "κάγῳ γὰρ ὑμᾶς κελεύω πένεσθαι καὶ
 45 οὐ πείθεσθε." ἐρομένου δὲ ποτε αὐτὸν Ὀδυσσεώς ἐξ ἀστρονομίας ἦκοντα "τί πλέον ἡμῶν ὄρας ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ;" "τοὺς κακοὺς" εἶπεν. ἀμείνων δ' ἂν ἦν τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἐκδιδάξας ὅτῳ ποτὲ τῶν τρόπων φανεροὶ οἱ κακοὶ οὐ γὰρ ἂν προσήκαντο τὸν Ὀδυσσεῆα ἐπαντλοῦντα αὐτῷ ψευδεῖς οὕτω καὶ πανούργους τέχνας.

he was somewhat between a lightweight and heavyweight athlete, and he had a great deal of dirt on his face that was more pleasant than Euphorbus' golden locks; he cultivated the dirt as the result of sleeping wherever he found himself, and of spending many nights, during lulls in the fighting, at the summit of Mt. Ida; for since that time seekers of knowledge make their observations of the sky from the highest places.

He brought to Troy neither a ship nor men, but sailed 42 in a troop transport with his brother Oiax, thinking himself "a match for many arms," as they say.¹⁴⁰ He had no fol- 43 lower, no attendant, no Tecmessa or Iphis to wash him or lay his bed,¹⁴¹ his life was self-sufficient and free of any trappings. Once Achilles said to him, "Palamedes, people 44 think you a dolt, because you have no attendant." But he held out his two hands and said, "What, Achilles, are these 45 for?" Once when the Greeks awarded him a share of booty and desired to make him wealthy, he said, "I cannot accept this; for I keep urging you to be poor, and you do not obey me either." Once as he was returning from study 46 of the stars Odysseus asked him, "What more do you see in the sky than we do?" Palamedes replied, "Evil men." He would have been more valuable if he had taught the Greeks by what character traits evil men can be recognized, for they would not have believed Odysseus when he covered him with his arts of deceit and villainy.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. *Il.* 11.514. Scodel (1980, 62-63) compares the use of "arm" for "strength" in Eur. *Supp.* 478 and *Antiope* fr. 199, and she suggests that this phrase echoes his *Palamedes*.

¹⁴¹ Iphis was the slave girl of Patroclus (*Il.* 9.667); Tecmessa the captive wife in Sophocles' *Ajax*.

47 τὸ δὲ λεγόμενον πύρ ὑπὸ Ναυπλίου περὶ κοίλην
 Εὐβοίαν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἀρθῆναι, ἀληθές τε φησιν
 εἶναι καὶ ὑπὲρ Παλαμήδους ἐκ Μοιρῶν πεπράχθαι
 καὶ Ποσειδῶνος, ἴσως, ξένη, μηδὲ βουλομένης τῆς
 Παλαμήδους ταῦτα ψυχῆς· σοφὸς γὰρ ὢν ξυνεγί-
 48 νωσκέ που αὐτοῖς τῆς ἀπάτης. ἔθαιψαν δὲ αὐτὸν Ἀχιλ-
 λέως τε καὶ Αἴας εἰς τὴν ὄμορον τῇ Τροίᾳ τῶν Αἰο-
 λέων ἤπειρον, ὑφ' ὧν καὶ ἱερὸν αὐτῷ τι ἐξωκοδόμητο
 μάλα ἀρχαῖον καὶ ἀγαλμα Παλαμήδους ἰδρῦται γεν-
 ναῖον τε καὶ εὖσπον, καὶ θύουσιν αὐτῷ ξυνιόντες οἱ
 49 τὰς ἀκταίας οἰκοῦντες πόλεις. μαστεύειν δὲ χρῆ τὸ
 ἱερὸν κατὰ Μήθυμνάν τε καὶ Λεπέτυμνον· ὄρος δὲ
 τοῦτο ὑψηλὸν ὑπερφαίνεται τῆς Λέσβου.

34. Τὰ δὲ Ὀδυσσεῶς οὕτωςι φράζει· γενέσθαι μὲν
 αὐτὸν ῥητορικώτατον καὶ δεινόν, εἴρωνα δὲ καὶ ἐρα-
 στήν φθόνου καὶ τὸ κακόηθες ἐπαινοῦντα, κατηφῆ τε
 αἰεὶ καὶ οἶον ἐπεσκεμμένον, τὰ πολέμια τε δοκοῦντα
 μᾶλλον γενναῖον ἢ ὄντα, οὐ μὴν ἐπιστήμονα ὀπλί-
 2 σεως, ἢ τοῦ τάξει ναυμαχίας τε καὶ τειχομαχίας, καὶ
 αἰχμῆς καὶ τόξων ἔλξεως. τὰ δὲ ἔργα αὐτοῦ εἶναι
 3 πολλά μὲν, οὐ μὴν θαυμάσαι ἄξια πλὴν ἐνός, τοῦ ἐς
 τὸν ἵππον τὸν κοῖλον, οὐ τέκτων μὲν Ἐπειὸς σὺν
 Ἀθηναῖ ἐγένετο, Ὀδυσσεὺς δὲ εὐρετής· καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ δὲ
 λέγεται τῷ λόχῳ θαρσαλεώτερος ὀφθῆναι τοῦ πληρώ-
 ματος.

3 εἰς Ἴλιον μὲν οὖν παρηβηκῶς ἦλθεν, ἐς δὲ Ἰθάκην
 γεγηρακῶς· μακροτέρα γὰρ ἐχρήσατο τῇ ἄλλῃ διὰ τὸν

Protesilaus says that the beacon that is said to have 47
 been lit against the Greeks around hollow Euboea by Nau-
 plius really existed, but was made for Palamedes' sake by
 the fates and Poseidon, perhaps even against the will of
 Palamedes' spirit; wise man that he was, I expect he for-
 gave them for being tricked. Achilles and Ajax buried him 48
 on the Aeolians' mainland bordering Troy, and there had
 been a very old shrine built by these people, and is now a
 noble statue of Palamedes in full armor; the cities along
 the coast join together to give him sacrifice. His shrine 49
 can be found opposite Methymna and Lepetymnos, a tall
 mountain which overlooks Lesbos.¹⁴²

34. Protesilaus describes Odysseus¹⁴³ as follows: he was
 a clever master of persuasion, deceitful, he relished envy,
 an admirer of wickedness, always avoiding one's gaze and
 like one meditating. As a soldier he seemed more noble
 than he was, having no skill in infantry fighting, naval tac-
 tics or siegecraft, or discharging spear or arrows. He did
 many things, but the only one which was especially im- 2
 pressive was that of the wooden horse, which Epeius built
 with Athena's help, but Odysseus invented; and during
 that ambush he is said to have proved himself braver than
 the rest of the crew.

He was already past his youth when he went to Troy, 3
 and returned to Ithaca only in his old age; his wanderings

¹⁴² VA 4.12.2–3 tells of the rediscovery of his statue (seen by
 Philostratus himself) and the reestablishment of the shrine by
 Apollonius of Tyana. For its location on the mainland *opposite*
 Methymna on Lesbos, see Follet (1994) and Grossardt (2006a).
 See Introduction §9.

¹⁴³ Philostratus takes to an extreme
 the negative portrait of Odysseus found in tragedy and of course
 accepts none of the fabulous adventures in *Od.* 9–12 as genuine.

4 πόλεμον ὃς πρὸς Κίκονας αὐτῷ διεπολεμήθη κατα-
 τρέχοντι τὰ ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ τοῦ Ἴσμαρου. τὰ γὰρ Πολυ-
 φήμον καὶ Ἀντιφάτου καὶ Σκύλλης καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἅιδου
 καὶ ὅποσα αἱ Σειρήνες ἦδον, οὐδὲ ἀκούειν ξυγχωρεῖ
 ὁ Πρωτεσίλεως, ἀλλ' ἐπαλείφειν ἡμᾶς κηρὸν τοῖς ὠσὶ
 καὶ παραιτεῖσθαι αὐτά, οὐχ ὡς οὐ πλέα ἠδονῆς καὶ
 5 ψυχαγωγῆσαι ἱκανά, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀπίθανά τε καὶ παρευ-
 ρημένα. καὶ τὴν νῆσον δὲ τὴν Ὠλυγίαν καὶ τὴν
 Αἰαίαν καὶ ὡς ἤρων αὐτοῦ αἱ θεαί, παραπλεῖν κελεύει
 καὶ μὴ προσορμίζεσθαι τοῖς μύθοις· ἕξωρόν τε γὰρ
 τῶν ἐρωτικῶν εἶναι τὸν Ὀδυσσεῆα, καὶ ὑπόσιμον καὶ
 οὐ μέγαν καὶ πεπλανημένον τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς διὰ τὰς
 6 ἐννοίας τε καὶ ὑπονοίας. ἐνθυμουμένῳ γὰρ ἔφκει,
 τοῦτο δὲ ἄχαρι ἐς τὰ ἐρωτικά. οἷος μὲν δὴ οἶον καὶ
 ὡς σοφώτερόν τε καὶ ἀνδριώτερον ἑαυτοῦ τὸν Παλα-
 μῆδη ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἀπέκτεινεν, ἱκανῶς ἐκ τούτου διδά-
 7 σκει ὁ Πρωτεσίλεως· ὄθεν καὶ τὸν θρήνον τὸν παρ'
 Εὐριπίδῃ ἐπαινεῖ, ὅποτε Εὐριπίδης ἐν Παλαμῆδος
 μέλεσιν·

ἐκάνετε" φησίν, "ἐκάνετε
 τὸν πάνσοφον, ὦ Δαναοί,
 τὰν οὐδὲν ἀλγύνουσαν
 ἀηδόνα Μουσᾶν

καὶ τὰ ἐφεξῆς μᾶλλον, ἐν οἷς φησι καὶ ὅτι πεισθέντες
 ἀνθρώπῳ δεινῷ καὶ ἀναιδεῖ ταῦτα δράσειαν.

35. Αἴαντα δὲ τὸν Τελαμῶνος ἐκάλουν οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ

were long because he had to fight against the Cicones
 while he was raiding along the coast of Ismaros.¹⁴⁴ As for 4
 Polyphemus, Antiphates, Scylla or what happened in Ha-
 des and the Sirens' song, Protesilaus does not allow listen-
 ing to it, but to put wax in our ears and reject it, not be-
 cause it was not enjoyable and entertaining, but because
 it was an incredible series of fictions. The islands of Ogygia 5
 and Aiaia and the tale that goddesses loved him he advises
 me to give a wide berth to, and not anchor at these myths.
 Odysseus was too old for love affairs, and anyway he was
 short with a snub nose, and shifty eyes because he was 6
 always scheming or suspicious. He always seemed to be
 calculating—an unattractive trait in a lover. Protesilaus
 thinks this a sufficient account of how such a man killed 7
 the wiser and braver Palamedes. And so he approves the
 Euripidean dirge in the lyrics of *Palamedes*.¹⁴⁵

You all killed, you killed
 the wisest man, Greeks,
 nightingale of the Muses,
 who did you no harm

and he likes even better what follows, where Euripides
 says they did this persuaded by a clever and shameless
 man.

35. The Greeks called Ajax son of Telamon "the great"

¹⁴⁴ Cf. *Od.* 9. 39–61, where this episode only lasts a few days.
 The Cicones are a Thracian tribe that had been allied with Troy.

¹⁴⁵ Fr. 588 Kannicht (2004); Collard and Cropp (2008, 8.59);
 cf. Scodel (1980, 59).

- μέγαν, οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ μεγέθους, οὐδ' ἐπειδὴ μείων ὁ ἕτερος, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ὧν ἔπραττε, καὶ ἐποιούντο αὐτὸν ξύμβολον τοῦ πολέμου ἀγαθὸν ἐκ πατρώου ἔργου· τὸν γὰρ Λαομέδοντα τὸν Ἡρακλῆ ἀπατήσαντα μετήλθε
- 2 ξὺν Ἡρακλεῖ ὁ Τελαμών καὶ αὐτῷ Ἴλιῳ εἶλεν. ἔχαιρον μὲν οὖν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀόπλῳ (πελώριος γάρ τις ἦν καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν στρατιὰν πᾶσαν καὶ φρόνημα αἴρων εὐνήγιόν τε καὶ σάφρον) ὠπλισμένον τε ἐξεκρέμαντο, μετέωρόν τε βαίνοντος ἐπὶ τοὺς Τρῶας καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα εὖ μεταχειριζόμενον τοσαύτην οὖσαν, βλέποντός τε χαροποῖς τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ὑπὸ τὴν κόρυν, οἶον οἱ λέοντες ἐν ἀναβολῇ τοῦ ὀρμηῆσαι.
- 3 τὰς μάχας δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐποιεῖτο, Λυκίους μὲν καὶ Μυσοὺς καὶ Παιόνας ἀριθμοῦ φάσκων ἕνεκα ἐς Τροίαν ἦκειν, τοὺς δὲ τούτων ἡγεμόνας ἀξιομάχους τε ἡγούμενος καὶ οἶους ἀποκτείναντι μὲν ὄνομα δοῦναι, τραθέντι δὲ οὐκ ἄδοξον τραῦμα. πολέμιόν τε ἔλων ἀπέχετο τῶν ὄπλων· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀποκτείνειν ἀνδρὸς εἶναι, τὸ δὲ σκυλεύειν λωποδύτου μᾶλλον.
- 4 ἀκόλαστον δὲ οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ὑβριστικὸν ἐφθέγγετο ἂν οὐδεὶς ἐν ἐπηκῳ τοῦ Αἴαντος, οὐδὲ ὀπόσοις ἦν διαφορά· πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἀλλὰ καὶ θάκων ὑπανίσταντο αὐτῷ καὶ ὀδῶν ὑπεξίσταντο, οὐχ οἱ πολλοὶ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ τῆς εὐδοκίμου μοίρας.
- 5 πρὸς δὲ Ἀχιλλέα φιλία ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ βασκαίνειν ἀλλήλοις οὔτε ἐβούλοντο οὔτε ἐπεφύκεσαν, τὰς τε λύπας ὀπόσαι περὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα, εἰ καὶ μὴ μικρῶν ἕνεκεν ἐγίνοντο, πᾶσας ἐπράννε, τὰς μὲν ὡς ἂν ξυναλ-

not because of his height, nor because the other Ajax was shorter, but from his achievements, and they considered him a good omen for the war because of what his father had done: after Laomedon had deceived Heracles, Telamon went after him with Heracles and took him Ilion and all.¹⁴⁶ Therefore they were pleased with him even when he was not armed (for he was a giant who towered above all the rest of the army, but bore a temperament that was pliant and restrained); but when he was armed they depended on him, as he strode tall against the Trojans wielding his shield well despite its size, watching with gleaming eyes beneath his helm, like lions when they are about to pounce.

He used to fight only against the best men, saying that Lycians, Mysians and Paeonians had come to Troy only because of their numbers; it was their leaders who were worth fighting, since they offered fame to the man who killed them, and at least an honorable wound to the man they defeated. When he killed an opponent he did not touch his armor, in the belief that killing was a man's work, stripping a corpse that of a thief. No one would have spoken a boastful or arrogant word within Ajax's hearing, not even those who had been quarreling; they offered him their seats and got out of his way, not only the common soldiers but even those of high rank.

Between him and Achilles there was a friendship, and mutual jealousy they neither wished, nor was it in their nature; he lightened all Achilles' griefs even if for great reasons, sometimes with sympathy, sometimes with a sort

¹⁴⁶ Cf. ch. 28 n. 104, above.

- γῶν τις, τὰς δ' οἶον ἐπιπλήττων, καθημένων τε ὁμοῦ
καὶ βαδιζόντων ἐπεστρέφετο ἢ Ἑλλάς, ἐς ἄνδρε
6 ὀρώσα οἶω μετὰ Ἡρακλέα οὐπω ἐγενέσθην. τὸν μὲν
γε Αἴαντα καὶ τρόφιμον τοῦ Ἡρακλέους εἶναι ἔφασαν
καὶ βρέφος ὄντα ἐνειληθῆναι τῇ λεοντῇ τοῦ ἥρωος,
ὄτε ἀνασχὼν αὐτὸν τῷ Δίῳ, ἀνάλωτον ἦτει γενέσθαι
κατὰ τὴν δορὰν τοῦ λέοντος, αἰετός τε εὐξαμένῳ ἀφ-
ίκετο φέρων ἐκ Διὸς τῷ μὲν παιδί ὄνομα, ταῖς δὲ εὐ-
χαῖς νεῦμα.
- 7 δῆλός τε ἦν καὶ ἀπλῶς βλέψαντι μὴ ἀθεεὶ φῦναι,
διὰ τε τὴν ὄραν διὰ τε τὴν ῥώμην τοῦ εἶδους, ὅθεν ὁ
8 Πρωτεσίλειος ἄγαλμα πολέμου καλεῖ αὐτόν. ἐμοῦ δὲ
εἰπόντος “καὶ μὴν κατεπαλαίσθη αἰεὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὀδυσ-
σεῶς ὁ μέγας οὗτος καὶ θεῖος,” “εἰ Κύκλωπες” ἔφη
“ἐγεγόνεισαν καὶ ἀληθῆς ἦν ὁ περὶ αὐτῶν μῦθος,
μᾶλλον ἂν τῷ Πολυφῆμῳ διεπάλαισεν Ὀδυσσεὺς ἢ
τῷ Αἴαντι.”
- 9 ἤκουσα τοῦ Πρωτεσίλειου, ξένη, κάκεινα περὶ τοῦ
ἥρω τούτου, ὡς ἄρα ἐκόμα ποταμῷ Ἰλισσῷ τῷ Ἀθή-
νησι, καὶ ἠγάπων αὐτὸν οἱ ἐν Τροίᾳ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ
ἠγεμόνα ἠγοῦντο καὶ ὁ τι εἶποι ἔπραττον, ἠττίκιζέ τε
ἄτε, οἶμαι, Σαλαμίνα οἰκῶν, ἣν Ἀθηναῖοι δῆμον πε-
ποίηται, παιδὰ τε αὐτῷ γενόμενον, ὃν Εὐρυσάκην οἱ
Ἀχαιοὶ ἐκάλουν, τὴν τε ἄλλην ἔτρεφε τροφήν ἣν Ἀθη-
ναῖοι ἐπαινοῦσι καὶ ὄτε Ἀθήνησιν οἱ παῖδες ἐν μηνὶ
ἀνθεστηριῶνι στεφανοῦνται τῶν ἀνθέων, τρίτῳ ἀπὸ
γενεᾶς ἔτει, κρατήρας τε τοὺς ἐκείθεν ἐστήσιατο καὶ

of reproof. When they sat or walked together all the
Greeks were in rapt attention, seeing two men whose like
there had never yet been since Heracles. They said that 6
Ajax had actually been brought up by Heracles and once,
as a baby, wrapped up in the hero's lion skin, when he
raised him to Zeus and prayed that the child be invulner-
able just like the skin of the lion, an eagle (*aietos*) flew
down from Zeus as he prayed and brought the baby his
name (*Aias*) and approved the prayer.

From his appearance of beauty and strength it was 7
clear even to a casual onlooker that a god had some part
in his birth, and Protesilaus calls him a statue of warfare.
When I answered, “But this great and godlike man was 8
always outwrestled by Odysseus!”¹⁴⁷ he said, “If there had
been Cyclopes and the story about them were true, Odys-
seus could sooner have wrestled with Polyphemus than
with Ajax.”

I heard from Protesilaus, stranger, also the following 9
about this hero: that he wore his hair long for the river
Ilissos at Athens,¹⁴⁸ and that the Athenians at Troy loved
him, considered him their leader and did whatever he
commanded; he spoke Attic, I suppose, because he lived
in Salamis which the Athenians have made a deme,¹⁴⁹ and
he brought up the child born to him (called Eurysakes by
the Greeks) just as the Athenians approve in other re-
pects, and when, in the third year of their birth, in the
month Anthesterion the Athenians have their children
crowned with flowers, he set up the bowls of wine from

¹⁴⁷ Il. 23.700-39.

¹⁴⁸ It was customary for Greek boys and girls coming of age to dedicate their hair to their local river (Burkert 1985, 373, 374n29).

¹⁴⁹ Actually, Salamis was never really a deme of Athens.

ἔθυσεν ὅσα Ἀθηναίοις ἐν νόμῳ μεμνήσθαι δὲ καὶ
αὐτὸν ἔφασκε τουτῶν τῶν Διονυσίων κατὰ Θησέα.

10 ὁ δὲ τοῦ θανάτου λόγος, ὃν ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἀποσφαγεῖς
ἀπέθανεν, ἀληθῆς μὲν, ἐλεεινὸς δὲ καὶ Ὀδυσσεὶ τάχα,
τά τε ἐν Ἴδου·

μὴ ὄφελον νικᾶν τοιῶδ' ἐπ' ἀέθλω·
τοίην γὰρ κεφαλὴν ἔνεκ' αὐτῶν γαῖα κατέσχευ

ἐκεῖ μὲν οὐ φησιν εἰρήσθαι τῷ Ὀδυσσεῖ, μὴ γὰρ
καταβῆναι αὐτὸν ζῶντα, πάντως δὲ εἰρήσθαι πού. πι-
θανὸν γάρ πού παθεῖν τι καὶ τὸν Ὀδυσσεῖα καὶ ἀπεύ-
ξασθαι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ νίκην ἐλέω τοιοῦδε ἀνδρὸς ἐπ'
αὐτῇ ἀποθανόντος.

11 ἐπαινῶν δὲ ὁ Πρωτεσίλῃως τοῦ Ὀμήρου ταῦτα,
πολὸν μᾶλλον ἐπαινεῖ τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἔπος ἐν ᾧ φησι·
“παῖδες δὲ Τρώων δίκασαν.” καὶ γὰρ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν
ἀφέιλε τὴν ἀδικὸν κρίσιν καὶ δικαστὰς ἐκάθισεν οὐς
εἰκὸς ἦν καταψηφίσασθαι τοῦ Αἴαντος· συγγενὲς γὰρ
12 φόβῳ μῖσος. μανέντα δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν Τρῶες ἔδεισαν
πλείω ἢ εἰώθεσαν, μὴ προσβαλὼν τῷ τείχει ῥήξῃ
αὐτό, καὶ ἠύχοντο Ποσειδῶνι τε καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι, ἐπειδὴ
εἰς τὸ τεῖχος ἐθήτευσαν, προβεβλήσθαι τῶν περγά-
μων τοῦ ἄστεος καὶ σχεῖν τὸν Αἴαντα εἰ τῶν ἐπάλ-
ξεων ἄπτοιτο·

οἱ δὲ Ἕλληγες οὐκ ἐπαύοντο ἀγαπῶντες αὐτόν,

150 For the participation of children in the Anthesteria, see Burkert (1983, 221).

Athens and sacrificed in their manner.¹⁵⁰ Protesilaus says that Ajax observed this Dionysiac festival just as Theseus had.¹⁵¹

The story that he died self-slaughtered Protesilaus says 10
is true, and he was lamented soon even by Odysseus; and
the words in the underworld (*Od.* 11.548–49):

... I ought not to have won in so awful a contest;
For such a warrior the grave now holds because of it

were not said by him *there*—since he never went there
alive—but were nonetheless probably said by him; it is
plausible that even Odysseus should have had some feel-
ing, and condemned his own victory out of pity for the
great man whose death it had caused.

While Protesilaus finds this sentiment of Homer's 11
praiseworthy, he finds even more so the adjacent verse
“the children of the Trojans judged them” (*Od.* 11.547),
since it exonerates the Greeks from the unjust vote and
makes the judges the ones who would more plausibly have
condemned Ajax; for fear often breeds hate. When Ajax 12
became insane the Trojans had an even greater fear than
usual, that he would attack their wall and tear it apart; they
prayed to Poseidon and Apollo, since they had performed
their servitude on the wall,¹⁵² to guard the city's towers
and push him back if he should attack the battlements.

The Greeks' affection for him never ceased; but they

151 Grossardt (2006a) notes this as another of the vinedresser's
errors (Introduction §7), since Theseus founded the Panathe-
naea.

152 See ch. 27.7, 27.8n.

13 ἀλλὰ πένθος τε τὴν τοῦ Αἴαντος μανίαν ἐποιοῦντο καὶ
τὰ μαντεῖα ἰκέτεον χρῆσαι πῶς ἂν μεταβάλοιτο καὶ
εἰς νοῦν ἔλθοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀποθανόντα εἶδον καὶ περὶ τῷ
ξίφει κείμενον, ὤμωξαν μὲν οὕτως ἀθρόον, ὡς ἀνή-
κοοι γενέσθαι μηδὲ τῷ Ἰλίῳ προὔθεντο δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι
τὸ σῶμα καὶ Μενεσθεὺς ἐπ' αὐτῷ λόγον ἠγόρευσεν ᾧ
14 νομίζουσιν Ἀθήνησι τιμᾶν τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πολέμων τε-
λευτῶντας. ἔργον ἐνταῦθα εὐδόκιμον τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως ὁ
Πρωτεσίλεις οἶδε προκειμένῳ γὰρ τῷ Αἴαντι τὰ
ὄπλα ἐπενεγκῶν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως καὶ δακρύσας, “θά-
πτου τοι” ἔφη “ἐν οἷς ἠγάπησας καὶ τὴν νίκην τὴν ἐπ'
αὐτοῖς ἔχε, μηδὲν εἰς μῆνιν βαλόμενος.” ἐπαινούτων
15 δὲ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν τὸν Ὀδυσσεῖα ἐπῆρει μὲν καὶ ὁ
Τεύκρος, τὰ δὲ ὄπλα παρητείτο· μὴ γὰρ ὅσια εἶναι
ἐντάφια τὰ τοῦ θανάτου αἷτια. ἔθαιψαν δὲ αὐτὸν κατα-
θέμενοι ἐς τὴν γῆν τὸ σῶμα, ἐξηγουμένου Κάλχαντος
ὡς οὐχ ὅσιοι πυρὶ θάπτεσθαι οἱ ἑαντοὺς ἀποκτεί-
ναντες.

36. Τὸν δὲ Τεύκρον νέον μὲν ἠγοῦ, μέγεθος δὲ καὶ
εἶδος καὶ ρώμην ἔχειν.

2 ΦΟΙΝ. Τὰ δὲ τῶν Τρώων γινώσκει ὁ Πρωτεσίλεις,
ἀμπελουργέ, ἢ οὐκ ἄξιοι μνημονεύειν αὐτῶν, ὡς μὴ
ἄξιοι σπουδῆς φαίνονται;

3 ἈΜΠ. Οὐκ ἔστι, ξένη, τὸ τοῦ Πρωτεσίλεια τοιοῦτον
ἄπεστι γὰρ αὐτοῦ φθόνος. ἀπαγγέλλει δὲ δὴ καὶ τὰ

¹⁵³ Actually the later funeral orations (Thuc. 2.41) were not given for an individual, but for all the dead as a group.

grieved for his madness and sent to oracles to tell them
how he could change and return to sanity. When they 13
saw him lying dead on his sword they joined in lament so
loud it could be heard even at Troy. It was the Athenians
who prepared him for burial, and Menestheus delivered
over him the oration in which the Athenians customarily
honor those who have fallen in war.¹⁵³ Protesilaus knows 14
of a noble gesture on that occasion by Odysseus: he placed
on the body of Ajax the arms of Achilles and said, amid his
tears, “Be buried amid the things you so wanted, and bear
no anger; you have won them.” Odysseus was praised by
all the Greeks and even Teucer, who nonetheless declined
the weapons, because he thought it unholy that what had
caused his death should be buried with him. They buried 15
his body in the ground, since Calchas had explained that
it was unholy for suicides to be burned.¹⁵⁴

36. You can conclude that Teucer was young and had
stature, beauty and strength.

Phoenician. Does Protesilaus know about the Trojans? 2
Or does he disdain to discuss them as unworthy of atten-
tion?

Vinedresser. That is not his way; jealousy is not in his 3
nature. He talks of the Trojans with serious interest, and

¹⁵⁴ In the *Little Iliad* (M. L. West 2013, 178–79), an enraged Agamemnon forbade Ajax’s body to be burned; in Philostratus the whole Greek army pities him, but the pollution of suicide prohibits fire. There were indeed often ritual punitive measures against suicide (Grossardt [2009b] compares Lucian *Ver. hist.* 2.7 on the religious objections to suicides), but burial without cremation also conveniently explains how Ajax’ body could be found whole in the time of Hadrian; see ch. 8.1.

4 τῶν Τρώων ἐσπουδακίᾳ τῇ γνώμῃ· φησὶ γὰρ κάκει-
 νους πολλὴν πεποιῆσθαι λόγον ἀρετῆς. δίδεμι δέ σοι
 πρὸ τοῦ Ἀχιλλείου λόγου ταῦτα· εἰ γὰρ μετ' ἐκείνου
 λέγοιτο, οὐ θαυμαστά εἶναι δόξει.

37. Ἐπαιῶν τοίνυν τὸν Ἑκτορα ὁ Πρωτεσίλεως
 ἐπαινεῖ καὶ τὸν Ὀμήρου ἐπ' αὐτῷ λόγον· ἄριστα γὰρ
 τὸν Ὀμηρον τὰς τε ἠνιοχῆσεις αὐτοῦ διελθεῖν καὶ τὰς
 μάχας καὶ τὰς βουλὰς καὶ τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ μὴ ἐπ'
 ἄλλῳ εἶναι τὴν Τροίαν, καὶ ὅποσα δὲ κομπάζει ἐν τῇ
 τοῦ Ὀμήρου ποιήσει ὁ Ἑκτωρ ἀπειλῶν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς
 τὸ ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς πῦρ, πάνυ φησὶν εὐικεναί τῇ φορᾷ
 τοῦ ἥρω· πολλὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα λέγειν αὐτὸν ἐν ταῖς
 μάχαις, ἐκπληκτικώτατα δὲ ἀνθρώπων βλέψαι καὶ
 φθέγγασθαι μέγα.
 2 εἶναι δὲ τοῦ μὲν Τελαμωνίου μείω, κακίω δὲ οὐδὲν
 τὰς μάχας, ἐν αἷς ἐνδείκνυσθαι τι αὐτὸν καὶ τῆς τοῦ
 3 Ἀχιλλέως θερμότητος. διεβέβλητο δὲ πρὸς τὸν Πάριον
 ὡς δειλὸν καὶ ἥττω τοῦ κοσμεῖσθαι τό τοι κομᾶν,
 καίτοι σπουδαζόμενον βασιλεῦσί τε καὶ βασιλέων
 4 παισίν, ἀνάξιον ἑαυτοῦ δι' ἐκείνου ἡγείτο. τὰ δὲ ὦτα
 κατεαγῶς ἦν, οὐχ ὑπὸ πάλης (τουτὶ γάρ, ὡς ἔφην,
 οὐτ' αὐτὸς ἐγίνωσκεν οὐθ' οἱ βάρβαροι), ἀλλὰ ταύ-
 ροις ἀντήριξε καὶ τὸ συμπλέκεσθαι τοῖς θηρίοις τού-
 τοις πολεμικὸν ἡγείτο· παλαίοντος μὲν γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα

¹⁵⁵ For his cult at Troy, see Lucian, *Council of the Gods* 12; Strabo 13.1.29. According to other accounts (Paus. 9.18.5; *FGrHist* 383 [Aristodemus of Thebes] F 7), his tomb was in

says that they too set great store by bravery. I will tell these 4
 things before the story of Achilles—if it is told afterward
 it will not seem so impressive.

37. Protesilaus praises not only Hector¹⁵⁵ but also what
 Homer says about him: he says Homer has described
 splendidly his riding the chariot, fighting or taking coun-
 sel, and the fact that Troy depended on him and no one
 else. And the boasts that Hector delivers in Homer's
 poem, threatening to burn the Greeks' ships, are just like
 the hero's impetuosity; for he used to say many such things
 during the fighting, with an extremely terrifying look and
 a loud voice.

He was smaller than Ajax the son of Telamon, but no 2
 worse in the fighting, where he demonstrated something
 of Achilles' fervor. He reviled Paris for cowardice, and for 3
 being too devoted to his looks; even though wearing one's
 hair long was a common practice for the kings and their
 sons, Hector considered it beneath him because Paris did
 so.¹⁵⁶ His ears were battered, not from wrestling¹⁵⁷— 4
 which, as I've said (ch. 26.20), neither he nor any of
 the barbarians knew about—rather he used to try his
 strength against bulls, and for him grappling with these
 beasts was related to warfare: this was a form of wrestling,

Thebes. Philostratus revises the Homeric portrait of Hector only
 slightly; Dio's *Troicus* (Introduction §5) claimed that Hector had
 killed Achilles, won the war, and lived to a ripe old age as the king
 of Troy. ¹⁵⁶ He wore his hair long at the back but close-
 cropped in front; cf. 19.3, above, and see Austin (1972, 199) and
 PCG, Anaxilas fr. 37.

¹⁵⁷ For "cauliflower ears" among ancient wrestlers, see Polia-
 koff (1987, 166n17).

ἦν, ὁ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν ἠγγυοίει πράττων, τὸ δὲ ὑφίστασθαι μικκωμένους καὶ θαρσεῖν τὰς αἰχμᾶς τῶν κεράτων καὶ ἀπαυχεύσασθαι ταύρον καὶ τρωθεῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μὴ ἀπειπεῖν, ὑπὲρ μελέτης τῶν πολεμικῶν ἤσκει.

5 τὸ μὲν δὴ ἄγαλμα τὸ ἐν Ἰλίῳ νέον τὸν Ἔκτορα καὶ μαιρακιάδῃ φέρει, ὁ Πρωτεσίλεως δὲ γενέσθαι μὲν αὐτὸν κάκεινον ἠδὲ φησὶ καὶ μείζω, ἀποθανεῖν δὲ τριακοντούτῃ ἴσως, οὐ μὴν φεύγοντα ἢ παρεϊκότα τὰς χεῖρας (ταντὶ γὰρ συκοφαντεῖσθαι τὸν Ἔκτορα ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὀμήρου), ἀλλὰ καρτερῶς ἀγωνισάμενον καὶ μόνον τῶν Τρώων καταμείναντα ἔξω τοῦ τείχους πεσεῖν ὀφεί τῆς μάχης· ἀποθανόντα δὲ ἐλχθῆναι μὲν ἠρτημένον τοῦ ἄρματος, ἀποδοθῆναι δέ, ὡς Ὀμήρω εἴρηται.

38. Αἰνείαν δὲ μάχεσθαι μὲν τούτου ἦττον, συνέσει δὲ περιεῖναι τῶν Τρώων, ἀξιουσθαι δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν Ἔκτορι, τὰ δὲ τῶν θεῶν εὖ εἰδέναι, ἃ δὴ ἐπέπρωτο αὐτῷ Τροίας ἀλόουσης, ἐκπλήττεσθαι δὲ ὑπ' οὐδενὸς φόβου· τὸ γὰρ ἔννουν τε καὶ λελογισμένον ἐν αὐτοῖς
2 μάλιστα τοῖς φοβεροῖς ἔχειν. ἐκάλον δὲ οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ τὸν μὲν Ἔκτορα χεῖρα τῶν Τρώων, τὸν δὲ Αἰνείαν νοῦν, καὶ πλείω παρέχειν αὐτοῖς πράγματα Αἰνείαν σωφρονούντα ἢ μεμνηνότεν Ἔκτορα.

3 ἦσθην δὲ ἰσήλικές τε καὶ ἰσομήκεις. τὸ δὲ εἶδος τοῦ Αἰνείου φαιδρὸν μὲν ἦττον ἐφαίνετο, καθεστηκότι δὲ ἐφίκει μᾶλλον ἐκόμα τε ἀνεπαχθῶς· οὐ γὰρ ἦσκει τὴν κόμην οὐδὲ ὑπέκειτο αὐτῇ, ἀλλὰ μόνην τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐποιεῖτο κόσμημα, σφοδρὸν δὲ οὕτω τι ἔβλεπεν,

but he did not know that he was practicing it, he used rather to practice for battle by standing up to their bellowing, daring the tips of their horns, turning back a bull's neck or, if wounded by him, not giving up.

His statue at Ilion depicts Hector as a young stripling, 5 but Protesilaus says that he was handsomer and taller than that; he died at perhaps the age of thirty, not while running away or having dropped his arms (this is Homeric slander), but he died after a long battle, having fought with all his might, the only one of the Trojans to stay outside the walls. After his death he was hung from a chariot and dragged, but his body was returned, as Homer says.

38. Aeneas could not fight like Hector, but he was the foremost Trojan in intelligence, was valued as highly as Hector, knew well what the gods had in store for him when the city fell, and felt no fear whatsoever: since his intelligence and good sense were never more in evidence than when danger was at its worst. The Greeks used to call 2 Hector the Trojans' hand, but Aeneas their brain; and he did more harm with his wisdom than Hector with his fury.

They were the same age and size, but Aeneas looked 3 less cheerful and more calm, and wore his hair moderately long; he did not cultivate or was distracted by his hairstyle, but considered bravery his only adornment. His look was

ὥστε ἀποχρῶν εἶναι οἱ πρὸς τοὺς ἀτακτοῦντας καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ βλέπειν.

39. Σαρπηδόνα δὲ Λυκία μὲν ἤνεγκε, Τροία δὲ ἤρεν· ἦν μὲν γὰρ κατὰ τὸν Αἰνείαν τὰς μάχας, ἦγε δὲ Λυκίους ξύμπαντας καὶ ἀρίστω ἄνδρε, Γλαυκόν τε καὶ Πάνδαρον. ἦν δὲ αὐτοῖν ὁ μὲν ὀπλιτεύειν εὐδόκιμος, ὁ δὲ Πάνδαρος τὸν Ἀπόλλω τὸν Λύκιον ἐπιστάντα οἱ μεираκίῳ ἔτι κοινωνῆσαι ἔφη τοῦ τοξεύειν, καὶ ἠΰχετο αἰεὶ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ὅτε τοῦ τόξου ἐπὶ μεγάλῳ ἄπτοιο.

καὶ πανστρατιᾷ δὲ ὁ Πρωτεσίλεως ἀπαντήσασαί φησι τῷ Σαρπηδόνι τοὺς Τρῶας· πρὸς γὰρ τῇ ἀνδρεία καὶ τῷ εἶδει θείῳ τε καὶ γενναίῳ ὄντι ἀνήρητο τοὺς Τρῶας καὶ τῷ λόγῳ τῷ περὶ τοῦ γένους· ἀπὸ Διὸς μὲν γὰρ Αἰακίδας τε ἄδεσθαι καὶ Δαρδανίδας καὶ τοὺς Ταντάλου, τὸ δ' αὐτοῦ Διὸς γεγονέναι μόνῳ τῶν ὑπὲρ Τροίας τε καὶ ἐπὶ Τροίαν ἐλθόντων ἐκείνῳ ὑπάρξαι, τουτὶ δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα μείζω ποιῆσαι καὶ θαυμασιώτερον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις.

ἀποθανεῖν δὲ ὡς Ὀμήρῳ εἴρηται, καὶ εἶναι ἀμφὶ τὰ τετταράκοντα ἔτη καὶ τάφου ἐν Λυκίᾳ τυχεῖν, ἐς ὃν παρέπεμψαν οἱ Λύκιοι δεικνύντες τὸν νεκρὸν τοῖς ἔθνεσι δι' ὧν ἦγετο. ἐσκεύαστο δὲ ἀρώμασι καὶ ἐφόκει καθευδόντι, ὅθεν οἱ ποιηταὶ πομπῶ φασιν αὐτὸν τῷ ὕπνῳ χρῆσασθαι.

40. Ἄκουε καὶ τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Πάριδος, εἰ μὴ ἄχθη αὐτῷ σφόδρα.

¹⁵⁸ For his death, see *Il.* 16.419–83.

so intense that, if his men were out of formation, merely to stare at them was enough.

39. Sarpedon was produced by Lycia, but made great by Troy. He was as good a fighter as Aeneas, and led the whole Lycian contingent that included two fine men, Glaucus and Pandarus: the former was renowned at close combat, while Pandarus said that Apollo *Lycios* had helped him while still a boy to learn archery, and he used to pray to Apollo whenever he aimed his bow at an important target.

Protesilaus says the Trojans came out to meet Sarpedon with all their army, since besides his courage and his noble, even godlike appearance, he engaged the Trojans with the tale of his descent; for although the Aeacidae, the Dardanians and the children of Tantalus were hymned as descendants of Zeus, he alone of those coming to defend or attack Troy had the distinction of being the son of Zeus himself, and this fact had also made Heracles seem to men greater and more amazing.

Sarpedon died as Homer describes it,¹⁵⁸ and was at about the age of forty; he was buried in Lycia, and the Lycians accompanied him there, displaying the body to the tribes on their route. It had been anointed with aromatics and looked like it was asleep, which is why the poets say that he had Sleep to carry him away.¹⁵⁹

40. You can also hear about Alexander called Paris,¹⁶⁰ if it doesn't trouble you.

¹⁵⁹ A rationalistic explanation (Introduction §5) of the Homeric story that Zeus had sent Sleep and Death themselves to carry his body to the underworld (*Il.* 16.666–83).

¹⁶⁰ For the phrase *Alexandros ho Paris* (to distinguish him from Alexander the great), cf. Plut. *Thes.* 34.3; Chariton 1.8.1; Cornutus, *Rh.* 87.1.

ΦΟΙΝ. Ἀχθομαι μὲν, οὐ χεῖρον δὲ ἀκούσαι.

- 2 ἌΜΠ. Φησὶ τοῖνυν Ἀλέξανδρον Τρωσὶ μὲν ἀ-
 ηχθῆσθαι πᾶσι, κακὸν δ' οὐκ εἶναι τὰ πολέμια, τὸ δὲ
 εἶδος ἥδιστον ἐπίχαρὶν τε τὴν φωνὴν καὶ τὸ ἦθος ἅτε
 τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ ἐπιμίξαντα, μάχεσθαι δὲ πάντας
 3 τρόπους καὶ τὴν ἐπιστήμην ὁπόση τόξων μὴ λείπε-
 σθαι τοῦ Πανδάρου. καὶ πλεῦσαι μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα
 ἔφηβον, ὅτε δὴ ξένου τοῦ Μενέλεω γενέσθαι αὐτὸν
 καὶ τὴν Ἑλένην ἐλείν τῷ εἶδει, ἀποθανεῖν δὲ οὕτω
 τριακοντούτην.
- 4 γάνυσθαι δὲ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ κάλλει καὶ περιβλέπεσθαι
 μὲν ὑφ' ἐτέρων, περιβλέπειν δὲ ἑαυτόν, ὅθεν χαρι-
 5 ἔστατα ὁ ἥρωϊς ἐς αὐτὸν παίζει. τοῦτον γὰρ τὸν ταῶ
 (χαίρει δὲ ὁ Πρωτεσίλεως τῇ ἄνθη καὶ τῇ ὄρα τοῦ
 ὄρνιθος) ἰδῶν ποτε ὑπεραυστηκότα καὶ περιβεβλη-
 μένον τὰ πτερὰ περιβλέποντά τε αὐτὰ καὶ καθαί-
 ροντα, ἔστι δ' ἅ καὶ διατιθέντα, ἕν ὥσπερ οἱ τῶν λί-
 θων ὄρμοι κεκοσμημένα φαίνονται, "ἰδοῦ" ἔφη, "οὐ
 6 πρῶην ἐμνημονεύομεν, Πάρις ὁ τοῦ Πριάμου." ἐμοῦ
 δὲ ἐρομένου αὐτόν "τί ἔοικεν ὁ ταῶς τῷ Πάριδι;" "τὸ
 φίλαντον" εἶπε. καὶ γὰρ δὴ κάκηνος κόσμον ἔνεκεν
 περιήθηρει μὲν ἑαυτόν, περιεσκόπει δὲ τὰ ὄπλα. δορὰς
 δὲ παρδάλεον ἐνήπτο τοῖς ὤμοις, ἀνχμὸν δὲ προσιζά-
 νειν ταῖς κόμαις οὐδὲ ὁπότε μάχοιτο ἠνείχετο, ἔστιλβε
 δὲ καὶ τοὺς ὄνυχας τῶν χειρῶν, καὶ ὑπόγρυπος ἦν καὶ
 λευκὸς καὶ τὸ ὄμμα ἐγέγραπτο, ἣ δὲ ἑτέρα ὀφρῦς
 ὑπερῆρε τοῦ ὀμματος.

Phoenician. It does trouble me, but it is right to hear it.
Vinedresser. Well, Protesilaus says that Paris was hated
 2 by all the Trojans. He was not a bad fighter, and he was
 extremely good-looking, with a pleasant voice and manner.
 Since he had visited the Peloponnese, he could fight in
 every style, and in his skill with a bow he was the equal of
 Pandarus. His voyage to Greece, when he was Menelaus'
 3 guest and captivated Helen with his beauty, was while he
 was still a youth, and he died before he reached thirty.

He preened himself on his good looks, and admired
 4 himself no less than others did, which led Protesilaus to
 some clever mockery:¹⁶¹ for when he saw this peacock
 5 here (a bird he enjoys for its ravishing beauty) puffed up
 and opening out its feathers,¹⁶² inspecting and cleaning
 them, and rearranging some to look like necklaces of pre-
 cious stones, he said, "Do you see the man we were re-
 cently talking about, Paris son of Priam?" When I asked
 him how the peacock was like Paris, he answered, "In his
 6 vanity." For evidently Paris too used to take great care for
 his looks, and fuss over the appearance of his armor. He
 wore leopard skins on his shoulders, and even in the battle
 would never allow dirt to settle on his hair; he polished his
 fingernails; he was pale with a slightly hooked nose, wore
 eye makeup, and one of his eyebrows was always raised.¹⁶³

¹⁶¹ For comparisons as party jokes, see MacDowell (1971) on *Ar. Vesp.* 1308-13, and Pelliccia (2002).

¹⁶² For the vanity of the peacock, who displays his tail feathers when he hears them praised, see D. Thompson (1936, 280).

¹⁶³ For the raising of one or both eyebrows in arrogance, see Van Leeuwen (1893) on *Ar. Vesp.* 655.

41. Ἐλενος δὲ καὶ Δηϊφόβος καὶ Πολυδάμας ξυνέβαινον μὲν ἀλλήλοις τὰς μάχας καὶ ταῦτον ἐφέροντο τῆς βίωμης, εὐδόκιμοι δὲ τὰς ξυμβουλίας ἦσαν· ὁ δὲ Ἐλενος καὶ μαντικῆς ἤπτετο ἴσα τῷ Κάλχαντι.

42. Περὶ δὲ Εὐφόρβου τοῦ Πάνθου καὶ ὡς γένοιτό τις ἐν Τροίᾳ Εὐφóρβος καὶ ἀποθάνοι ὑπὸ τοῦ Μενέλεω, τὸν Πυθαγόρου, οἶμαι, τοῦ Σαμίου λόγον ἤκουσας· ἔλεγε γὰρ δὴ ὁ Πυθαγόρας Εὐφóρβος γεγονέναι μεταφύναί τε Ἴων μὲν ἐκ Τρωός, σοφὸς δὲ ἐκ πολεμικοῦ, κεκολασμένος δὲ ἐκ τρυφάντος· τὴν τε κόμην, ἣν σοφὸς γενόμενος ἐκόσμηι τῷ αὐχμῶ, χρυσοῦν ἐν Τροίᾳ ἐποιεῖτο ὅπσι' ἦν Εὐφóρβος, ὁ δὲ Πρωτεσίλεως τὸν Εὐφóρβον ἤλικα ἑαυτοῦ ἡγείται καὶ ἐλεεῖ καὶ ὁμολογεῖ τὸν Πάτροκλον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τρωθέντα παραδοθῆναι τῷ Ἔκτορι. εἰ δὲ εἰς ἄνδρας ἦλθεν, οὐδὲν ἂν φησιν αὐτὸν κακίῳ νομισθῆναι τοῦ Ἔκτορος. τὴν μὲν γε ὥραν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς φησι θέλγειν· εὐκέναι γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀγάλαμι, ὅποτε κάλλιστα ἑαυτοῦ ὁ Ἀπόλλων ἀκερσεκόμης τε καὶ ἄβρὸς φαίνουτο.

4. Τοσαῦτα, ξένε, περὶ Τρώων δίεισιν ὁ θεῖός τε καὶ ἀγαθὸς ἦρας. λοιπὸν δ' ἡμῖν ἴσως τὸν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως ἀποτελέσαι λόγον, εἰ μὴ ἀπίρηκας πρὸς τὸ μήκος.

43. ΦΟΙΝ. Εἰ οἱ τοῦ λωτοῦ παρ' Ὀμήρῳ φαγόντες, ὦ ἀμπελουργέ, προθύμως οὕτω προσέκειντο τῇ πόᾳ ὡς ἐκκληῆσθαι τῶν οἴκοι, μὴ ἀπίσται καμὲ προσκεῖσθαι τῷ λόγῳ καθάπερ τῷ λωτῷ, καὶ μήτ' ἂν ἐκόντα ἀπελθεῖν ἐνθένδε, ἀπαχθῆναι δὲ μόγις ἂν ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν καὶ δεθῆναι δὲ αὐτῷ ἐν αὐτῇ κλάοντα καὶ ὀλοφυ-

41. Helenus, Deiphobus and Polydamas were equal to each other in fighting, contributed equal strength, and were famed for their counsel; in addition, Helenus was as skilled in prophecy as Calchas.

42. As for Euphorbus son of Panthous, that he was at Troy, and was killed by Menelaus, you have probably heard the story of Pythagoras of Samos; since Pythagoras claimed that in a past life he *was* Euphorbus, but was later reborn as an Ionian instead of a Trojan, a philosopher instead of a warrior, and an ascetic instead of a wastrel; he adds that the hair which he smeared with dirt as a philosopher he kept golden while he was Euphorbus.¹⁶⁴ Protesilaus thinks Euphorbus was his own age, and mourns him; he agrees with Homer (*Il.* 16.806-50) that Patroclus was first wounded by him and then passed on to Hector. He says that if he had reached manhood he would have been considered as good as Hector, and that his beauty charmed even the Greeks; he was like a statue of long-haired and delicate Apollo more beautiful than ever.

That, stranger, is what this holy and good hero says about the Trojans. It remains for me to complete perhaps the story of Achilles, if you are not weary at such length.

43. *Phoenician.* If those who ate of the lotus in Homer were so mad about the plant that they forgot their homes, you can rest assured that I am as taken with your story as with the lotus; far from ever leaving, I would have to be carried off to my ship and bound there, crying and

¹⁶⁴ Cf. VA 8.7. It was said that Pythagoras had seen the shield of Euphorbus dedicated in a temple at Argos and recognized it as belonging to him in a past life; for this notorious (and often ridiculed) claim, see Burkert (1972, 139-41).

- 2 *ρόμενον ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ ἐμπίπλασθαι τοῦ λόγου. καὶ γὰρ
 με καὶ πρὸς τὰ τοῦ Ὀμήρου ποιήματα οὕτω διατίθει-
 κας, ὡς θεῖά τε αὐτὰ ἡγούμενον καὶ πέρα ἀνθρώπου
 δόξαι, νῦν ἐκπεπλήχθαι μᾶλλον, οὐκ ἐπὶ τῇ ἐποποιίᾳ
 μόνον, οὐδ' εἴ τις ἡδονὴ διήκει σφῶν, ἀλλὰ πολλῶ
 μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τε τοῖς ὀνόμασι τῶν ἡρώων ἐπὶ τε τοῖς
 γένεσι καὶ νῆ Δί' ὡς ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἔλαχε τοῦ κτεῖναι*
- 3 *τινα ἢ ἀποθανεῖν ὑφ' ἑτέρου. τὸν μὲν γὰρ Πρωτεσί-
 λεων δαίμονα ἤδη ὄντα οὐδὲν οἶμαι θανμαστὸν εἰδέ-
 ναι ταῦτα, Ὀμήρῳ δὲ πόθεν μὲν Εὐφωρβος, πόθεν δὲ
 Ἐλενοί τε καὶ Δηίφοβοι καὶ νῆ Δί' ἐκ τῆς ἀντικειμέ-
 νης στρατιᾶς οἱ πολλοὶ ἄνδρες οὓς ἐν καταλόγῳ φρά-
 ζει; τὸ γὰρ μὴ ὑποτεθεῖσθαι ταῦτα τὸν Ὀμηρον, ἀλλὰ
 γεγονότων τε καὶ ἀληθινῶν ἔργων ἀπαγγελίαν ποιεί-
 σθαι μαρτυρεῖ ὁ Πρωτεσίλεως, πλὴν ὀλίγων, ἃ δοκεῖ
 μᾶλλον ἐκὼν μετασκευάσαι ἐπὶ τῷ ποικίλῃν τε καὶ
 ἡδίῳ ἀποφῆναι τὴν ποιήσιν ὅθεν τὸ ὑπὸ ἐνίων λεγό-
 μενον, ὡς Ἀπόλλων αὐτὰ ποιήσας τὸν Ὀμηρον ἐπέ-
 γραψε τῇ ποιήσει, σφόδρα μοι δοκεῖ ἐρῶσθαι τὸ
 γὰρ γινώσκειν ταῦτα θεῶ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνθρώπῳ εἶκοι.*
- 6 *ἌΜΠ. Τὸ μὲν θεοὺς ἡγεμόνας εἶναι τοῖς ποιηταῖς,
 ξένη, πάσης ᾠδῆς, αὐτοὶ που οἱ ποιηταὶ ὁμολογοῦσιν,
 οἱ μὲν τὴν Καλλιόπην, οἱ δὲ Πάσας, οἱ δὲ καὶ τὸν
 Ἀπόλλω πρὸς ταῖς ἐννεὰ παρατυχεῖν αἰτούμενοι τῷ
 λόγῳ; τὰ δὲ Ὀμήρου ταῦτα οὐκ ἀθεοὶ μὲν εἴρηται, οὐ
 μὴν Ἀπόλλωνί γε αὐτῷ ἢ Μούσαις αὐταῖς ἦσται. γέ-
 γονε γάρ, ξένη, γέγονε ποιητῆς Ὀμηρος καὶ ἦδεν, ὡς
 μὲν φασιν ἕτεροι μετὰ τέτταρα καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτη τῶν*

grieving because I hadn't had my fill of stories. You've 2
 already persuaded me to believe that Homer's poetry is
 divine, beyond human powers; but I now am struck not
 only by the poetry and its pervasive charm, but much more
 at the names and families of the heroes, and how it was
 each one's lot to kill someone or be killed by someone else.
 It doesn't seem to be so remarkable that Protesilaus, who 3
 is after all divine, should know this; but where did Homer
 get Euphorbus, or men like Helenus or Deiphobus, or the
 many others from the opposing side that he mentions in
 the catalog? For Protesilaus attests that Homer has not 4
 invented this, but reported what actually happened—the
 few exceptions seem intentional reworking, to give his
 poetry greater variety and charm. So when some people 5
 say that Apollo wrote it and merely put Homer's name on
 it, it seems to me to have some force; it would take a god
 to know all this, not a mere man.

Vinedresser. The poets themselves admit that the gods 6
 initiate all their song, and some pray to Calliope to attend
 their words, others pray to all the Muses, others to Apollo
 besides the nine; obviously Homer's poems are divine, but
 that does not mean that Apollo himself or the Muses actu- 7
 ally wrote them. No, there really was a Homer who sang

Τρωικῶν, οἱ δὲ μετὰ ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατόν,
 ὅτε τὴν ἀποικίαν ἐς Ἴωνίαν ἔστειλαν·

οἱ δὲ ἐξήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἔτη γεγονέναι μετὰ τὴν
 Τροίαν ἐπὶ Ὀμηρὸν τέ φασι καὶ Ἡσίοδον, ὅτε δὴ
 ᾄσαι ἄμφω ἐν Χαλκίδι, τὸν μὲν τὰ ἑπτὰ ἔπη τὰ περὶ
 τοῦν Αἰάντων καὶ ὡς αἱ φάλαγγες αὐτοῖς ἀραρυαῖαί τε
 ἦσαν καὶ καρτεραί, τὸν δὲ τὰ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν
 ἑαυτοῦ Πέρσην, ἐν οἷς αὐτὸν ἔργων τε ἐκέλευεν ἀπτε-
 σθαι καὶ γεωργία προσκείσθαι, ὡς μὴ δέοιτο ἐτέρων
 8 μηδὲ πεινῶν. καὶ ἀληθέστερα, ξένη, περὶ τῶν Ὀμήρου
 χρόνων ταῦτα· ξυντίθεται γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὁ Πρωτεσίλειος.
 9 δύο γοῦν ποιητῶν ὕμνοι ποτὲ εἰπόντων ἐς αὐτὸν ἐν-
 ταυθοῖ καὶ ἀπελθόντων, ἡρετό με ὁ ἦρωσ ἀφικόμενος
 ὅτῳ αὐτῶν ψηφίζοιμην· ἐμοῦ δὲ τὸν φαυλότερον ἐπαι-
 νέσαντος (καὶ γὰρ μᾶλλον ἔτυχεν ἡρηκῶς), γέλασας
 ὁ Πρωτεσίλειος “καὶ Πανίδης” εἶπεν, “ἀμπελουργέ,
 ταῦτόν σοι πέπονθε· Χαλκίδος γὰρ τῆς ἐπ’ Εὐρίπῳ
 βασιλεὺς ὢν ἐκέinois Ἡσιόδῳ κατὰ Ὀμήρου ἐψηφί-
 σατο, καὶ ταῦτα τὸ γένειον ἔχων μείζον ἢ σύ.”

10 γέγονε μὲν δὴ, ξένη, ποιητῆς Ὀμηρος καὶ τὰ ποι-
 11 ἤματα ἀνθρώπου ταῦτα. τὰ δὲ ὀνόματα ἦδει καὶ τὰ
 ἔργα ξυνελέξατο μὲν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἃς ἕκαστοι ἦγον
 ἦλθε μὲν γὰρ περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα μετὰ χρόνον τῶν
 Τρωικῶν οὕτω ἱκανὸν ἐξαμαυρῶσαι τὰ ἐν τῇ Τροίᾳ.

165 Attempts to write the “biography” of Homer began with Theagenes in the sixth century BC and Alcidas in the fourth; for a collection of the extant ancient biographies, see M. L. West (2003b).

them¹⁶⁵—some say 24 years after the Trojan war, others 127 years after, at the time of the Ionian migration.

Others say that 160 years elapsed after Troy until Homer and Hesiod, when both sang at Chalcis:¹⁶⁶ the one with his seven verses¹⁶⁷ about the two Ajaxes and how firm and strong their columns were, the other those to his brother Perses, commanding him to work and attend to his farming, to avoid indigence and hunger.¹⁶⁸ And this 8
 seems the truest date for Homer, since Protesilaus con- 9
 firms it—once when two poets had sung hymns to praise
 him, Protesilaus came to me after they had left and asked
 me which one I voted for. I gave the preference to the one
 that was less impressive (he had happened to be more
 compelling). He laughed and said, “Panides made the
 same mistake as you, Vinedresser; for when he was king of
 Chalcis on the Euripus he voted for Hesiod against Homer,
 and he had a longer beard than you.”¹⁶⁹

So then, there really was a Homer, and these poems 10
 were written by a man. He knew the names, and he col- 11
 lected the events from the cities which each warrior led,
 since he traveled around Greece soon enough after

¹⁶⁶ A reference to the *Contest Between Homer and Hesiod*, text and translation in M. L. West (2003b, 318–53); see also Uden (2010).

¹⁶⁷ A slight error, since this section of the *Contest of Homer and Hesiod* (ch. 12; M. L. West 2003b, 338–39) quotes eight verses (*Il.* 13.126–33) and adds to them six more (*Il.* 13.339–44).

¹⁶⁸ *Contest*, ch. 12 (M. L. West 2003b, 336–37), quoting Hes. *Op.* 383–92.

¹⁶⁹ *Contest*, ch. 13 (M. L. West 2003b, 341), where he is called Panedes.

- 12 ἔμαθε δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ τρόπον ἕτερον δαιμονίον τε καὶ
σοφίας πρόσω εἰς Ἰθάκην γὰρ ποτε τὸν Ὅμηρον
πλευσαί φασιν ἀκούσαντα ὡς πέπνυται ἔτι ἡ ψυχὴ
τοῦ Ὀδυσσεως, καὶ ψυχαγωγία ἐπ' αὐτὸν χρήσασθαι.
- 13 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνελθεῖν τὸν Ὀδυσσεά, ὁ μὲν ἠρώτα αὐτὸν τὰ
ἐν Ἰλίῳ, ὁ δὲ εἰδέναι μὲν πάντα ἔλεγε καὶ μεμνήσθαι
αὐτῶν, εἰπεῖν δ' ἂν οὐδὲν ὃν οἶδεν εἰ μὴ μισθὸς αὐτῷ
παρ' Ὀμήρου γένοιτο εὐφημία τε ἐν τῇ ποιήσει καὶ
- 14 ὕμνος ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ τε καὶ ἀνδρείᾳ. ὁμολογήσαντος δὲ
τοῦ Ὀμήρου ταῦτα καὶ ὃ τι δύναιτο χαριεῖσθαι αὐτῷ
ἐν τῇ ποιήσει φήσαντος, διήκει ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς πάντα ξὺν
ἀληθείᾳ τε καὶ ὡς ἐγένετο· ἥκιστα γὰρ πρὸς αἵματι
- 15 τε καὶ βόθροις αἱ ψυχαὶ ψεύδονται. ἀπίοντος δὲ ἤδη
τοῦ Ὀμήρου, βοήσας ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς "Παλαμῆδης με"
ἔφη "δίκας ἀπαιτεῖ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ φόνου καὶ οἶδα ἀδικῶν
καὶ πάντως μὲν πείσομαι τι· οἱ γὰρ θεμιστεύοντες
ἐνταῦθα δεινοί, Ὅμηρε, καὶ τὰ ἐκ Πουῶν ἐγγύς. εἰ δὲ
τοῖς ἄνω ἀνθρώποις μὴ δόξω εἰργάσθαι τὸν Παλα-
μῆδην ταῦτα, ἥττόν με ἀπολεῖ τὰ ἐνταῦθα· μὴ δὲ ἄγε
τὸν Παλαμῆδην ἐς Ἰλιον, μηδὲ στρατιώτῃ χρῶ, μηδὲ
ὅτι σοφὸς ἦν εἶπης. ἐρούσι μὲν γὰρ ἕτεροι ποιηταί,
16 πιθανὰ δὲ οὐ δόξει μὴ σοὶ εἰρημένα." αὐτῇ, ξένε, ἡ
Ὀδυσσεως τε καὶ Ὀμήρου ξυνουσία, καὶ οὕτως Ὀμη-
ρος τὰ ἀληθῆ μὲν ἔμαθε, μετεκόσμησε δὲ πολλὰ ἐς
τὸ συμφέρον τοῦ λόγου ὃν ὑπέθετο.

44. ΦΟΙΝ. Πατρίδα δὲ Ὀμήρου, ᾧ ἀμπελουργέ, καὶ
τῶν ἐγένετο, ἤρου ποτὲ τὸν Πρωτεσίλεων;

ἌΜΠ. Καὶ πολλάκις, ξένε.

the Trojan war that its events had not been forgotten. He learned of the events in one other way also, which was more magical and extremely wise. He sailed to Ithaca, it is said, since he had heard that Odysseus' soul still retained its faculties, and conjured it up from the dead. When it appeared, he asked about the events at Troy; Odysseus replied that he knew and still remembered them, but would say nothing he knew unless rewarded by Homer with good treatment in his poetry, and praise for his wisdom and courage. When Homer agreed to do this and said he would do everything to please him in his poetry, Odysseus recalled it all exactly as it had happened—souls are least prone to lying when they are at the pit filled with blood. As Homer was going away, Odysseus shouted, "Palamedes is demanding justice for his murder; I know I am guilty, and that I will assuredly suffer for it. The judges here are terrifying, and the work of the Punishments is at hand. But if the men in the upper world do not think that I did this to Palamedes, my doom will be less harsh. Therefore you must not say that Palamedes went to Troy, nor speak of his fighting or his wisdom. Other poets will tell of this—but they will not be believed if you have not said it." This, stranger, is what happened between Homer and Odysseus; thus it came about that Homer knew the truth, but changed much of it to benefit the subject he had chosen.

44. *Phoenician*. Did you ever ask Protesilaus about Homer's birthplace, or who his parents were?
Vinedresser. Many times.

ΦΟΙΝ. Ὅ δὲ τί;

- 2 ἌΜΠ. Φησὶ μὲν εἰδέναι, Ὅμηρου δὲ παραλιπόντος
αὐτὰ ἵνα αἱ σπουδαῖαι τῶν πόλεων πολίτην αὐτὸν
σφῶν αὐτῶν ποιῶντο, ἴσως δὲ καὶ θεσμοῦ Μοιρῶν
ἐπὶ Ὅμηρῳ ὄντος ἀπολιν αὐτὸν δοκεῖν, οὐτ' ἂν ταῖς
Μοίραις οὐτ' ἂν ταῖς Μούσαις φίλα γε ἔφη αὐτὸν
πράττειν εἰ τοῦτ' ἐκφέρου, περιεστηκὸς λοιπὸν εἰς
3 ἔπαινον τῷ Ὅμηρῳ. προστίθενται μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ πᾶ-
σαι μὲν πόλεις, πάντα δὲ ἔθνη, καὶ δικάσαιντο δ' ἂν
περὶ αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἀλλήλας, ἐγγράφουσαι τῷ Ὅμηρῳ
4 ἑαυτὰς οἶον πολίτη. τοῦ δὲ μηδ' ἂν τοῦτον σιωπήσαι
τὸν λόγον πρὸς σέ, ὦ Φοῖνιξ, μηδ' ἂν κρύψαι εἴπερ
ἐγίνωσκον αὐτόν, τεκμήρια ἔστω σοι ἃ εἶρηκα ἀφθό-
νωσ γὰρ οἶμαι διεληλυθῆναι σοι ὅποσα οἶδα.

- 5 ΦΟΙΝ. Πιστεύω, ἀμπελουργέ, καὶ ἐπώμεθα τῷ
λόγῳ δι' ὃν σιωπάται ταῦτα. τὸν δὲ Ἀχιλλέα ὦρα σοι
ἀναφαίνειν, εἰ μὴ καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐκπλήξει, ὥσπερ τοὺς
Τρῶας ὅτ' ἔλαμψεν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς τάφρου.

45. ἌΜΠ. Μὴ δέδιθι τὸν Ἀχιλλέα, ὦ ξένε· παιδὶ
γὰρ ἐντεύξῃ αὐτῷ παρὰ τὴν πρώτην τοῦ λόγου.

ΦΟΙΝ. Μεγάλα δώσεις διεξελεθὼν αὐτὸν ἐκ νηπίου
μετὰ ταῦτα γὰρ ὀπιλιζομένῳ πον ἐντευξόμεθα καὶ μα-
χομένῳ.

- 2 ἌΜΠ. Οὕτως ἔσται καὶ πάντα φήσεις τὰ Ἀχιλλέως
εἰδέναι. ἤκουσα δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοιαύδε· Πηλεὶ φάσμα
ἐφόιτα θαλαττίας δαίμονος καὶ ἐρώσα αὐτοῦ ἢ δαί-
μων ξυνην τῷ Πηλεὶ ἐν Πηλίῳ, αἰδοὶ τοῦ ὀμίλου οὐπω

Phoenician. What did he say?

Vinedresser. He said that he knew; but since Homer 2
himself had not said, to keep all ambitious cities claim-
ing him as their own, and since perhaps some law of the
fates ordained that Homer should seem to have no city, he
would not please the Muses if he revealed the secret which
had redounded to Homer's glory ever after. For all cities 3
and all peoples connect themselves to him, and they would
take each other to court to enter themselves under his
name as their citizen.¹⁷⁰ If I knew it, I would not have kept 4
silent or hidden the story of this from you either. What I've
told you already should convince you of that; for I'm sure
I've told you everything I know without reserve.

Phoenician. I believe you. Let us follow the story for 5
whose sake this is kept secret: it is time for you to tell me
of Achilles, unless he is going to terrify us as he did the
Trojans, when he gleamed at them from the trench (*Il.*
18.203-31).

45. *Vinedresser.* You need not fear Achilles; at the be-
ginning of my story he is only a child.

Phoenician. It will be excellent if you describe him
from his infancy; we can meet him in full fighting gear a
little later.

Vinedresser. All right; you will be able to say you know 2
everything about Achilles. What I have heard about him
is this: the phantom of a sea goddess had fallen in love with
Peleus, and the divinity used to visit and lie with Peleus
on Mount Pelion; but out of fear of publicity she told him

¹⁷⁰ For the rivalry of Greek cities for Homer's birthplace, see
Skitiadas (1965) and M. L. West (2003b, 309-10).

- 3 τὰ ἑαυτῆς λέγουσα, οὐδὲ ὀπόθεν ἦκοι. γαλήνης δ' ἐπεχούσης τὴν θάλατταν ἢ μὲν ἔτυχεν ἐπὶ δελφίνων τε καὶ ἵπποκάμπων ἀθύρουσα, ὁ δὲ ἐκ περιωπῆς τοῦ Πηλίου ὄρων ταῦτα ξυνῆκε τῆς θεοῦ καὶ ἔδεισεν ἠκούσαι. ἢ δὲ ἐς θάρσος ἤγε τὸν Πηλέα Ἡοῦς τε μνημονεύουσα ὡς Τιθωνοῦ ἦρα, καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ὡς ἤττητο τοῦ Ἀγχίσου, καὶ Σελήνης ὡς Ἐνδυμίωνι ἐπεφοίτα καθεύδοντι. "ἐγὼ δέ σοι καὶ παῖδα" εἶπεν, "ὦ Πηλεῦ, δώσω κρείττω ἀνθρώπου."
- 4 ἐπεὶ δ' Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐγένετο, ποιοῦνται αὐτοῦ τροφέα τὸν Χείρωνα. ὁ δὲ ἔτρεφεν αὐτὸν κηρίους τε καὶ μυελοῖς νεβρῶν, ἐς ἡλικίαν τε ἤκοντα ἐν ἧ οἱ παῖδες ἀμαξίδων καὶ ἀστραγάλων δέονται, εἶργε μὲν οὐδὲ τῶν τοιούτων, ἀκοντίους δὲ εἵθιζε καὶ παλτοῖς καὶ δρόμοις. ἦν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ μελία μικρὰ τετμημένη ὑπὸ τοῦ Χείρωνος, καὶ ἐώκει ψελλιζομένῳ ἐς τὰ πολεμικά.
- 5 ἐφήβου δὲ ἀπτόμενος ἀκτῖνα μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου ἔπεμπεν, ὑπερφυῆς δὲ τὸ σῶμα ἐφαίνετο, αὐξήθεις τε ῥῶον ἢ τὰ πρὸς ταῖς πηγαῖς δένδρα, πολλὸν μὲν
- 6 ἐν συμποσίοις ἤδετο, πολλὸν δὲ ἐν σπουδαῖς. ἐπεὶ δὲ θυμοῦ ἤττων ἐφαίνετο, μουσικὴν αὐτὸν ὁ Χείρων ἐδιδάξατο. μουσικῇ γὰρ ἰκανῇ πραῦνεν τὸ ἔτοιμόν τε καὶ ἀνεσθηκὸς τῆς γνώμης. ὁ δὲ οὐδενὶ πόνῳ τὰς τε ἀρμονίας ἐξέμαθε καὶ πρὸς λύραν ἤσεν. ἦδε δὲ τοὺς ἀρχαίους ἡλικας, τὸν Ἰάκινθον καὶ τὸν Νάρκισσον καὶ εἴ τι Ἀδώνιδος. προσφάτων δὲ ὄντων τῶν περὶ "Ἦλλα τε καὶ Ἀβδῆρῳ θρήνων, ἐπειδὴ ἄμφω ἐφήβῳ ὄντε ὁ μὲν ἐς πηγὴν ὄχετο ἀφανισθείς, τὸν δὲ αἰ τοῦ

nothing about herself or where she came from. One day, 3 when the sea was calm and she chanced to be playing, riding on dolphins and seahorses, he looked down from the summit of mount Pelion and saw her, and recognized her as a goddess; when she next came to him, he was afraid. But she encouraged him by reminding him of the love of Dawn for Tithonus, of how Aphrodite succumbed to Anchises, and how Selene visited Endymion while he slept. She added, "I shall give you a child greater than any mortal."

When Achilles was born they chose Chiron to bring him 4 up; as a baby he fed him honey and the marrow of fawns.¹⁷¹ At the age when other children want toy wagons and knucklebones to play with, Chiron did not keep him away from these, but trained him in spears, javelins and running. He had a small spear of ash that Chiron had cut for him; one might say he was in the baby-talk phase of training for war.

By the time he was a youth his face gleamed and his 5 size was prodigious (he had grown more rapidly than the trees around springs), and his praises were sung much at drinking parties, but also much on serious occasions. Since 6 he tended to be emotional, Chiron taught him music, which was able to soften his agile and excitable mind. He learned the harmonies with no difficulty, and sang and played the lyre.¹⁷² He used to sing of youths of long ago, like Hyacinthus, Narcissus or anything about Adonis. The dirges for Hyllas who had disappeared by falling into a stream, and Abderus who had been eaten by Diomedes'

¹⁷¹ As in *Imag.* 2.2, an *ekphrasis* of an episode in the education of Achilles.

¹⁷² Achilles' musical talent is fulfilled in his song to Echo on Leuke (55.3; Miles 2004).

7 Διομήδους ἵπποι ἐδαίσαντο, οὐκ ἀδακρυτὶ ταῦτα ἦδεν. ἤκουσα δὲ κάκεῖνα, θύειν μὲν αὐτὸν τῇ Καλλιόπῃ μουσικὴν αἰτοῦντα καὶ τὸ ἐν ποιήσει κράτος, τὴν θεὸν δὲ ἐπιστῆναι καθεύδοντι καὶ “ὦ παῖ” φάσαι, “μουσικῆς μὲν καὶ ποιητικῆς δίδαμί σοι τὸ ἀποχρῶν ὡς ἡδίους μὲν τὰς δαίτας ἐργάζοιο, κοιμίζοις δὲ τὰς λύπας· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐμοὶ τε καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ δοκεῖ πολεμικὸν εἶναι σε καὶ δεινὸν ἐν δεινοῖς [ἐν στρατοπέδοις], Μοῖραί τε οὕτω κελεύουσι, σὺ μὲν ἐκεῖνα γυμνάζου κάκεῖνων ἔρα. ποιητῆς δὲ ἔσται χρόνοις ὕστερον ὃν ἐγὼ ἀνήσω τὰ σὰ ὑμνέειν ἔργα.” ταῦτ’ ἐμὲν αὐτῷ περὶ Ὀμήρου ἐχρήσθη.

8 μεῖράκιον δὲ γενόμενος οὐχ, ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοὶ φασιν, ἀπόθετος ἐν Σκύρῳ ἐτρέφετο, τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ἐν ταῖς παρθένοις· οὔτε γὰρ τὸν Πηλέα εἰκὸς ἄριστον τῶν ἡρώων γενόμενον ὑπεκπέμψαι ποι τὸν υἱὸν πολέμου τε καὶ κινδύνου ἀποδράντα, καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ Τελαμώνος ἐξορμώντος τὸν Αἴαντα, οὔτ’ ἂν Ἀχιλλεὺς ἠνέσχετο ἐς γυναικωνίτιν ἐσβεβλήσθαι, παρὲς ἐτέροις τὸ θαυμάζεσθαι τε καὶ εὐδοκμεῖν ἐν Τροίᾳ· τὸ γὰρ φιλότιμον πλείστον δὴ καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἦν.

46. ΦΟΙΝ. Τί οὖν δὴ ὁ Πρωτεσίλεις, ἀμπέλουργέ, περὶ τούτων οἶδε;

2 ἈΜΠ. Πιθανώτερα, ξένε, καὶ ἀληθέστερα· φησὶ γὰρ Θησεά ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν φεύγοντα ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρᾷ τῇ ἐς τὸν

173 Euripides' *Scyrioi* (probably not the *Cypria*; see M. L. West 2003a, 104) had said that Achilles tried to avoid fighting by

horses, were still new, and he sang them with much weeping. I have also heard that he sacrificed to Calliope and prayed for the gift of music and greatness as a poet, and that the goddess appeared in a dream to him and said, “My boy, I am giving you enough of music and poetry that you can make banquets sweeter and calm your grief; but since it is my will and Athena’s, and the decree of the fates, that you be a warrior, a terror amid the terrors of battle, it is this that you must practice and love; later there will be a poet, whom I shall command to praise your deeds.” Thus the coming of Homer was prophesied to him.

When he became a young man he was not, as most claim, brought up in hiding—and among maidens at that—on Scyros; for it is not plausible that the best of heroes, Peleus, packed his son away to escape warfare and danger at a time when his brother Telamon was sending Ajax forth to war. Nor would Achilles have stood for being thrown into women’s quarters, and letting others gain admiration and glory at Troy; the most prominent quality was ambition in him too.¹⁷³

46. *Phoenician*. What then does Protesilaus have to say about this?

Vinedresser. He tells a more persuasive and truer story. Theseus, in exile from Athens because he had cursed his

disguising himself as a daughter of king Lycomedes on Scyros—it was there that he fathered Neoptolemus with one of the daughters. The *Little Iliad*, however, had made him the husband of Deidameia (M. L. West 2003a, 107). For the rationalistic reinterpretation here, see Introduction §5. It is also adopted by Libanius and Tertullian (Fantuzzi 2012, 63–64).

- υἱὸν ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ Λυκομήδους ἐν Σκύρω, Θησεὶ δὲ
 ξένον ὄντα τὸν Πηλέα καὶ κοινῶν τῶν Καλυδωνίου
 ἔργου στείλαι τὸν Ἀχιλλέα ἐς τὴν Σκύρον τιμωρὸν τῷ
 Θησεῖ, τὸν δὲ ἐκπλεύσαντα ὁμοῦ τῷ Φοίνικι μόνῃ ὑπὸ
 γήρως τὰ ξυμβουλευτικὰ εἰδοῦσι κατασεῖσαι τὴν Σκύ-
 ρον ἐκ προσβολῆς μετέωρον οὔσαν καὶ ἀνωκισμένην
 ἐπ' ὄχθου πετραίου, τὸν Λυκομήδην δὲ σχεῖν μὲν, οὐ
 μὴν ἀποκτείνειν, ἀλλ' ἐρέσθαι τί παθὼν ἄνδρα ἑαυτοῦ
 3 βελτίῳ ἀπέκτεινεν εἰπόντα δὲ ὅτι "ἐπ' ἀδίκους, ὦ
 Ἀχιλλεῦ, ἤκουσα καὶ πειρῶντα τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν ἐμήν,"
 ἀφῆκεν ὡς ἐν δίκῃ ἀποκτείναντα καὶ ἀπολογῆσθαι
 4 ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἔφη πρὸς τὸν Πηλέα. Δηιδάμειαν δὲ
 θυγατέρα τοῦ Λυκομήδους ἔγνηκε καὶ γίνεται αὐτοῖς
 Νεοπτόλεμος, ὀνομασθεὶς τοῦτο διὰ νεότητα τοῦ
 Ἀχιλλέως καθ' ἣν ἐς τὸ πολεμεῖν ὤρμησεν.
 5 ἐνταῦθα τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ διαιωμένῳ παρεγένετο ἡ Θέ-
 τις καὶ ἐθεράπευε τὸν υἱὸν ὥσπερ αἱ θνηταὶ τῶν μη-
 τέρων, ξυλληγομένου δὲ ἐς τὴν Αὐλίδα τοῦ στρατοῦ
 διεπόρθμευσεν αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν Φθίαν διὰ τὰ ἐπ' αὐτῷ
 κεκλωσμένα, τὸν Πηλέα ποιουμένη κύριον τοῦ παιδός·
 6 λέγεται καὶ ὄπλα ἐκποιῆσαι αὐτῷ οἷα μήπω τις
 ἦνεγκε, ξὺν οἷς ἐς τὴν Αὐλίδα ἀφικόμενος ἐλπίδος τε
 ὑπέπλησε τὸν στρατόν, θεοῦ τε οὕτω τι ἐνομίσθη
 παῖς, ὡς θύειν αὐτοὺς τῇ Θέτιδι ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ καὶ προ-
 σκυνεῖν τὸν Ἀχιλλέα ἄττοντα ἐν τοῖς ὄπλοις.
 7 ἠρόμην τὸν Πρωτεσίλεων καὶ περὶ τῆς μελίας, ὃ τι
 ἦν τὸ περὶ αὐτῆς θαῦμα, καὶ φησι μῆκος μὲν εἶναι τῆ
 μελίας ὃ μὴ ἄλλη αἰχμῆ, εὐθύ δὲ τὸ ξύλον καὶ οὕτω

son, was killed in Scyros by Lycomedes, and since Peleus
 had been a friend of Theseus and joined him in the hunt
 for the Calydonian boar, he sent Achilles to Scyros to
 avenge Theseus' death. He sailed with Phoenix (who has
 too old to participate in anything but the planning), and
 even though Scyros was very high, and founded on a rocky
 cliff, he captured it by assault. He seized Lycomedes but
 did not kill him, asking instead what had driven him to kill
 a man so much his better; "He came to injure me," said 3
 Lycomedes, "and to steal my kingdom," and so Achilles
 released him as justified in the killing, and said he would
 take his side before Peleus. He married Lycomedes' 4
 daughter Deidameia and they had a son Neoptolemus (=
 "young war"), so named because of Achilles' youthful en-
 thusiasm for warfare.

It was while Achilles was living there that Thetis joined 5
 him and cared for him just like mortal mothers. When the
 army gathered at Aulis she carried him over to Phthia and
 gave him to Peleus' charge, because of what was fated for
 him; she is also said to have made him arms the like of 6
 which no one had ever carried. When he arrived with
 these at Aulis he filled the army with hope, and was so
 obviously the child of a goddess that they sacrificed to
 Thetis along the shore, and prostrated themselves before
 Achilles when he ran in his armor.

I also asked Protesilaus what had been so miraculous 7
 about his ash spear (*Il.* 16.140-44; 19.387-91); he said that
 it was longer than any other spear; its shaft was straight,

τι ἔρρωμένον ὡς μὴ ἂν κλασθῆναι, τὸ δὲ στόμα τῆς αἰχμῆς ἀδάμαντός τε εἶναι καὶ παντὸς διεκπαίειν, τὸν δὲ στύρακα ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ θάτερα ὀρειχάλκου ἐμβεβλήσθαι, ἵνα πᾶσα δὴ ἀστράπτουσα ἐμπίπτῃ.

47. ΦΟΙΝ. Τὰ δὲ ὄπλα, ὧ ἀμπελουργέ, πῶς φησιν αὐτῷ κεκοσμησθαι;

2 ἌΜΠ. Οὐ τὸν Ὀμήρου τρόπον, ὧ ξένε· θεῖα μὲν
κἀκεῖνα ἐξευρήσθαι τῷ Ὀμήρῳ, πόλεις τε ἀναγρά-
3 φοντι καὶ ἄστρα καὶ πολέμους καὶ γεωργίας καὶ γά-
4 μους καὶ ῥόδας, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνα περὶ αὐτῶν φησιν Ἀχιλ-
λεῖ ὄπλα μὴ γεγονέναι ἄλλα ἢ ἃ ἐς Τροίαν ἤνεγκε,
μηδὲ ἀπολωλέναι ποτὲ Ἀχιλλεῖ ὄπλα, μηδὲ τὸν Πά-
τροκλον ἐνδύναι αὐτὰ παρὰ τὴν μῆνιν ἀποθανεῖν μὲν
γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ὄπλοις εὐδοκιμοῦντα τῇ μάχῃ
καὶ ἀπτόμενον ἦδη τοῦ τείχους, τὰ δὲ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως
4 ἄσυλα μέναι καὶ ἀνάλωτα. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ὄπλοις
τελευτήσαι αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ ἐς γάμον ἤκειν δοκοῦντα,
5 γυμνὸν ἀποθανεῖν ἐστεφανωμένον ὥσπερ οἱ νυμφίοι.
τὰ δὲ ὄπλα κατεσκευάσθαι μὲν ἄσημα καὶ σώ-
φρονα, συγκεκράσθαι δὲ αὐτοῖς ποικίλμα ὕλης, μεθ-
ιστάμενον ἐς αὐγὰς ἄλλοτε ἄλλας, ὅσας ἢ ἱρις ὅθεν
δοκεῖν αὐτὰ πέρα τέχνης καὶ Ἥφαιστου ἄδεσθαι.

48. ΦΟΙΝ. Ἡ καὶ δείξεις αὐτόν, ἀμπελουργέ, καὶ ἀναγράψεις ἀπὸ τοῦ εἶδους;

2 ἌΜΠ. Τί δὲ οὐ μέλλω φιληκόου γέ σου τυγχάνων;
τὴν μὲν δὴ κόμην ἀμφιλαφῆ αὐτῷ φησιν εἶναι καὶ

and so strong it could never be broken; its point was of adamant and penetrated anything; the shaft on its opposite end had been coated with brass, so that the whole thing glistened as it approached the target.

47. *Phoenician*. How does he say his armor was decorated?

Vinedresser. Not as Homer describes it.¹⁷⁴ Those di- 2
vine arms were an invention of Homer, who puts on them 3
cities and stars, wars, farming, marriages, and singing, but 4
Protesilaus says this about them: Achilles had no other 5
arms than those he brought with him to Troy, and they 6
were never lost, nor did Patroclus ever wear them while 7
Achilles was angry. Patroclus died wearing his own arms 8
after a glorious fight in which he had already reached the 9
Trojan wall, and Achilles' arms were not stolen or cap- 10
tured. Achilles himself did not die in his armor either, 11
rather he thought that he was going to a wedding, and so 12
died unarmed, wearing a garland like bridegrooms.

His armor was made simply and without pictures, al- 5
though different materials were combined on it which 6
changed colors like a rainbow; it was for this reason that it 7
seemed to surpass human skill, and was poetically called 8
the work of Hephaestus.

48. *Phoenician*. Will you present him to me, and de- 2
scribe how he looked?

Vinedresser. Since you are so eager to hear, of course I 2
will. His hair was bushy, more beautiful than gold, and

¹⁷⁴ Philostratus seems to follow Eur. *IA* 1068ff. In the *Iliad*, Patroclus dies wearing the arms of Achilles, which are captured by the Trojans. Thetis asks Hephaestus to make her son new arms, whose elaborate decoration is described in *Il.* 18.468-613.

χρυσού ἠδὲ καὶ εὐσχίμονα, ὄπη καὶ ὄπως κινοίη
 αὐτὴν ἢ ἄνεμος ἢ αὐτός, τὴν δὲ ῥίνα οὐπω γρυπὴν
 ἀλλ' οἷον μέλλουσαν, τὴν δὲ ὄφρυν μνηροειδῆ, τὸν θυ-
 μὸν δὲ τὸν ἐν τοῖς ὄμμασι χαροποῖς οὖσιν ἠσυχάζον-
 τος μὲν ἀναβάλλεσθαι τινα ὀρμήν, ὀρμήσαντος δὲ
 3 συνεκπηδᾶν τῇ γνώμῃ, τοῖς τε ἐρώσιν ἠδὲ αὐτὸν
 φαίνεσθαι. πεπουνθέναι γάρ τι τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς πρὸς
 αὐτὸν οἷόν τι πρὸς τοὺς ἀλκίμους τῶν λεόντων· ἀσπα-
 ζόμενοι γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐν ἠσυχίᾳ, μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς χαίρο-
 4 μεν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ὑποπλησθέντες ἐπὶ σὺν ὀρμήσασιν
 ἢ ταῦρον ἢ τι τῶν μαχίμων θηρίων. τὸ δὲ λῆμα τοῦ
 Ἀχιλλέως δηλοῦσθαι φησι καὶ παρὰ τοῦ αὐχένος· εἶ-
 5 ναι γὰρ δὴ ὀρθὸν καὶ ἀνεστηκότα.
 δικαιοτάτον δὲ αὐτὸν ἠρώων γενέσθαι φύσει τε καὶ
 ξυνουσίᾳ τοῦ Χείρωνος. τό τοι διαβεβλήσθαι πρὸς
 χρήματα ἐκείθεν τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ φοιτῆσαι· διεβέβλητο
 γὰρ οὕτω πρὸς αὐτά, ὡς ἐκ τριῶν καὶ εἴκοσι πόλεων,
 ἃς αὐτὸς εἶλε, λαβεῖν μὲν πλείεστα αἰχμάλωτα, μηδε-
 νὸς δὲ αὐτῶν ἠττηθῆναι πλὴν κόρης, ἣν οὐδὲ αὐτὸς
 6 ἑαυτῷ δέδωκεν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἤτησεν· ἀδικίαν
 δὲ τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἐπικαλοῦντος τοῦ Νέστορος εἰ μὴ τὰ
 πλείω Ἀχιλλεὺς λήψοιτο, “ἐμὸν ἔστω” ἔφη “τὸ πλεόν
 τῶν ἔργων, χρήμασι δὲ πλεονεκτεῖτω ὁ βουλόμενος.”
 6 ἐπ' ἐκείνης τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ᾧ ξένη, καὶ ἡ πρὸς τὸν
 Ἀγαμέμνονα τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ μῆνις ὑπὲρ τοῦ Παλαμῆδους
 7 ἤρξατο. μνημονεύων γὰρ τῶν πόλεων ἃς ἄμφω
 ἐξείλον, “τοιαύτη μὲν” εἶπεν “ἢ τοῦ Παλαμῆδους προ-
 δοσία, κάμῃ δὲ κρινέτω ὁ βουλόμενος· ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν

always in place no matter how or where it was shaken by
 the wind or his own movements. His nose was not yet
 curved, but tending toward it. His brows were crescent
 shaped; the fierceness in his gray eyes hinted at his vigor
 even when he was quiet, and when in action it matched
 his temperament, and this was what his lovers found more
 attractive: for the Greeks thought of him as of strong lions, 3
 whom we cherish when they are at rest, but enjoy more
 when they are full of spirit and attacking a boar or bull or
 some other fighting animal. Protesilaus says Achilles' tem- 4
 perament was also clear from his straight and erect neck.

He was the most fair-minded of the heroes, both natu- 5
 rally and through his training from Chiron, from whom an
 aversion to wealth had been passed on to Achilles: he was
 so uninterested in it that out of the great plunder he took
 from the twenty-one cities he captured he succumbed to
 none except a girl, and even her he did not simply take,
 but asked the Greeks for permission to have her. When
 Nestor said the Greeks would be criminals if they did not
 let him take more Achilles said, “I want the greater share
 of the work; anyone who wishes can have more of the pos- 6
 sessions.” It was at this meeting that Achilles began his 7
 anger at Agamemnon about Palamedes. After telling of
 the cities which they had captured together, he said, “This
 was the so-called ‘treachery’ of Palamedes, and anyone
 who wishes must judge me too; for I have come from do-

8 αὐτῶν ἦκω." δεξαμένου δὲ εἰς αὐτὸν ταῦτα τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος καὶ λοιδορουμένου τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ, τοῦ τε Ὀδυσσεῶς εἰπόντος ὡς εἴη προδοσία καὶ τὸ ὑπὲρ προδότου λέγειν, ἐκείνον μὲν ἀπήλασε τῆς ἐκκλησίας οὐδὲ τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς φίλα εἰπόντα, καθικόμενος δὲ τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος λοιδορίαῖς πλείοσιν ἕξω βελῶν διητήσατο μήτ' ἔργον τι πράττων ἐς τὸ κοινὸν φέρον μήτε φοιτῶν ἐς τὰ βουλευμάτα.

9 ὅτε δὴ ἀφίκοντο αὐτῷ λιταὶ παρὰ τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος ἐν παντὶ ἤδη τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ὄντων. ἐπρέσβευον δὲ αὐτὰς Αἴας τε καὶ Νέστωρ, ὁ μὲν διὰ τὸ συγγενὲς τε καὶ τὸ διηλλάχθαι ἤδη σφίσι μνησίας ἐφ' οἷσπερ ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐμήνισεν, ὁ δὲ σοφίας τε ἕνεκα καὶ ἡλικίας, 10 ἦν ἐτίμων οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ πάντες. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν γοῦν Πάτροκλον ξυμμαχῆσαι σφίσι παρ' αὐτοῦ εὔρανο, ὁ μὲν δράσας τε καὶ παθῶν ὅποσα Ὅμηρός φησιν, ἀπέθανε μαχόμενος τῇ Τροίᾳ ὑπὲρ τοῦ τείχους, ὁ δ' ἔπραξε μὲν οὐδὲν ἀγεννὲς ἐπ' αὐτῷ οὐδὲ εἶπεν, ἀπολοφυράμενος δὲ αὐτὸν ἐρρωμένως καὶ θάψας ὡς αὐτὸς τε ἐβούλετο κάκεινῳ χαριεῖσθαι ᾤετο, ἐχώρει ἐπὶ τὸν Ἔκτορα.

11 τὰς μὲν δὴ ὑπερβολὰς αἷς κέχρηται Ὅμηρος περὶ τε τοὺς ἀπολλυμένους αὐτοῖς ἄρμασιν ὅποτε Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐφάνη, περὶ τε τοὺς ἐν ποταμῷ σφαττομένους, τήν τε τοῦ ποταμοῦ κίνησιν ὅτ' ἐπανίστη τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ κύμα, ἐπαινεῖ μὲν καὶ ὁ Πρωτεσίλειος ὡς 12 ποιητικά, διαγράφει δὲ ὡς κεχαρισμένα· μήτε γὰρ τῷ

ing the same things." Agamemnon took this as a personal 8 attack and reviled him, and Odysseus said even defending a traitor was treason. As for Odysseus, who was saying things that not even the Greeks wanted to hear, Achilles chased him out of the meeting. Agamemnon he assaulted with even more insults; and afterward he kept away from the missiles, doing nothing to help the common cause, nor attending their councils.

This was when the entreaties came to him from Agamemnon, the Greeks being now in desperate straits: they 9 were brought by Ajax and Nestor, the first chosen for his kinship and the fact that he had been angry for the same reason as Achilles, but had now been reconciled with them; the other for his wisdom and age, which all the Greeks respected. They obtained from Achilles at least the 10 concession that Patroclus should help them; as a result, he was killed fighting to breach Troy's walls, after the achievements and sufferings that Homer describes; Achilles however did or said nothing ignoble over his friend,¹⁷⁵ but lamented him with great feeling, and buried him as he himself thought best, and as he thought Patroclus would have wanted. Then he went after Hector.

As for Homer's extravagance in describing men who 11 perished, chariots and all, when Achilles appeared, or who were slaughtered in the river, or the movement of the river itself when it raised its waters against Achilles, Protesilaus praises this as poetic, but he rejects it as mere show,¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁵ Grossardt (2006a) points to Achilles' human sacrifice of twelve Trojan youths (*Il.* 23.175-76).

¹⁷⁶ For the battle of Achilles against the river Scamander itself, see *Il.* 21.212-97.

Ἀχιλλεὶ τηλικούτῳ ὄντι ἄπορον ἂν γενέσθαι τὸν Σκά-
 μανδρον καὶ ταῦτα ἤττω ἢ οἱ μεγάλοι τῶν ποταμῶν
 ὄντα, μήτ' ἂν τὸν Ἀχιλλεῖα ἐς μάχην τῷ ποταμῷ ὀρ-
 μήσαι· εἰ γὰρ καὶ σφόδρα ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐμόρμυρεν, ἤλυ-
 13 ξεν ἂν ἐκκλίνων καὶ μὴ ὁμόσε χωρῶν τῷ ὕδατι. πιθα-
 νώτερα δὲ τούτων ἐκεῖνα, οἶμαι, δίεσι· ξυνελαθῆναι
 μὲν ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν τοὺς Τρῶας καὶ πλείους ἀπολέ-
 σθαι σφῶν ἢ ἐν ἅπαντι τῷ πολέμῳ ἀπώλοντο, οὐ μὴν
 μόνῳ γε Ἀχιλλεῖ πεπρᾶσθαι ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ θαρσῆσαν-
 14 τας ἤδη παρ' αὐτοῦ τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἐπικαταβαίνειν
 καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ σφάττειν. Ἀχιλλεῖα δὲ τούτων
 μὲν ἀμελεῖν, ἀγωνίσασθαι δὲ ἀγῶνα τοιούτου· ἦν ἀνὴρ
 ἐκ Παιονίας ἦκων, οὗ καὶ Ὀμηρος ἐπεμνήσθη Ἀστε-
 ροπαῖον δὲ αὐτὸν καλεῖ καὶ Ἀξίου τοῦ ποταμοῦ υἱόνδ'
 καὶ δεξιὸν ἄμφω τὰ χεῖρε, μέγιστον δ' Ἀχαιῶν τε καὶ
 Τρῶων ὄντα τὸν Παίονα καὶ θηρίον δίκην ὁμόσε χω-
 ροῦντα ταῖς αἰχμαῖς παρήκεν Ὀμηρος τουτουὶ τοῦ
 15 λόγου. ἦγε δὲ καὶ ἀκραιφνή δύναμις Παίονας ἱππέας
 ἄρτι ἐς Τροίαν ἦκων, οὓς ἐτρέψατο μὲν ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς
 ἐκπλήξας· δαίμονα γὰρ ἐμπεπτωκέναι σφίσις φῶντο
 16 οὐπω ἀνδρὶ τοιῷδε ἐντετυχηκότες. ὑποστάντος δὲ
 Ἀστεροπαίου μόνου, πλείω περὶ ἑαυτοῦ ἔδεισεν ἢ
 ὅποτε τῷ Ἑκτορι ἐμάχετο, καὶ οὐδὲ ἄτρωτος εἶλε τὸν
 17 Παίονα· ὅθεν τῶν συμμάχων ἀπαγορευόντων αὐτῷ
 μὴ μάχεσθαι τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην τῷ Ἑκτορι, οὐκ
 ἠνέσχτο τῶν λόγων τούτων ἀλλὰ εἰπὼν "ιδέτω με
 κρείττω καὶ τραυμάτων," ὤρμησεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑκτορα
 προτεταγμένον τοῦ τείχους.

for the Scamander would not have been difficult for a man 12
 of Achilles' size to cross, especially since it is not as big as
 the great rivers; nor would Achilles have rushed to fight a
 river—even if it had boiled up against him he could have
 avoided it by leaning aside without charging to meet the
 water. Protesilaus tells a story I find more plausible: the 13
 Trojans had been driven into the river and more of them
 had been killed than in all the rest of the war, nor only by
 Achilles; the Greeks had been aroused by him, and were
 attacking and slaughtering those in the river. Yet Achilles 14
 did not care about this, but was involved in another con-
 test. A man had come from Paeonia, who is mentioned by
 Homer as Asteropaeus, the grandson of the river Axius,
 and was ambidextrous.¹⁷⁷ Though he was the tallest man
 on either side, and rushed like an animal against the
 spears, Homer kept him out of this story. In fact, having 15
 just arrived at Troy, he was leading a strong contingent of
 cavalry from Paeonia, which Achilles routed and terrified;
 they had never before met such a man, and thought a god
 must have attacked them. When Asteropaeus alone 16
 remained to fight him, Achilles had more to fear than when
 he was fighting Hector, nor did he kill the Paeonian with-
 out being wounded himself; for this reason his allies told 17
 him not to fight with Hector that day, but he rejected their
 words and said, "Let him see that even wounds do not
 bother me," and rushed against Hector who was stationed
 in front of the wall.

¹⁷⁷ *Il.* 21.139-204.

18 ἀποκτείνας δ' αὐτὸν γενόμενον οἶον ἐν τῷ περὶ
αὐτοῦ λόγῳ εἶρηκα, περιείλξε τῷ τείχει βάρβαρον
19 μὲν τινα καὶ ἀηδῆ τρόπον, ξυγγνωστὸν δέ, ἐπειδὴ τῷ
Πατρόκλῳ ἐτιμῶρει. δαμονία γὰρ δὴ τιμὴν τὸν Ἀχιλ-
λέα φύσει χρώμενον αἰεὶ τι μέγα ὑπὲρ τῶν φίλων
πράττειν, ὅθεν μηνίσαι μὲν ὑπὲρ Παλαμήδους ὁμοῦ
20 πᾶσιν Ἑλλησι, τιμωρῆσαι δὲ Πατρόκλῳ τε καὶ Ἀντι-
λόχῳ. τὰ τοι πρὸς τὸν Τελαμῶνος Αἴαντα περὶ φίλων
αὐτῷ εἰρήσθαι λεγόμενα σφόδρα χρηῖ γινώσκειν· ἐρο-
μένου γὰρ αὐτὸν μετὰ ταῦτα τοῦ Αἴαντος ποῖα τῶν
ἔργων ἐπικινδυνότατα αὐτῷ γένοιτο, “τὰ ὑπὲρ τῶν
21 φίλων” ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἔφη. πάλιν δὲ ἐπερομένου ποῖα
ἠδῖω τε καὶ ἀπονώτερα, ταῦτ’ ἄπεκρίνατο θαυμάσαν-
τος δὲ τοῦ Αἴαντος πῶς ἂν ταῦτ’ ἔργον χαλεπὸν τε
γένοιτο καὶ ῥάδιον, “ὅτι” ἔφη “τὰ ὑπὲρ τῶν φίλων
κινδυνεύματα μεγάλα ὄντα προθύμως πράτταν, τῆς
22 ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς λύπης παύομαι.”—“τραῦμα δέ, ὦ Ἀχιλλεῦ,
ποῖον μάλιστά σε ἐλύπησεν;” ἧ δ’ ὅς. “ὃ ἐτρώθην ὑπὸ
τοῦ Ἑκτορος.”—“καὶ μὴν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ γε οὐκ ἐτρώθης”
ὁ Αἴας ἔφη. “νῆ Δία κεφαλῆν” ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς εἶπε, “τάς
τε χεῖρας· σὲ μὲν γὰρ κεφαλῆν ἑμαντοῦ ἠγοῦμαι, Πά-
τροκλος δέ μοι χεῖρες ἦν.”

49. Τὸν δὲ Πάτροκλον ὁ Πρωτεσίλεως, ὃ ξένε,
πρεσβύτερον μὲν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως οὐ πολὺ γενέσθαι
φησὶ, θεῖον δὲ ἄνδρα καὶ σώφρονα, τῷ τε Ἀχιλλεῖ
ἐπιτηδειότατον τῶν ἐταίρων χαίρειν τε γὰρ ὅποτε καὶ
ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἔχαιρε, λυπέσθαι τε τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον
καὶ συμβουλεύειν αἰεὶ τι καὶ ἀκούειν ἄδοντος, καὶ οἱ

After he killed him, as I have described (ch. 37.5), he 18
dragged him around the wall—which was awful and bar- 19
barous, but understandable since he was taking revenge
for Patroclus. It was the divine element in Achilles’ nature
that made him so loyal to his friends, and that led him to 20
anger against all the Greeks for Palamedes, and to such
great revenge for Patroclus and Antilochus.¹⁷⁸ You ought
to know what he said about friends to Ajax son of Telamon, 21
who asked him after it was all over¹⁷⁹ which of his deeds
he thought most dangerous. “Those for my friends,” he
said; and when asked which were most pleasant and easi- 22
est, he gave the same answer. When Ajax wondered how
the same task could be both difficult and easy, he an-
swered, “Because when I eagerly undertake dangers for
friends, no matter how great, I am relieved of my grief for
them.” “And which of your wounds hurt you the most,” he
asked next. “The wound I was given by Hector,” he said.
“But he did not wound you,” said Ajax. “Yes he did, by
Zeus,” said Achilles, “in the head and the hands; for I
consider you my head, and Patroclus was my hands.”

49. Protesilaus says that Patroclus, a fine and moderate
man, was a little older than Achilles, to whom he was the
perfect friend: he joined him in his joys and his sorrows,
gave him advice, and listened when he sang. Achilles’

¹⁷⁸ For the decapitation of Antilochus’ killer, Memnon, see
ch. 26.18.

¹⁷⁹ Presumably this conversation takes place when both are
dead in the underworld, since the “wound” Hector inflicted on
Achilles must have been the gift of the sword (*Il.* 7.303–4) that
Ajax used to kill himself.

ἵπποι δὲ αὐτὸν ἔφερον χαίροντες ὥσπερ καὶ τὸν
 2 Ἀχιλλέα. ἦν δὲ καὶ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὴν ἀνδρείααν
 μεταξύ τοῖν Αἰάντων· τοῦ μὲν Τελαμωνίου πάντα
 3 ἐλείπετο, ἐκράτει δὲ ἄμφω τοῦ Λοκροῦ. καὶ μελίχλω-
 ρος ἦν ὁ Πάτροκλος καὶ τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ μέλας καὶ
 ἰκανῶς εὐόφρυς καὶ μέτρα ἐπαινῶν κόμης, ἡ κεφαλὴ
 δὲ ἐβεβήκει ἐπ' αὐχένος οἶον αἱ παλαιίστραι ἀσκού-
 σιν, ἡ δὲ ρὺς ὀρθή τε ἦν καὶ τοὺς μυκτῆρας ἀνευρί-
 νετο, καθάπερ οἱ πρόθυμοι τῶν ἵππων.

50. ΦΟΙΝ. Εἰς καλὸν με τῶν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως ἵππων
 ἀνέμνησας, ὦ ἀμπελουργέ· σφόδρα γὰρ δέομαι μα-
 θεῖν τί βελτίους ὄντες ἐτέρων ἵππων θεῖοι ἐνομίσθη-
 σαν.

2 ἈΜΠ. Ἡρόμην καγώ, ξένε, τὸν ἦρω αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ
 φησι τὴν μὲν λεγομένην ἀθανασίαν περὶ αὐτοὺς εἶναι
 μεμυθολογήσθαι τῷ Ὀμήρῳ, τὴν Θετταλίαν δέ, εὐπ-
 πόν τε οὔσαν καὶ ἀγαθὴν, τότε δὴ ἵππους, λευκὸν τε
 καὶ ξανθόν, δαιμονίους τὴν ταχυτήτα καὶ τὸ ἦθος
 λαμπροῦς, ἵπποτροφήσαι κατὰ θεὸν δή τινα, ὅποτε ὁ
 3 Ἀχιλλεὺς ἦνθεν καὶ πάντων ὅσα θεῖως ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀχιλ-
 λεί ἐλέγετο πιστενομένων, ἤδη ἐδόκει καὶ τὸ τῶν ἵπ-
 πων θεῖόν τε εἶναι καὶ ἐπέκεινα τοῦ θνητοῦ φαίνεσθαι.

51. Τελευτὴ δὲ τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ ἐγένετο ἦν καὶ Ὀμηρος
 ἐπιγινώσκει· φησὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκ Πάριδος τε καὶ
 Ἀπόλλωνος ἀποθανεῖν, εἰδῶς που τὰ ἐν τῷ Θυμβραΐφ
 καὶ ὅπως πρὸς ἱεροῖς τε καὶ ὄρκους, ὧν μάρτυρα τὸν
 2 Ἀπόλλω ἐποιεῖτο, δολοφονηθεὶς ἔπεσεν. ἡ θυσία δὲ
 τῆς Πολυξένης ἡ ἐπὶ τῷ σήματι καὶ ὅσα περὶ τοῦ

horses did not mind carrying him too. In his size and bravery 2
 he stood between the two Ajaxes: he was entirely inferior 3
 to the son of Telamon, but surpassed the Locrian in both. He had an olive complexion and brown eyes with 3
 fairly wide brows; he liked moderate length hair, and his head was set as firmly on his neck as wrestling-schools like 2
 to have it. His nose was straight and his nostrils flared like spirited horses.

50. *Phoenician*. You have brought up Achilles' horses at just the right time; I am very curious why they were thought to be so much better than others, even divine.¹⁸⁰

Vinedresser. I asked the hero that very question, and 2
 he said that their immortality was a fable of Homer's; it merely happened that Thessaly, a fine land famed for its good horses, with the help of some god produced two horses, a white one and a golden one of unbelievable speed and notable temperament just at the time when Achilles was mature. Since everything said to be divine 3
 about Achilles was found credible, his horses also were thought divine and supernatural.

51. Achilles died in the way that Homer acknowledges:¹⁸¹ for he says that he was killed by Paris and Apollo (*Il.* 22.359), doubtless thinking of what happened in the temple of Apollo Thymbraeus, and how it was at the sacrifice and oaths of which he was making Apollo witness that he was treacherously killed. As to the sacrifice of Polyxena over his tomb, and the rest that you may have heard 2

¹⁸⁰ For the immortality of Achilles' horses, Balios and Xanthus, see *Il.* 16.148-51, 23.276-78; the latter speaks to him and foretells his death at *Il.* 19.404-17.

¹⁸¹ See Introduction §10, and the discussion in Grossardt (2013).

- 3 ἔρωτος ἐκείνου ποιητῶν ἀκούεις, ὧδε ἔχει Πολυξένης
 ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἦρα καὶ τὸν γάμον τοῦτον ἑαυτῷ ἔπραττεν
 ἐπὶ τῷ τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἀναστήσαι τοῦ Ἴλιου, ἦρα δὲ
 4 καὶ ἡ Πολυξένη τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως. εἶδον δ' ἀλλήλους ἐν
 λύτροις Ἑκτορος· ὁ γὰρ Πριάμος ἦκων παρὰ τὸν
 Ἀχιλλέα χειραγωγὸν ἑαυτοῦ τὴν παῖδα ἐποιεῖτο νεω-
 τάτην οὖσαν ὧν ἡ Ἑκάβη αὐτῷ ἔτεκεν, ἐθεράπευον δὲ
 αἰεὶ τὸ βάδισμα τῶν πατέρων οἱ νεώτεροι τῶν παιδῶν.
 5 καὶ οὕτω δὴ τι ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐσωφρόνει ὑπὸ δικαιοσύ-
 νης καὶ τὰ ἐρωτικά, ὡς μήτε ἀφελέσθαι τὴν κόρην ἐφ'
 ἑαυτῷ οὖσαν, γάμον τε αὐτῆς ὁμολογήσαι τῷ Πριάμῳ,
 πιστεῦσαί τε ἀναβαλλομένῳ τὸν γάμον.
 6 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπέθανε γυμνὸς ἐν τοῖς περὶ τούτων ὄρκοις,
 λέγεται ἡ Πολυξένη φευγουσῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῶν
 Τρωάδων καὶ τῶν Τρώων ἐσκεδασμένων (οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸ
 πτώμα τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως ἀδεῶς ἦνεγκαν) αὐτομολίᾳ χρή-
 σασθαι καὶ φυγεῖν ἐς τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, ἀναχθείσά τε τῷ
 Ἀγαμέμνονι ζῆν μὲν ἐν κομιδῇ λαμπρῇ τε καὶ σώ-
 φρονι καθάπερ ἐν πατρὸς οἰκίᾳ, τριταίου δὲ ἤδη κει-
 μένου τοῦ νεκροῦ δραμεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ σῆμα ἐν νυκτὶ ξίφει
 τε αὐτὴν ἐπικλῖναι πολλὰ εἰπούσαν ἐλεεινὰ καὶ γα-
 μικά, ὅτε δὴ καὶ δεῖσθαι τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως ἐραστὴν τε
 μῆναι καὶ ἀγαγέσθαι αὐτὴν μὴ ψευσαμένην τὸν γά-
 7 μον.
 ἃ δὲ τῷ Ὀμήρῳ ἐν δευτέρᾳ ψυχοστασίᾳ εἴρηται, εἰ

from the poets about his love for her, the truth is this: Achilles *did* love Polyxena and was negotiating his marriage to her on condition that he lead the Greeks away from Troy. Polyxena loved him too. They first saw each other when Hector's body was ransomed; for when he visited Achilles, Priam made the youngest of his children by Hecuba his guide—in general, the youngest children used to tag along with their fathers. Achilles' fairness was so restrained even in love that he did not simply take her then even though she was in his power, but made an agreement with Priam to marry her, and trusted him when he wished to delay the marriage.

Well, after Achilles was killed while unarmed during the marriage oaths, this is what is said to have happened to Polyxena: as the women of Troy were fleeing from the shrine and the men had been routed (even the corpse of Achilles terrified them) she became a deserter and fled to the Greek camp, was presented to Agamemnon and allowed to live, treated with respect and restraint, as if she were in her father's house. But then, on the third night after his body's being laid to rest, she ran to his tomb and, after a long, pitiful, wifely speech, begging Achilles to remain her lover, and to take her as his bride since she herself had not lied about the marriage, she braced herself against a sword.¹⁸²

What Homer says in the second *Weighing of the*

¹⁸² This version of her death contradicts Dictys; see Huhn-Bethe (1917, 619n1) and Grossardt (2013).

8 δὴ Ὀμήρου ἐκεῖνα, ὡς ἀποθανόντα Ἀχιλλέα Μοῦσαι
 μὲν ᾠδαῖς ἐθρήνησαν, Νηρηίδες δὲ πληγαῖς τῶν
 στέρνων, οὐ παρὰ πολὺ φησι κεκομπάσθαι· Μοῦσας
 μὲν γὰρ οὔτε ἀφικέσθαι οὔτε ᾄσαι, οὐδὲ Νηρηίδων
 9 τιὰ ὀφθῆναι τῷ στρατῷ καίτοι γνωσκομένας ὅτι
 ἤκουσι, θαυμαστὰ δὲ ξυμβῆναι ἕτερα καὶ οὐ πόρρω
 τῶν Ὀμήρω εἰρημένων. ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ κόλπου τοῦ Μέλα-
 νος ἢ θάλασσα ἀνοιδήσασα τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐμνκάτο,
 μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ ἀρθείσα λόφῳ μεγάλῳ ἴση ἐχώρει ἐς
 10 τὸ Ῥοίτειον, ἐκπεπληγμένων τῶν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ ἀπορούν-
 των ὅ τι αὐτοῖ τε καὶ ἡ γῆ πείσονται. ἐπεὶ δὲ πλησίον
 ἐγένετο καὶ προσεκύμαινε τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, θρήνον
 ἤχησεν ὀξύ τε καὶ ἀθρόον, καθάπερ γυναικῶν ὄμι-
 11 λος ὄν ἐς τὰ κήδη ἀναφθέγγονται. τούτου δὲ θείου τε
 καὶ δαιμονίου φανέντος, καὶ πάντων ὁμολογούντων
 ὅτι Νηρηίδας ἤγε τὸ κύμα (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπέκλυσεν οὐ-
 δέν, ἀλλὰ πρᾶόν τε καὶ λείον τῇ γῆ προσενύσθη),
 πολλῶ θεϊότερα τὰ ἐφεξῆς ἔδοξεν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ νύξ
 ὑπέλαβεν, οἰμωγῇ τῆς Θέτιδος διεφοίτα τὸν στρατὸν
 ἀνευφημούσης τε καὶ τὸν υἱὸν βοώσης. ἐβόα δὲ τορὸν

183 What the vinedresser (or Philostratus, cf. VA 8.7.48) mistakenly calls a *Psychostasia* (the title of a play by Aeschylus [fr. 279-80 Radt] referring to a different incident), the "weighing of souls" to determine a warrior's fate, is actually the "second *Nekyia* (= visit to the dead)" in *Od.* 24.1-204.

184 The Hellenistic scholar Aristarchus and others claimed the second *Nekyia* was not by Homer; for their reasons see Petzl (1969, 44-66).

*Dead*¹⁸³—if it is by Homer at all¹⁸⁴—that the Muses sang songs of mourning for Achilles' death, and the Nereids beat their breasts, has not, he says, been much¹⁸⁵ exaggerated. For though the Muses neither came nor sang,¹⁸⁶ and not a one of the Nereids was seen by the army (although they are now known to visit),¹⁸⁷ yet other things happened which *were* surprising, and not too different from Homer's story. From the gulf of Melas¹⁸⁸ the sea bubbled up and began to roar, then it rose, like a huge crest, and began to move toward Rhoetaeum. The Greeks were terrified, not knowing what was to become of themselves or the land on which they stood. When the wave was close by and hovering over the camp, it gave off a piercing shriek all at once, like what a group of women cries out at a funeral. This was a divine and supernatural event, and everyone agreed that the wave must have brought the Nereids, because it swept nothing away, but settled gently and gradually back to earth. But what happened next seemed even more the act of a god: when night had fallen, Thetis' lament of grieving and cries for her son passed over all the army. It was a piercing cry that rang in the ear, like an echo in the moun-

185 See 24.2n.

186 The fact that the nine Muses are not mentioned otherwise in Homer was used in antiquity as a reason for declaring this passage spurious; see Petzl (1969, 59-60), where the evidence of the *Heroicus* should be added.

187 Cf. VA 4.16, Barringer (1995, 49-58). Grossardt (2013) suggests that a contemporary cult of the Nereids existed near Ilion.

188 Literally, the "black gulf"; it is the gulf of Saros, between Thrace and the Chersonnese. Rhoetaeum was a coastal town northeast of Ilion.

(μέγα) τε καὶ ἔναυλον καθάπερ ἢ ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν ἠχώ, καὶ τότε μάλιστα οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ ξυνήκαν ὅτι τέκοι τὸν Ἀχιλλέα ἢ Θέτις, οὐδὲ ἄλλως ἀπιστοῦντες.

- 12 τὸν μὲν δὴ κολωνόν, ξένε, τοῦτον, ὃν ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου τῆς ἀκτῆς ὄρας ἀνεστηκότα, ἤγειραν οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ ξυνελθόντες ὅτε τῷ Πατρόκλῳ ξυνεμίχθη ἐς τὸν τάφον, κάλλιστον ἐντάφιον ἑαυτῷ τε καὶ ἐκείνῳ διδούς·
- 13 ὅθεν ἄδουσιν αὐτὸν οἱ τὰ φιλικὰ ἐπαινοῦντες. ἐτάφη δὲ ἐκδηλότατα ἀνθρώπων πᾶσιν οἷς ἐπήνεγκεν αὐτῷ ἢ Ἑλλάς, οὐδὲ κομᾶν ἔτι μετὰ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα καλὸν ἠγοῦμενοι, χρυσόν τε καὶ ὃ τι ἕκαστος εἶχεν ἢ ἀπάγων ἐς Τροίαν ἢ ἐκ δασμοῦ λαβών, νήσαντες ἐς τὴν πυρὰν ἀθρόα, παραχρήμα τε καὶ ὅτε Νεοπτόλεμος ἐς Τροίαν ἦλθε· λαμπρῶν γὰρ δὴ ἔτυχε πάλιν παρά τε τοῦ παιδὸς παρά τε τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἀντιχαρίζεσθαι αὐτῷ πειρωμένων, οἳ γε καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Τροίας ποιοῦμενοι πλοῦν περιέπιπτον τῷ τάφῳ καὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα φοῖντο περιβάλλειν.

52. ΦΟΙΝ. Τὸν Νεοπτόλεμον δέ, ὃ ἀμπελουργέ, ποῖόν τινα γενέσθαι φησί;

- 2 ἈΜΠ. Γειναῖον, ξένε, καὶ τοῦ μὲν πατρὸς ἦττω, φαυλότερον δὲ οὐδὲν τοῦ Τελαμωνίου. ταῦτό δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ εἶδους φησί· καλὸν μὲν γὰρ εἶναι καὶ προσεοικότα τῷ πατρί, λείπεσθαι δ' αὐτοῦ τοσοῦτον ὅσον
- 3 τῶν ἀγαλμάτων οἱ καλοὶ λείπονται. καὶ μὴν καὶ ὕμνων ἐκ Θετταλίας ὃ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἔτυχεν, οὓς ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἐπὶ τὸ σῆμα φοιτῶντες ἦδον ἐν νυκτί, τελετῆς τι

tains; then the Achaeans realized for certain, although they never really doubted it, that Thetis was Achilles' mother.

The mound which you see rising on the edge of the shore¹⁸⁹ is what the Greeks came together to raise when he was joined with Patroclus in the tomb, through which he gave the fairest of funeral gifts both to Patroclus and himself; this is why those who praise friendship celebrate him. His burial was the most notable among men for all the offerings with which the Greeks presented him: they decided it would never be right again to wear long hair after his death, and their gold, or whatever they had either brought with them to Troy or received from the booty there, they heaped up onto the pyre, both at that time and also after Neoptolemus had come to Troy. Then he received glorious honors once again both from his son and, in an effort to repay thanks to him, from the Greeks who also, as they prepared to sail away from Troy, fell on his tomb and imagined they were embracing Achilles.

52. *Phoenician*. What sort of man does he say Neoptolemus was?

Vinedresser. A fine one—not as great as his father, but every bit as good as the son of Telamon. And of his appearance he says the same; he is good-looking and resembles his father, but falls short of him just as beautiful men fall short of statues. Achilles also received hymns from Thessaly; they used to visit his tomb every year and sing them at night, combining religious rites with their offerings to

¹⁸⁹ For the location of this mound, see Introduction §6.

ἐγκαταμυγνύντες τοῖς ἐναγίσμασιν, ὡς Λήμνιοί τε νομίζουσι καὶ Πελοποννησίων οἱ ἀπὸ Σισύφου.

53. ΦΟΙΝ. Ἄλλος αὖ λόγος ἦκει, ἀμπελουργέ, οὐδὲ μὰ τὸν Ἡρακλέα οὐκ ἂν μεθέμην, οὐδ' εἰ πάνθ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ παραπτῆναι αὐτὸν πράττοις.

2 ἌΜΠ. Ἀλλὰ τὰς ἐκβολὰς τῶν λόγων ἀδολεσχίας ἐνιοι, ξένε, ἡγοῦνται καὶ λήρον πρὸς τοὺς μὴ σχολῆν ἄγοντας. σὲ δὲ ὀρῶ δοῦλον μὲν τῆς νεῶς ἧς ἄρχεις, δοῦλον δὲ τῶν ἀνέμων, ὧν εἰ καὶ μικρὰ αὔρα κατὰ πρύμναν σταίη, δεῖ τὰ ἰστία ἀνασεῖν καὶ συνεχαιρεσθαι τῇ νηί, πάντα δεύτερα ἡγουμένους τοῦ πλεῖν.

3 ΦΟΙΝ. Ἐρρώσθω λοιπὸν ἡ ναῦς καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ τὰ γὰρ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγώγιμα ἡδῖω τέ μοι καὶ κερδαλεώτερα, τὰς δὲ ἐκβολὰς τῶν λόγων μὴ λήρον ἀλλ' ἐπικέρδειαν ἡγώμεθα τῆς ἐμπορίας ταύτης.

4 ἌΜΠ. Ὑγιαίνεις, ξένε, οὕτω γινώσκων, καὶ ἐπειδὴ βούλει, ἄκουε τὰ μὲν γὰρ Κορινθίων ἐπὶ Μελικέρτη (τούτους γὰρ δὴ τοὺς ἀπὸ Σισύφου εἶπον), καὶ ὅποσα οἱ αὐτοὶ δρῶσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς τῆς Μηδείας παισίν, οὓς ὑπὲρ τῆς Γλαύκης ἀπέκτειναν, θρήνῳ εἴκασται τελεστικῶς τε καὶ ἐνθέῳ· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ μειλίσσονται, τὸν δὲ ὑμνοῦσιν.

5 ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ ἔργῳ τῷ περὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Λήμνῳ γυναικῶν ἐξ Ἀφροδίτης ποτὲ πραχθέντι καθαιρεται μὲν ἡ Λήμνος καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος καὶ σβέννεται τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ πῦρ ἐς ἡμέρας ἐννέα, θεωρὶς δὲ ναῦς ἐκ Δήλου πυρφορεῖ, κἂν ἀφίκηται πρὸ τῶν ἐναγισμάτων, οὐδαμοῦ τῆς Λήμνου καθορμίζεται, μετέωρος δὲ

the dead, as is the custom of the Lemnians and the descendants of Sisyphus in the Peloponnese.

53. *Phoenician*. Here comes another story! By Hercules, I will not miss this one no matter what you try to make it fly past me.

Vinedresser. But some consider these discursive stories to be idle chatter and a nuisance to people who are busy. I know that you are in thrall to the ship you command, and to the winds—if even a small wind blows seaward you must unfurl the sails and cast off, thinking of nothing but your voyage.

Phoenician. My ship and everything in it can take care of itself; my soul's cargo is a greater pleasure and profit, so let us consider the discursive stories not a nuisance, but the real profit from this voyage.

Vinedresser. That's the right attitude! Since you are willing, listen: what the Corinthians do to commemorate Melicertes (for these are the ones I meant by Sisyphus' descendants), and what they also do for the children of Medea, whom they killed to avenge Glauke, are similar to a dirge that is mystical and ecstatic.¹⁹⁰ Medea's children they attempt to appease, Melicertes they praise.

Because of the deed performed once by the Lemnian women at Aphrodite's bidding against the men, the island of Lemnos is purified every year and all fire is extinguished on it for nine days; a sacred ship bears fire from Delos, and if it arrives before the sacrifices to the dead it does not

¹⁹⁰ On the hero cults of these children, see Introduction §3.

- 6 ἐπισαλεύει τοῖς ἀκρωτηρίοις ἔστε ὅσιον τὸ εἰσπλευ-
σαι γένηται. θεοὺς γὰρ χθονίους καὶ ἀπορρήτους κα-
λοῦντες τότε, καθαρὸν, οἶμαι, τὸ πῦρ τὸ ἐν τῇ θα-
7 λάττῃ φυλάττουσιν. ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἡ θεωρὶς ἐσπλεύσῃ
καὶ νεύωνται τὸ πῦρ ἐς τε τὴν ἄλλην δίαιταν ἐς τε
τὰς ἐμπύρους τῶν τεχνῶν, καινοῦ τὸ ἐντεῦθεν βίου
ἀρχεσθαι.
- 8 τὰ δὲ Θετταλικὰ ἐναγίσματα φοιτῶντα τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ
ἐκ Θετταλίας ἐχρήσθη Θετταλοῖς ἐκ Δωδώνης· ἐκέ-
λευσε γὰρ δὴ τὸ μαντεῖον Θετταλοῦς ἐς Τροίαν πλέ-
ουτας θνῆν ὅσα ἔτη τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ καὶ σφάττειν τὰ μὲν
9 ὡς θεῶ, τὰ δὲ ὡς ἐν μοίρᾳ τῶν κειμένων. κατ' ἀρχὰς
μὲν δὴ τοιάδε ἐγίνετο· ναὺς ἐκ Θετταλίας μέλανα
ἰστία ἡρμένη ἐς Τροίαν ἔπλει, θεωρὸς μὲν δις ἐπτά
ἀπάγουσα, ταύρους δὲ λευκὸν τε καὶ μέλανα, χειροθή-
θεις ἄμφω, καὶ ὕλην ἐκ Πηλίου, ὡς μηδὲν τῆς πόλεως
δέοιντο· καὶ πῦρ ἐκ Θετταλίας ἦγον καὶ σπονδὰς καὶ
ὑδωρ τοῦ Σπερχεῖοι ἀρυσάμενοι· ὅθεν καὶ στεφάνους
ἀμαραντίνους ἐς τὰ κήδη πρῶτοι Θετταλοὶ ἐνόμισαν,
10 ἵνα, κὰν ἀνεμοὶ τὴν ναῦν ἀπολάβωσι, μὴ σαπροῦς
ἐπιφέρωσι μηδὲ ἐξώρους. νυκτὸς μὲν δὴ καθορμίζε-
σθαι ἔδει καὶ πρὶν ἀψασθαι τῆς γῆς ὕμνον ἀπὸ τῆς
νεὸς ἄδειν ἐς τὴν Θέτιν ὧδε ξυγκείμενον·

Θέτι κνανέα, Θέτι Πηλεία,
τὸν μέγαν ἄ τέκες υἱὸν Ἀχιλλέα, τοῦ

enter the harbor, but stays at sea anchored off the capes, 6
until it is holy to sail in. I believe that while they invoke 6
the unspeakable gods of the underworld they keep the fire 7
pure out on the ocean. But when the sacred ship sails in, 7
and they distribute the fire for the rest of their daily uses 7
and especially for those crafts which need fire, from that 7
point on they begin a new life.¹⁹¹

The Thessalian offerings to the dead that travel to 8
Achilles from Thessaly were prophesied to the Thessalians 8
from Dodona.¹⁹² The oracle ordered the Thessalians to 8
sail to Troy and burn and slaughter every year to Achilles 8
some offerings as to a god, others as proper to burials. At 9
the beginning it took place as follows: a ship raised black 9
sails and used to sail from Thessaly to Troy, carrying twice 9
seven celebrants, one white and one black bull, both tame, 9
and wood from Mount Pelion, so that they would require 9
no help from Troy. They even carried fire and libations 9
from Thessaly and water drawn from the Spercheus. For 9
the same reason, the Thessalians also were the first to 9
adopt the custom of amaranth garlands¹⁹³ for mourning, 9
to avoid bringing rotten or faded flowers if the winds de- 9
layed them. They had to anchor at night and, before they 10
could disembark, sing the following hymn to Thetis: 10

Sea-blue Thetis, Pelean Thetis,
who bore your son great Achilles, of whom

¹⁹¹ The annual purification of the island and sacrifices to the 10
dead commemorate the myth of the murder of all males by their 10
wives. ¹⁹² For these cults, see Introduction §12.

¹⁹³ Amaranth garlands, also in Plin. *HN* 21.8.47; Dioscorides, 10
Materia medica 4.57; Paul, *Epistle to Peter* 1.5.4; Rutherford 10
(2009, 243).

θνατὰ μὲν ὅσον φύσις ἤνεγκε,
 Τροία λάχε· σᾶς δ' ὅσον ἀθανάτου
 γενεᾶς πάις ἔσπασε, Πόντος ἔχει.
 βαῖνε πρὸς αἰπὺν τόνδε κολωνὸν
 μετ' Ἀχιλέως ἔμπυρα,
 βαῖν' ἀδάκρυτος μετὰ Θεσσαλίας.
 Θέτι κυανέα, Θέτι Πηλεία.

- 11 προσελθόντων δὲ τῷ σήματι μετὰ τὸν ὕμνον ἀσπίς
 μὲν ὡσπερ ἐν πολέμῳ ἔδονπέιτο, δρόμοις δὲ ἔρρυθ-
 μιζόμενοις συνηλάλαζον ἀνακαλοῦντες τὸν Ἀχιλλέα,
 στεφανώσαντες δὲ τὴν κορυφήν τοῦ κολωνοῦ καὶ βό-
 θρους ἐπ' αὐτῇ ὀρύξαντες τὸν ταῦρον τὸν μέλανα ὡς
 12 τεθνεῶτι ἔσφαττον. ἐκάλουν δὲ καὶ τὸν Πάτροκλον ἐπὶ
 τὴν δαῖτα, ὡς καὶ τοῦτο ἐς χάριν τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ πράττον-
 13 τες. ἐντεμόντες δὲ καὶ ἐναγίσσαντες κατέβαινον ἐπὶ
 τὴν ναῦν ἤδη, καὶ θύσαντες ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ τὸν ἔτε-
 ρον τῶν ταύρων Ἀχιλλεῖ πάλιν, κανοῦ τε ἐναρξάμενοι
 καὶ σπλάγχχνων ἐπ' ἐκείνῃ τῇ θυσίᾳ (ἔθνον γὰρ τὴν
 θυσίαν ταύτην ὡς θεῶ), περὶ ὄρθρον ἀπέπλεον ἀπά-
 γοντες τὸ ἱερεῖον, ὡς μὴ ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ εὐωχοῦντο.
 14 ταῦτα, ξένε, τὰ οὕτω σεμνὰ καὶ ἀρχαῖα καταλυθῆ-
 ναι μὲν καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν τυράννων φασὶν οἱ λέγονται

¹⁹⁴ I.e., Achilles has the tomb of a mortal at Troy but also the shrine of an immortal on the island of Leuke in the Black Sea (see below).

¹⁹⁵ For *empura*, see Ekroth (2002, 118, 120, 181).

what mortal nature provided
 Troy obtained ; but what from your immortal
 race the boy derived, Pontus has.¹⁹⁴
 Journey to this steep mound
 to the offerings¹⁹⁵ of Achilles;
 Journey without weeping, join Thessaly.
 Sea-blue Thetis, Pelean Thetis.

After the hymn they approached the tomb; a shield was 11
 rattled as if in war, and while running in rhythm they cried
 out and invoked Achilles; they placed garlands on the peak
 of the mound and dug pits in it, into which they cut the
 throat of the black bull as an offering to the dead. They 12
 invited Patroclus to the meal also, to gratify Achilles. After 13
 cutting it into the fire and devoting it, they next returned
 to their ship and on the shore they sacrificed the other bull
 to Achilles also, using for that sacrifice the ritual basket
 and organs—for they were sacrificing as if to a god. At
 dawn they sailed away and took the meat of the victim with
 them, to avoid celebrating the banquet in enemy terri-
 tory.¹⁹⁶

He says that these holy and original rituals were abol- 14
 ished, stranger, by the tyrants who are said to have ruled

¹⁹⁶ Judging from the different terminology, Philostratus envi-
 sions (1) a blood-offering into pits at the tomb as a “banquet” to
 the dead, followed by the burning of all the animal’s parts (Ekroth
 2002, 74–128), and (2) the typical Greek sacrificial ritual at the
 shore, including sprinkling grain (from a basket) on the victim,
 cutting its throat, butchering it, and burning the inedible parts
 for the gods, while cooking and eating the organs immediately,
 but taking away the meat for later. See Introduction §§3 and 12.

μετὰ τοὺς Αἰακίδας ἄρξαι Θετταλῶν, ἀμεληθῆναι δὲ
καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς Θετταλίας· αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἔπειπον τῶν πό-
λεων, αἱ δ' οὐκ ἤξιον, αἱ δ' εἰς νέωτα πέμψειν ἔφα-
σαν, αἱ δὲ κατέβαλον τὸ πρᾶγμα. αὐχμῶ δὲ τῆς γῆς
15 πεισθείσης καὶ κελευούσης τῆς μαντείας τιμᾶν τὸν
Ἀχιλλέα ὡς θέμις, ἃ μὲν ὡς θεῶ ἐνόμιζον ἀφείλον τῶν
δρωμένων, ἐξηγούμενοι ταύτη τὸ ὡς θέμις, ἐνήγιζον
δὲ ὡς τεθνεῶτι καὶ ἐνέτεμνον τὰ ἐπιτυχόντα, ἔστε ἡ
Ξέρξου ἔλασις ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐγένετο, ἐν ἧ Θεττα-
λοὶ μηδίσαντες ἐξέλιπον πάλιν τὰ ἐς τὸν Ἀχιλλέα
νόμιμα, ἐπειδὴ ναὺς ἐς Σαλαμίνα ἐξ Αἰγίνης ἐπλευ-
σεν ἄγουσα ἐπὶ ξυμμαχίᾳ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ τὸν τῶν
Αἰακιδῶν οἶκον.

16 ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Φιλίππου χρόνοις ὕστερον
τὴν μὲν ἄλλην Θετταλίαν ἐδουλώσατο, τὴν δὲ Φθίαν
τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ ἀνήκεν, ἐπὶ τε Δαρεῖον στρατεύων ξύμμα-
χον τὸν Ἀχιλλέα ἐν Τροίᾳ ἐποιήσατο, ἐπεστράφησαν
οἱ Θετταλοὶ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως καὶ ἵππον τε, ὀπόσῃν
Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκ Θετταλίας ἦγε, περιήλασαν τῷ τάφῳ,
ξυνέπεσον τε ἀλλήλοις ὥσπερ ἵππομαχοῦντες, καὶ
ἀπήλθον εὐξάμενοι τε καὶ θύσαντες, ἐκάλουν δὲ αὐτὸν
ἐπὶ Δαρεῖον αὐτῷ Βαλίῳ τε καὶ Ξάνθῳ, βοῶντες
ταῦτα ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων.

17 ἐπεὶ δὲ Δαρεῖος ἦλθ' καὶ πρὸς τοῖς Ἰνδικοῖς Ἀλέξ-
ανδρος ἦν, ξυνέστειλαν οἱ Θετταλοὶ τὰ ἐναγίσματα

the Thessalians after the Aeacidae, and were neglected by
Thessaly; some cities sent offerings, others declined, oth-
ers promised to send them the next year, and others abol-
ished them. But when the land was oppressed by a drought 15
and the oracle commanded them to honor Achilles as was
proper, they removed from the performance of the ritual
what they practiced for a god (interpreting "as was proper"
in this way), but continued to cut into the fire and devote
as for the dead anything they had, until the expedition of
Xerxes against Greece: during this the Thessalians sur-
rendered to the Persians and abandoned once again their
customs for Achilles, when a ship sailed from Aigina to
Salamis, carrying the shrine of the Aeacidae to help the
Greeks.¹⁹⁷

16 Later, when Alexander the Great enslaved the rest of
Thessaly, but spared Phthia for Achilles' sake and made
Achilles his ally at Troy when he attacked Darius, the
Thessalians took an interest in Achilles, and rode around
his tomb all the horses which Alexander was bringing from
Thessaly; then they attacked each other in a mock cavalry
battle. After a prayer and a sacrifice, they departed and
shouted from their horses for Achilles, with Balius and
Xanthus as well,¹⁹⁸ to join them against Darius.

17 Once Darius was dead and Alexander reached In-
dia, the Thessalians cut back on offerings and sent only a

hero helpers (cf. Hdt. 5.80; Diod. 8.32; Justin 20.2) to the Greek
fleet at Salamis is told by Hdt. 8.64 and 83, and Plut. *Them.* 15.
See Pritchett (1971-1985, 3:16).

¹⁹⁸ The names of Achilles' immortal horses (*Il.* 16.149, 19.400,
ch. 50.1, above).

¹⁹⁷ Because the shrine of the family of Achilles had now been
moved to protect the Athenians. The transfer of these Aiginetan

καὶ ἔπεμπον ἄρνα μέλανα. τῶν δὲ ἐναγιζόντων οὕτε ἀφικνουμένων ἐς Τροίαν, εἴ τε ἀφίκοντο μεθ' ἡμέραν ἕκαστα καὶ οὐκ ἐν κόσμῳ πραττόντων, ἐμήνισεν ὁ Ἀχιλλεύς, καὶ ὅποσα τῇ Θετταλίᾳ ἐνέσκηψεν εἰ διεξί-
οιμι, ἀδολεσχίας πλέως ὁ λόγος ἔσται.

- 18 πρὸ ἐτῶν δὲ πού τεττάρων ἐντυχῶν ἐνταῦθά μοι ὁ Πρωτεσίλῃως ἐκ Πόντου μὲν ἦκειν ἔφη· νεὼς γὰρ ἐπι-
τυχῶν πλεῦσαι παρὰ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα ξένῳ εἰκασθείς,
19 τουτὶ δὲ θαμὰ πράττειν. ἐμοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος ὡς φιλέται-
ρός τε καὶ χρηστὸς εἶη φιλῶν τὸν Ἀχιλλέα, “ἀλλὰ
νῦν” ἔφη “διενεχθείς αὐτῷ ἦκω. Θετταλοῖς γὰρ ὑπερ
τῶν ἐναγισμάτων μνηνίοντα αἰσθόμενος, ‘ἐμοῦ’ ἔφη,
‘ὦ Ἀχιλλεῦ, πάρες τοῦτο’. ὁ δ’ οὐ πείθεται, φησὶ δ’
αὐτοῖς κακόν τι ἐκ θαλάττης δώσειν. καὶ δέδια μὴ
20 παρὰ τῆς Θέτιδος εὔρηταί τι αὐτοῖς ὁ δευδὸς ἐκείνος
καὶ ἀμείλικτος.” καὶ γὰρ μὲν, ξένε, ταῦτα ἀκούσας τοῦ
Πρωτεσίλῃω, ἐρυσίβας τε ὄμνην καὶ ὀμίχλας προσβε-
βλήσεσθαι τοῖς Θετταλῶν ληίοις ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως
ἐπὶ φθορᾷ τοῦ καρποῦ· ταυτὶ γὰρ τὰ πάθη δοκεῖ πως
ἐκ θαλάττης ἐπὶ τὰς εὐκάρπους τῶν ἠπείρων ἰζάνειν.
21 ὄμνην δὲ καὶ ἐπικλυσθήσεσθαι τινὰς τῶν ἐν Θετταλίᾳ
πόλεων, οἷα Βουρά τε καὶ Ἐλική καὶ ἡ περὶ Λοκροῦς
Ἀταλάντη ἔπαθε· τὴν μὲν γὰρ καταδύναί φασι, τὴν δ’
22 αὖ ῥαγήναι. ἐδόκει δ’ ἄλλα τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ καὶ τῇ Θέτιδι,
ὕφ’ ὧν ἀπολώλασι Θετταλοῦ· μεγάλων γὰρ δὴ ἐπιτι-

black lamb. Since they no longer came to Troy to make their offerings or, if they did so, performed them during the day and without any ceremony, Achilles was enraged— if I were to tell you all the miseries he inflicted on Thessaly, my story would be full of idle chatter.

About four years ago Protesilaus met me here and said 18 he had come from the Black Sea; disguised as a foreigner, he had found a ship and sailed to see Achilles, as he often did. When I had remarked how kind it was of him to be 19 so friendly to Achilles, he said, “At the moment you find me quite estranged from him. I noticed he was enraged at the Thessalians because of the offerings, and said, ‘Achilles, please overlook this for my sake.’ But he refuses, and says he will send them some harm from the sea. I am afraid the dreadful man may contrive something from Thetis 20 against them.” When I heard this from Protesilaus, I thought that blight¹⁹⁹ or hailstorms would be inflicted by Achilles on the Thessalian crops to destroy their harvest, since these things usually seemed to afflict fertile lands from the sea. I also thought that some cities in Thessaly 21 would be destroyed by flood, just as Boura and Helice, and Atalante in Lokris had been; the first they say sank into the ground, the other was torn apart.²⁰⁰ But Achilles and Thetis 22 decided to ruin the Thessalians in another way: great

¹⁹⁹ Grossardt (2006a, 733) notes that a grain very susceptible to such fungus was called “Achilleian” (Theophr. *Hist. pl.* 8.10.2, *Caus. pl.* 3.22.2).

²⁰⁰ An earthquake and tidal wave submerged the Achaean towns of Boura and Helice in 373–372 BC (see Gow and Page 1968, on 1737 = A.P. 9.423.7 [Bianor]). The island of Atalante suffered from an earthquake in 426 BC (Thuc. 3.89.3; cf. Strabo I.3.20, and Diod. 12.59).

23 *μίων ὄντων ἐπὶ τῇ κόχλῳ παρ' ἧς οἱ ἄνθρωποι σοφίζονται τὴν πορφύραν, αἰτίαν ἔσχον οἱ Θετταλοὶ παρανομήσαι τι ἐς τὴν βαφὴν ταύτην. εἰ μὲν ἀληθῆ, οὐκ οἶδα· λίθοι <δ'> οὖν ἐπικρέμανται σφισιν, ὑφ' ὧν ἀποδίδονται μὲν τοὺς ἀγρούς, ἀποδίδονται δὲ τὰς οἰκίας· τῶν δὲ ἀνδραπόδων τὰ μὲν ἀποδέδρακέ σφας, τὰ δὲ πέπραται, καὶ οὐδὲ τοῖς γονεύσιν οἱ πολλοὶ ἐναγίζουσιν· ἀπέδοντο γὰρ καὶ τοὺς τάφους. ὥστε τὸ κακόν, ὃ ἠπέλει τοῖς Θετταλοῖς ἐκ θαλάττης ὁ Ἀχιλλεύς δώσειν, ξένε, τοῦτο ἡγάμεθα.*

54. ΦΟΙΝ. Οὐλομένην, ἀμπελοργέ, μῆνιν λέγεις καὶ δυσίατον, ἀλλὰ μοι εἶπε τί περὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ νήσου θαυμασίον ὃ Πρωτεσίλεως οἶδεν· ἐκεῖ γάρ που αὐτῷ ξυγγίνεται.

2 ἈΜΠ. Ἐκεῖ, ξένε, καὶ λέγει περὶ αὐτῆς τοιαῦτα ὡς νήσος μὲν εἴη μία τῶν ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ πρὸς τῇ ἀξένῳ πλευρᾷ μᾶλλον, ἣν τίθενται ἀριστερὰν οἱ τὸ στόμα τοῦ Πόντου ἐσπλέοντες, ἐπέχοι δὲ στάδια μῆκος μὲν τριάκοντα, εἶρος δὲ οὐ πλείω τεττάρων, δένδρα τε ἐν αὐτῇ πεφύκοι λευκαὶ τε καὶ πετελαί, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὡς 3 ἔτυχε, τὰ δὲ περὶ τὸ ἱερόν ἐν κόσμῳ ἦδη. τὸ δὲ ἱερόν

201 Radet (1925, 91–93) noted that Alexander Severus interested himself especially in this government monopoly and that an inscription of his time (CIL III inscr. ILS 1575) mentioned regulation of purple production in Thessaly; hence, he dates the Heroicus to his reign, 222 at the earliest, followed by Follet (1969) and Jones (2010, 143). But Grossardt (2006a) notes this regulation might have existed earlier. Nero is said to have profited from

23 fines had been imposed on the shell from which men fabricate purple dye, and the Thessalians were convicted of producing this dye illegally.²⁰¹ Whether this was true or not, I do not know; but fines hang over them that force them to sell their fields and their homes, some of their slaves have run away, others were sold, and many do not perform funeral offerings to their parents; for they had to sell even their tombs. We should conclude that this is the evil that Achilles had threatened against them from the sea.

54. *Phoenician*. I can see that the wrath of Achilles is destructive,²⁰² and difficult to heal. But tell me what Protesilaus knows of the wonders on the island in the Black Sea, since I presume that is where he visits Achilles.²⁰³

2 *Vinedresser*. Yes, he does, and he says this about it: that it is one of the islands close to the unfriendly shore²⁰⁴ of the Black Sea, which those sailing up the mouth of the Black Sea²⁰⁵ have on their left. It is thirty stades long but not more than four wide. Poplars and elms grow wild throughout but around his shrine are arranged in order.

a similar measure (Suet., *Ner.* 32); for later restrictions on purple (as an imperial prerogative), see Reinhold (1970, 63–67).

²⁰² Quoting the *Iliad*'s first line.

²⁰³ For the island (modern Zmeinyi) and the cult of Achilles there, see Introduction §13, and S. West (2003, 162–64).

²⁰⁴ I.e., the north, where the Taurians practiced human sacrifice (Eur. *IT*) and the Amazons live (57.3, below). *Axenos* was another name for what the Persians called the *Aksaina* (dark) sea, S. West (2003, 157).

²⁰⁵ From the vinedresser's Aegean perspective, sailing eastward through the sea of Marmara.

- ἴδρυνται μὲν πρὸς τῇ Μαιώτιδι (ἣ δὲ ἴση τῷ Πόντῳ ἐς
 αὐτὸν βάλλει), τὰ δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ ἀγάλματα Ἀχιλλεύς τε
 4 καὶ Ἑλένη ὑπὸ Μοιρῶν ξυναρμοσθέντες. κειμένον
 γὰρ δὴ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς τοῦ ἑρᾶν καὶ ποιητῶν τὸν ἔρωτα
 ἀπὸ τούτου ἀδόντων, πρῶτοι Ἀχιλλεύς τε καὶ Ἑλένη,
 μηδὲ ὀφθέντες ἀλλήλοις ἀλλ' ἣ μὲν κατ' Αἴγυπτον, ὃ
 δὲ ἐν Ἰλίῳ ὄντες, ἑρᾶν ἀλλήλων ὤρμησαν γένεσιν
 ἡμέρου σώματος ὧτα εὐρόντες.
- 5 πεπρωμένης δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐς τὸ ἀθάνατον τῆς διαίτης
 οὐδεμιᾶς γῆς τῶν ὑπὸ ἡλίῳ, Ἐχινάδων τῶν κατ'
 Οἰνιάδας καὶ Ἀκαρνανίαν ἤδη μεμισασμένων ὅτε δὴ
 Ἄλκμαίων ἀποκτείνας τὴν μητέρα τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ
 Ἀχελφῶος ὤκησεν ἐν γῇ νεωτέρα τοῦ ἔργου, ἱκετεύει
 6 τὸν Ποσειδῶνα ἢ Θέτις ἀναδοῦναί τινα ἐκ τῆς θαλάτ-
 τῃς νῆσον ἐν ἣ οἰκήσουσιν· ὃ δὲ ἐνθυμηθεὶς τὸ μῆκος
 τοῦ Πόντου καὶ ὅτι νήσου οὐδεμιᾶς ἐν αὐτῷ κειμένης
 ἀοίκητος πλείται, τὴν Λευκὴν νῆσον, ὀπόσῃν εἶπον,
 ἀνέφηρεν Ἀχιλλεῖ μὲν καὶ Ἑλένῃ οἰκεῖν, ναύταις δὲ
 7 ἴστασθαι καὶ τῷ πελάγει ἐγκαθορμίζεσθαι. ζυμπά-
 σης δὴ ἄρχων ὀπόσῃ ὑγρά οὐσία καὶ τοὺς ποταμοὺς
 ἐννοήσας τὸν Θερμῶδοντα καὶ τὸν Βορυσθένην καὶ
 τὸν Ἰστρον, ὡς ἀμηχάνους τε καὶ ἀενάοις ρεύμασιν
 ἐς τὸν Πόντον ἐκφέρονται, προὔχωσε τὴν ἰλὺν τῶν
 ποταμῶν ἣν ἀπὸ Σκυθῶν ἀρξάμενοι σύρουσιν ἐς τὸ
 πέλαγος, νήσόν τε ὀπόσῃν εἶπον ἀπετόρνευσε, συ-
 στησάμενος αὐτὴν ἐν τῷ πυθμένι τοῦ Πόντου.
- 8 ἐνταῦθα εἰδόν τε πρῶτον καὶ περιέβαλον ἀλλήλους
 Ἀχιλλεύς τε καὶ Ἑλένη, καὶ γάμον ἐδαΐσαντό σφω

The shrine faces Lake Maeotis (which is as large as the
 Black Sea and empties into it), and contains statues of
 Achilles and Helen, who were joined by the Fates: love
 comes from the eyes, and the poets sing of love from this
 source; but Achilles and Helen had never been seen by
 each other (she being in Egypt and he at Troy), and began
 to love each other after discovering the source of physical
 desire in their hearing.

Yet for their immortal life together no land beneath the
 sun had been destined, and the Echinades islands oppo-
 site Oeniadae and Acarnania had already been polluted
 when Alcmaeon, after killing his mother, settled on the silt
 deposits of the River Achelous, territory that had not yet
 existed at the time of his crime;²⁰⁶ Thetis asked Poseidon
 to create a new island from the sea in which they could
 settle; he remembered how long the Black Sea was, and
 that sailing it offered no lodging because there was no is-
 land in it; and so brought forth the island of Leuke, whose
 size I have described, as a home for Achilles and Helen
 and as a stopping point and anchorage in the sea for sail-
 ors. Poseidon controls all liquid substance everywhere, so
 he noticed that the rivers Thermodon, Borysthenes, and
 Danube empty with irresistible and ever-flowing streams
 into the Black Sea, and heaped up the silt which they
 sweep from their Scythian headlands into the sea and fash-
 ioned an island of the size I have described, and fastened
 it to the floor of the Black Sea.

There Achilles and Helen first saw and embraced each
 other. Their wedding was celebrated by Poseidon himself

²⁰⁶ As told by Thuc. 2.102.

Ποσειδῶν τε αὐτὸς καὶ Ἀμφιτρίτη, Νηρηίδες τε ξύμ-
 πασαι καὶ ὀπόσοι ποταμοὶ καὶ δαίμονες <ἐσ>έρχονται
 τὴν Μαιωτίν τε καὶ τὸν Πόντον.

- 9 οἰκέων μὲν δὴ λευκοὺς ὄρνιθας ἐν αὐτῇ φασιν, εἶναι
 δὲ τούτους ὑγροὺς τε καὶ τῆς θαλάττης ἀπόζοντας,
 οὓς τὸν Ἀχιλλεῖα θεράποντας αὐτοῦ πεποιῆσθαι
 κοσμοῦντας αὐτῷ τὸ ἄλλος τῷ τε ἀνέμῳ τῶν πτερῶν
 καὶ ταῖς ἀπ' αὐτῶν ρανίσιν· πράττειν δὲ τοῦτο χαμαὶ
 πετομένους καὶ μικρὸν τῆς γῆς ὑπεραίροντας.
- 10 ἀνθρώποις δὲ πλέουσι μὲν τὸ τοῦ πελάγους χάσμα
 ὁσία ἢ νῆσος ἐσβαίνειν, κέεται γὰρ ὡσπερ εὐξείνος
 νεῶν ἐστία· οἶκον δὲ μὴ ποιεῖσθαι αὐτὴν πᾶσί τε
 ἀπείρηται τοῖς πλέουσι καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὸν Πόντον Ἑλ-
 11 λησί τε καὶ βαρβάροις. δεῖ γὰρ προσορμισαμένους
 τε καὶ θύσαντας ἡλίῳ δνομένου ἐσβαίνειν μὴ ἐννε-
 χεύοντας τῇ γῆ, κἂν μὲν τὸ πνεῦμα ἐπηται, πλεῖν, εἰ
 δὲ μὴ, ἀναφαιμένους τὸ πλοῖον ἐν κοίλῳ ἀναπαύεσθαι.
- 12 ξυμπίνειν γὰρ δὴ λέγονται τότε ὁ Ἀχιλλεύς τε καὶ ἡ
 Ἑλένη καὶ ἐν ᾧδαῖς εἶναι, τὸν ἔρωτά τε τὸν ἀλλήλων
 ἄδειν καὶ Ὀμήρου τὰ ἔπη τὰ ἐπὶ τῇ Τροίᾳ καὶ τὸν
 Ὀμηρον αὐτόν. τὸ γὰρ τῆς ποιητικῆς δῶρον, ὃ παρά
 τῆς Καλλιόπης τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ ἐφοίτησεν, ἐπαινεῖ ὁ
 Ἀχιλλεύς ἐτι καὶ σπουδάξει μᾶλλον, ἐπειδὴ πέπανται
 13 τῶν πολεμικῶν. τὸ γοῦν ἄσμα τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ Ὀμήρῳ θείως
 αὐτῷ, ξένε, καὶ ποιητικῶς ξύγκειται· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνο
 γινώσκει τε καὶ ἄδει ὁ Πρωτεσίλεως.

55. ΦΟΙΝ. Ἐμοὶ δ' ἂν γένοιτο, ἀμπελοργέ, ἀκού-
 σαι τοῦ ἄσματος, ἢ οὐ θέμις ἐκφέρειν αὐτό;

and Amphitrite, and all the Nereids and rivers and their
 divinities that flow into Lake Maeotis and the Black Sea.

It is said that the island is inhabited by white birds, 9
 which are wet and smell of the salt air. Achilles has made
 them his servants, and they clean his grove with the breeze
 from their wings and the moisture from them, which they
 do by flying low and a little raised off the ground.²⁰⁷

The island may be visited by men who sail this vast sea, 10
 and stands as a hospitable haven for their ships; but nei-
 ther sailors nor dwellers in the region, Greek or barbarian,
 may ever make it their home. If they anchor and sacrifice 11
 there, they must board their ships at sunset and not spend
 the night on land; if the wind is favorable they sail away,
 otherwise they tie up and sleep below deck. For it is then 12
 that Achilles and Helen drink together, engage in song,
 and sing their love for each other, Homer's verses about
 Troy, and Homer himself. The poetic talent which came
 to Achilles from Calliope he still prizes and practices even 13
 more now that his fighting is over. His song for Homer is
 quite finely and poetically composed; Protesilaus knows it,
 and has sung it to me.

55. *Phoenician*. Might I hear it, or may it not be di-
 vulged?

²⁰⁷ For the flight of the shearwaters on Leuke, cf. Arr. *Periplus*
 21, S. West (2003, 163); for the self-offering victims (56.4, below),
 cf. *Periplus* 22.

- 2 ἌΜΠ. Καὶ μὴν, ξένε, πολλοὶ τῶν προσελθόντων
τῇ νήσῳ καὶ ἄλλα τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως ἄδοντος ἀκούειν
φασί, τουτὶ δὲ πέρυσιν, οἶμαι, τὸ ἄσμα ἡρμόσατο
3 χαριέστατα τῆς γνώμης καὶ τῶν διανοιῶν ἔχον. ξύγ-
κεται δὲ ὧδε·

Ἄχῳ, περὶ μυρίον ὕδωρ
μεγάλου ναίουσα πέρα Πόντου,
ψάλλει σε λύρα διὰ χειρὸς ἐμᾶς·
σὺ δὲ θεῖον Ὅμηρον αἰδέε μοι,
κλέος ἀνέρων,
κλέος ἀμετέρων πόνων
δι' ὃν οὐ θάνον,
δι' ὃν ἔστι μοι
Πάτροκλος, δι' ὃν ἀθανάτοις ἴσος
Αἴας ἐμός,
δι' ὃν ἄδορίληπτος αἰδομένα σοφοῖς
κλέος ἦρατο κοῦ πέστε Τροία.

- 4 ΦΟΙΝ. Δαιμονίως γε ὁ Ἀχιλλεύς, ἀμπελουργέ, καὶ
ἐπαξίως ἑαυτοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ Ὀμήρου. καὶ ἄλλως σοφὸν
ἐν τοῖς λυρικοῖς ἄσμασι τὸ μὴ ἀποτείνειν αὐτά, μηδὲ
σχοινοτενῆ ἐργάζεσθαι. καὶ ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἄρα εὐδόκι-
μὸν τε καὶ σοφὸν ἦν ἡ ποίησις.
5 ἌΜΠ. Ἐκ παλαιοῦ, ξένε, καὶ γὰρ τὸν Ἡρακλέα
φασὶν ἀνασταυρώσαντα τὸ Ἀσβόλου τοῦ κενταύρου
σῶμα, ἐπιγράψαι αὐτῷ τόδε τὸ ἐπίγραμμα·

Vinedresser. Of course; many travelers to the island say 2
they hear Achilles singing other songs, but I believe this
one, composed last year, is the best in expression and con-
tent.²⁰⁸ It goes like this: 3

Echo, who live beyond great Pontus
Over endless water,
The lyre in my hands plays you;
Sing for me divine Homer,
The glory of men,
The glory of my labors,
Because of whom I did not die;
Because of whom I still
Have Patroclus; because of whom my Ajax
Is like the immortals;
Because of whom conquered Troy, sung by the wise,
Won her glory, and never fell

Phoenician. That is marvelous, quite worthy of Achilles 4
and of Homer. It is always best not to make lyrics too long
or try to roll them out. Poetry must have been a glorious
and wise profession even long ago.

Vinedresser. Yes, it was, and they say even Heracles 5
composed these verses when he had hung up the body of
the Centaur Asbolus.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁸ Achilles' musical skills were described in 45.6. For this
song, see Miles (2004).

²⁰⁹ For the centaur Asbolus, see the pseudo-Hesiodic *Shield
of Heracles* 185.

Ἄσβολος οὔτε θεῶν τρομέων ὄπιν οὔτ'
 ἀνθρώπων,
 ὄξυκόμοιο κρεμαστός ἀπ' εὐλιπέος κατὰ πεύκης
 ἀγκειμαι μέγα δεῖπνον ἀμετροβίοις κοράκεσιν.

6 ΦΟΙΝ. Ἀθλητῆς γε καὶ τούτων ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ἐγένετο,
 μεγαληγορίαν ἐπαινῶν, ἀμπελουργέ, παρ' ἧς δεῖ δῆ-
 που τὸν ποιητὴν φθέγγεσθαι. ἀλλ' ἐπανίωμεν ἐπὶ τὴν
 νῆσον· ρεῦμα γὰρ δὴ ὑπολαβὸν ἡμᾶς, οἷα πολλὰ περὶ
 τὸν Πόντον εἰλείται, παρέπλαγξε τοῦ λόγου.

56. ἈΜΠ. Ἐπανίωμεν, ὦ ξένε. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄσματα
 ἐν αὐτῇ τοιαῦτα, καὶ ἡ φωνὴ δὲ ἦν ἄδουσι θεῖά τε
 ἠχεῖ καὶ λαμπρά· διήκει γοῦν τοσαύτη ἐς τὸ πέλαγος,
 ὡς φρίκην ἀνίστασθαι τοῖς ναύταις ὑπὸ ἐκπλήξεως.
 2 φασὶ δ' οἱ προσορμισάμενοι καὶ κτύπον ἀκούειν
 ἵππων καὶ ἤχου ὀπλων καὶ βοῆς οἷον ἐν πολέμῳ
 3 ἀναφθέγγονται. εἰ δ' ὀρμισαμένον ἐς τὰ βόρεια ἢ τὰ
 νότια τῆς νήσου μέλλοι τις ἀνεμος ἐναντίος τῷ ὄρμῳ
 4 κελεύει μεθορμισαμένους ἐκστῆναι τῷ ἀνέμῳ. πολλοὶ
 δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐκπλέοντων τοῦ Πόντου προσπλέουσι τέ
 μοι καὶ ἀπαγγέλλουσι ταῦτα, καὶ νῆ Δί' ὡς, ἐπειδὴν
 προῖδωσι τὴν νῆσον, ἅτε ἐν ἀπείρῳ πελάγει ἐμφερό-
 μενοι, περιβάλλουσι τε ἀλλήλους καὶ ἐς δάκρυα ὑφ'
 ἠδονῆς ἔρχονται, καταπλεύσαντες δὲ καὶ τὴν γῆν
 ἀσπασάμενοι βαδίζουσιν ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν προσευξόμενοι
 τε τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ καὶ θύσοντας. τὸ δὲ ἱερεῖον αὐτόματον
 τῷ βωμῷ προσέστηκε κατὰ τὴν ναῦν τε καὶ τοὺς

Asbolus never feared wrath of god or mortal;
 now, hung from a sharp-needled resinous pine,
 My body is a great feast for the ravening crows.

Phoenician. Heracles was an athlete also in this, and 6
 approved the eloquence with which the poet has to speak.
 But let us return to the island; for the current has taken
 us like it presses around much of the Black Sea, and driven
 us off the course of our story.

56. *Vinedresser.* All right, stranger. These are the songs
 there, and the voice in which they sing them resounds
 divine and clear; it travels so far over the sea that it puts 2
 a shudder of amazement in the sailors. Those who have
 anchored there claim to hear the hoof beats of horses, the
 clash of armor, and the cries like those at war. If sail- 3
 ors anchor on the north or south side of the island and
 a wind is going to strike their anchorage, Achilles ap-
 pears at their stern to announce it and tell them to change
 their mooring and escape the wind. Many of those who 4
 have sailed out of the Black Sea put in here and report
 these things to me; and further, by Zeus, that whenever,
 traveling on this endless sea, they see the island in the
 distance, they embrace each other and cry tears of joy.
 After landing and kissing the earth they go to the shrine
 to pray and sacrifice to Achilles, and the victim stands 5
 ready beside the altar opposite the ship and its crew. The

- 5 ἐμπλέοντας. τὸ μὲν δὴ περὶ τὴν κάλπιον τὴν χρυσοῦν
τὴν ἐν Χίῳ ποτὲ φανείσασιν τῇ νήσῳ εἰρηται, ξένε,
σοφοῖς ἀνδράσι, καὶ τί ἂν τις ἀριζήλως εἰρημένον
αὐθις ἄπτοιτο;
- 6 ἐμπόρῳ δὲ λέγεται θαμίζοντί ποτε ἐς τὴν νήσον
φαίνεσθαι μὲν ὁ Ἀχιλλεύς αὐτός, διηγείσθαι δὲ τὰ ἐν
τῇ Τροίᾳ, ξενίσαι δ' αὐτὸν καὶ ποτῶ, κελεύσαι τε ἐκ-
πλεύσαντα ἐς Ἴλιον ἀναγαγεῖν οἱ κόρην Τρωάδα, τὴν
- 7 δεῖνα εἰπὼν δουλεύουσιν τῷ δεῖνι ἐν Ἰλίῳ. θαυμάσαν-
τος δὲ τοῦ ξένου τὸν λόγον καὶ διὰ τὸ θαρσεῖν ἤδη
ἐρομένου αὐτὸν τί δέοιτο δούλης Ἰλιάδος, "ὅτι" ἔφη,
"ξένε, γέγονεν ὅθενπερ ὁ Ἔκτωρ καὶ οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ
ἄνω, λοιπὴ δ' ἐστὶ τοῦ Πριαμίδων τε καὶ Δαρδανιδῶν
- 8 αἵματος." ὁ μὲν δὴ ἔμπορος ἔραν τὸν Ἀχιλλέα ᾤετο
καὶ πριάμενος τὴν κόρην ἐς τὴν νήσον ἀνέπλευσεν, ὁ
δὲ Ἀχιλλεύς ἐπαινέσας αὐτὸν ἤκουσα τὴν μὲν προσ-
έταξε φυλάττειν ἑαυτῷ ἐν τῇ νηὶ δι' οἶμαι τὸ μὴ ἐσβα-
τὸν εἶναι γυναιξὶ τὴν νήσον, αὐτὸν δὲ ἐσπέρας ἤκειν
ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ εὐχέσθαι μεθ' αὐτοῦ τε καὶ Ἑλένης.
- 9 ἀφικομένῳ δὲ πολλὰ μὲν χρήματα ἔδωκεν, ὧν ἥττους
ἔμποροι, ξένου δ' αὐτὸν ποιέσθαι ἔφη διδόναι τέ οἱ
τὴν ἔμπορίαν ἐνεργὸν καὶ τὴν ναῦν εὐπλοεῖν. ἐπεὶ δὲ
10 ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, "σὺ μὲν πλέε" ἔφη "ταῦτ' ἔχων, τὴν
κόρην δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ λίπε μοι." οὕτω στάδιον
ἀπέιχον τῆς γῆς καὶ οἰμωγῇ προσέβαλεν αὐτοῖς τῆς
κόρης, διασπωμένου αὐτῆν τοῦ Ἀχιλλεύος καὶ μελιστὶ
ξαινόντος.

story of the golden pitcher which once appeared on the island of Chios has been told by wise men, stranger, and why would anyone repeat something perspicuously said?²¹⁰

It is said that Achilles once visited a merchant who 6 frequented the island, and told him what had happened in Troy; he also entertained him with drink, and commanded him to sail to Iliion and bring back to him a specific Trojan girl who was the slave of a particular master. The stranger 7 was amazed, and made bold to ask why he needed a slave from Iliion. He answered, "Because, stranger, she is from the same line as Hector and his ancestors and is the last of the blood of the children of Priam and Dardanus." The 8 merchant thought that Achilles was in love, so he bought the girl and returned to the island; Achilles was pleased at his arrival and told him to keep the girl on his ship (I suspect because no women were allowed on the island), but to come himself at night to the shrine to feast with him and Helen. When he came, he gave him a great deal of 9 money, always pleasing to merchants, and said he made him his guest friend, and granted him a prosperous voyage and fair sailing. At daybreak Achilles said, "Now take these things and sail, but leave the girl on the shore for 10 me." They were not more than a stade away from shore, when the girl's scream reached them—Achilles was tearing her apart, and ripping limb from limb.²¹¹

²¹⁰ "Perspicuously said" quotes Odysseus in Homer, *Od.* 12.453. For the principle, cf. Hdt. 6.55, and Philostr. VA 2.33.2. But the story is in fact unknown. Grossardt (2006a) suggests it might have been another story of the spontaneous appearance of an offering. ²¹¹ In VA 4.12, Achilles forces the sophist to dismiss a follower of Trojan descent.

11. Ἀμαζόνας δέ, ἄς ἔνοι τῶν ποιητῶν φασιν ἔλθειν ἐς Τροίαν Ἀχιλλεῖ μαχουμένας, οὐκ ἀπέκτεινεν ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐν Τροίᾳ· πιθανὸν γὰρ οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως Πριάμου πολεμήσαντος αὐταῖς ὑπὲρ Φρυγῶν κατὰ Μυγδόνα, ξυμμάχους Ἀμαζόνας ὕστερον ἔλθειν Ἴλίῳ, ἀλλ' οἶμαι κατὰ τὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα ἦν τὸ πρῶτον ἐνίκα στάδιον Λεωνίδας ὁ Ῥόδιος, ἀπώλεσεν αὐτῶν ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς τὸ μαχμώτατον ἐν αὐτῇ, φασί, τῇ νήσῳ.

57. ΦΟΙΝ. Μεγάλου, ἀμπελουργέ, ἦψω λόγου, καὶ τὰ ὄπτα μοι ἡγειρας καὶ ἄλλως ἐστηκότα πρὸς τοὺς σοὺς λόγους· ἦκειν δέ σοι καὶ ταῦτα εἰκὸς παρὰ τοῦ Πρωτεσίλεω.

2 ἈΜΠ. Παρὰ τούτου, ξένε, τοῦ χρηστοῦ διδασκάλου· πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐς τὸν Πόντον ἐσπεπλευκῶτων δῆλα δὴ ταῦτα. κατὰ γὰρ τὴν ἄξενον τοῦ Πόντου
3 πλευράν, ἣ τὰ ὄρη τὰ Ταυρικὰ τέταται, λέγονται τινες οἰκεῖν Ἀμαζόνες ἢ Θερωδῶν τε καὶ Φάσις ἐξερχόμενοι τῶν ὄρων περιβάλλουσιν ἡπειρον, ἄς ὁ πατήρ
4 τε καὶ φυτουργὸς αὐτῶν Ἄρης ἐπαίδευσεν ἐν ὁμιλίᾳ τῶν πολεμικῶν εἶναι καὶ ζῆν ἔνοπλόν τε καὶ ἔφιππον βίον· βουκολεῖσθαι δὲ αὐταῖς ἵππον ἐν τοῖς ἔλεσιν ἀποχρῶσαν τῷ στρατῷ· ἀνδράσι μὲν δὴ ἐνομιλεῖν οὐ παρέχειν σφας τὴν ἑαυτῶν χώραν, αὐτὰς δ', ἐπειδὴν δέωνται τέκνων, κατιούσας ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Ἄλυν ἀγοράζειν τε καὶ ξυγγίνεσθαι τοῖς ἀνδράσι· ἔνθα ἔτυχεν,

²¹² For Penthesileia, see in the *Aithiopsis* (M. L. West 2003a, 130-41).

As to the Amazons, who some poets say went to Troy 11 to fight against Achilles,²¹² it was not there that he killed them; for I know it is implausible, that after Priam had fought against them to help the Phrygians at the time of Mygdon, the Amazons would later come to Troy as allies.²¹³ I think it was in the year that Leonidas of Rhodes won his first race at the Olympic Games that Achilles killed their fiercest warriors, so they say, on this island.²¹⁴

57. *Phoenician*. You have touched on quite a story, and aroused my attention which was already keen for your stories. Probably this too came to you from Protesilaus.

Vinedresser. Yes, he is an excellent source; but this is quite familiar to many of those who have sailed into the Black Sea. They say that along the unfriendly side²¹⁵ 2 where the Taurus Mountains extend, the Amazons live in the land which the Thermodon and the Phasis Rivers descend from the mountain to surround;²¹⁶ their founding father, Ares, taught them to be well acquainted with war, and live in armor and on horseback (in the nearby swamps they herd enough horses for their army). They don't allow 4 men to become acquainted with their country; when they need children, they travel down to the River Halys to trade and to have random sex with men; then they return to their

²¹³ Once again, rationalistic critiques of myths (Introduction §5).

²¹⁴ In 164 BC. (For Leonidas of Rhodes, see on *Gym* 33.) The Hellenistic date is perhaps influenced by the model of another famous northern attack on a sanctuary, that of Brennus and the Gauls on Delphi in 279 BC (see Introduction §13).

²¹⁵ See 54.2n.

²¹⁶ Cf. Herodotus' description of the Amazons (4.110-17).

ἀπελθούσας τε ἐς ἤθη καὶ οἴκους, ἃ μὲν ἂν τέκωσιν
 ἄρρενα, φέρειν ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρια τῆς χώρας ὅπως ἀνέλιντο
 αὐτὰ οἱ φύσαντες, τοὺς δὲ ἀναιρεῖσθαι τε ὧν ἕκαστος
 5 ἔτυχε, καὶ ποιεῖσθαι δούλους· ἃ δ' ἂν ἀποτέκωσι θή-
 λεα, φιλεῖν τε ἤδη λέγονται καὶ ὁμόφυλα ἠγέσθαι,
 θεραπεύειν τε ἢ φύσις μητέρων, πλὴν τοῦ ἐπισχεῖν
 γάλα· τουτὶ δὲ πράττουσι διὰ τὰς μάχας, ὡς μήτε
 6 αὐτὰ θηλύνουτο μήτε τοὺς μαζοὺς ἀποκρεμῶντο. τὸ
 μὲν δὴ ὄνομα ταῖς Ἀμαζόσιν ἐκ τοῦ μὴ μαζῶ τρέ-
 φεσθαι κείσθαι ἠγώμεθα· τρέφουσι δὲ τὰ βρέφη γά-
 λακτί τε φορβάδων ἵππων καὶ δρόσου κηρίοις, ἣ μέ-
 λιτος δίκη ἐπὶ τοὺς δόνακας τῶν ποταμῶν ἰζάνει.
 7 τὰ δὲ ποιηταῖς τε καὶ μυθολόγοις περὶ τῶν Ἀμα-
 ζόνων τούτων εἰρημένα παραιτησώμεθα τοῦ λόγου·
 πρόσφορα γὰρ οὐκ ἂν τῇ παρουσίᾳ σπουδῆ γένοιτο·
 τὸ δὲ περὶ τὴν νήσον ἔργον, ὅποῖόν τι αὐταῖς ἐπρά-
 χθη καὶ ἐς ὃ τι ἐτελεύτησε, λεγέσθω μᾶλλον ἐπειδὴ
 8 τῶν τοῦ Πρωτεσίλεω λόγων ἐστί. ναῦται γὰρ ἐπὶ νεῶν
 ποτε πλειόνων καὶ ναυπηγοὶ τῶν ἐς Ἑλλάσποντον
 ἀπαγόντων ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ὧνια κατηρέχθησαν ἐς τὴν
 ἀριστερὰν τοῦ πελάγους ὄχθην, περὶ ἣν αἱ γυναῖκες
 9 οἰκεῖν λέγονται. ληφθέντες δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν χρόνον μὲν
 τινα ἐδέδευτο σιτούμενοι πρὸς φάτναις, ἔν' ἀποδόνται
 σφας ὑπὲρ τὸν ποταμὸν ἄγουσαι τοῖς ἀνδροφάγοις
 10 Σκύθαις. ἐπεὶ δὲ μεираκίον σὺν αὐτοῖς ληφθὲν μία
 τῶν Ἀμαζόνων ἐπὶ τῇ ὥρᾳ ἠλέησε καὶ τις ἔρωσ ἐκ
 τούτου ἐγένετο, παραιτεῖται τὴν δυναστεύουσαν ἀδελ-
 11 φὴν οὔσαν μὴ ἀποδόσθαι τοὺς ξένους· λυθέντες δὲ

haunts and homes. Male children they carry to the border
 of their country for their fathers to take, and they accept
 anyone they find and make them their slaves. But any fe- 5
 male children they are said to love and consider their own
 and raise them as is natural for a mother, except for with-
 holding their milk; this they do because of their warfare,
 to avoid making them effeminate or their breasts sag. We 6
 should conclude that the Amazons have their name from
 their not being fed from the breast (*mazos*). They feed
 their children on mare's milk and honeydew,²¹⁷ which
 settles like honey on the reeds of the river.

Let us omit from our discussion what the poets and 7
 mythographers have to say about the Amazons; it would
 not suit our current interests. But their attack on the is-
 land, what they did and what it led to we must discuss, all
 the more so since it is part of Protesilaus' stories. Once a 8
 group of sailors and shipbuilders, on many ships, carrying
 merchant goods from the Black Sea to the Hellespont,
 were carried off course to the left bank of the sea, where
 the women are said to live. They were captured by them, 9
 bound, and fattened up for some time, so that they could
 take them to the other side of the river and sell them to
 Scythian cannibals. But when one of the Amazons took 10
 pity on a young man captured with them for his youth and
 it led to love, she asked the queen, who was her sister, not
 to sell the foreigners. After the sailors were released and 11

²¹⁷ For ancient beliefs about honey on plant leaves, see Wasz-
 ink (1974, 8).

καὶ πρὸς αὐτὰς συγκραθέντες ἐφθέγγοντο ἤδη τὸν
 ἐκείνων τρόπον, τὸν τε χειμῶνα καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ
 διηγούμενοι παρήλθον ἐς μνήμην τοῦ ἱεροῦ προσπε-
 12 πλευκότες οὐ πάλαι τῇ νήσῳ, καὶ διήεσαν τὸν ἐν
 αὐτῷ πλοῦτον. αἱ δ' εὖρημα ποιησάμεναι τοὺς ξένους,
 ἐπειδὴ ναῦταί τε ἦσαν καὶ νεῶν τέκτονες, οὔσης καὶ
 ἄλλως ναυπηγησίμου σφίσι τῆς χώρας, ποιοῦνται
 ναῦς τὸν ἵππαγωγῶν τρόπον ὡς τὸν Ἀχιλλεῖα σχή-
 13 σουσαι ταῖς ἵπποις· καταβάσαι γὰρ ἵππων Ἀμαζόνες
 θῆλύ τέ εἰσι γένος καὶ ἀτεχνῶς γυναικες. εἰρεσίας
 μὲν δὴ πρῶτον ἦσαντο καὶ πλεῖν ἐμελέτησαν, ὡς δ'
 ἐπιστήμην τοῦ πλεῖν ξυνελέξαντο, ἄρασαι περὶ ἕαρ
 ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκβολῶν τοῦ Θερμῶδοντος ἀφῆκαν ἐς τὸ
 ἱερόν σταδίου μάλιστα δισχιλίου ἐπὶ νεῶν, οἶμαι,
 πεντήκοντα, καὶ προσορμισάμεναι τῇ νήσῳ πρῶτον
 14 μὲν ἐκέλευσαν τοὺς Ἑλλησποντίους ξένους ἐκκόπτειν
 τὰ δένδρα, οἷς κεκόσμηται κύκλῳ τὸ ἱερόν· ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ
 πελέκεις ἐς αὐτοὺς ἀνακοπέντες τοῖς μὲν ἐς κεφαλὴν
 ἐχώρησαν, τοῖς δὲ ἐς αὐχένα, πάντες δὲ πρὸς τοῖς
 δένδρεσιν ἔπεσον, ἐπεχύθησαν αἱ Ἀμαζόνες τῷ ἱερῷ
 15 βοῶσαι τε καὶ τὰς ἵππους ἐλαύνουσαι. ὁ δὲ θερμόν τε
 καὶ δεινὸν ἐς αὐτὰς ἰδὼν καὶ πηδήσας οἶον ἐπὶ Σκα-
 μάνδρῳ τε καὶ Ἰλίῳ πτοίαν μὲν χαλινοῦ κρείττω ταῖς
 ἵπποις ἐνέβαλεν, ὑφ' ἧς ἀνεσκίρτησαν ἀλλότριόν τε
 καὶ περιττὸν ἄχθος ἠγούμεναι τὰς γυναικας, ἐς δὲ
 θηρίων ἦθη μετέστησαν καὶ κειμέναις ἐμπεσοῦσαι
 ταῖς Ἀμαζόσι τὰς τε ὄπλὰς ἐνήρειδον καὶ τὰς χαίτας
 ἔφριπτον καὶ τὰ ὠτα ἐπ' αὐτὰς ἵστασαν καθάπερ τῶν

lived among them and spoke their language, telling the
 Amazons of the storm and their adventures at sea, they
 came to recounting the sanctuary on the island that they
 had visited not long before, and described its wealth. The
 12 women decided to take advantage of the foreigners, since
 they were sailors and builders of boats—their country
 happened to have the resources to build boats—and con-
 structed ships for horse transport to attack Achilles on
 horseback. (Dismounted from their mares, Amazons are a
 womanly race, and as weak as other women.) In the spring,
 13 when they had taken up rowing and practiced sailing
 and consolidated their skill in sailing, they cast off from
 the mouth of the Thermodon on I believe fifty ships and
 sailed to the shrine about two thousand stades distant.
 They landed on the island, and first commanded their
 captives from the Hellespont to chop down the trees ar-
 14 ranged in a circle around the shrine; but when the axes
 bounced back against them, striking some in the head,
 some in the neck, and all those at the trees fell, the Ama-
 15 zons thronged the shrine on horseback with a cry. But
 Achilles glared back at them with terrible ferocity, and
 leaped as he had at the River Scamander and at Troy,²¹⁸
 and cast on the mares a terror stronger than any bridle,
 which made them rear up against their riders, considering
 the women an alien and excessive burden; they reacted by
 reverting to their wild natures, attacking the fallen Ama-
 zons, trampling them with their hooves, shaking their
 manes, ears perked up against them like ravening lions.

²¹⁸ Not in the story he rationalizes away in 48.11, but evi-
 dently in Homer himself, *Il.* 21.233.

λεόντων οἱ ὠμοί, κειμένων τε γυμνὰς ὠλένας ἤσθιον
καὶ τὰ στέρνα ῥηγνύσαι προσέκειντο τοῖς σπλάγ-
χνοις καὶ ἐλάφυσσον, ἐμφορηθεῖσαι δὲ ἀνθρωπίου
βρώσεως ἐκράαινον περὶ τὴν νῆσον καὶ ἐμαίοντο
μισταὶ λύθρου, στᾶσαι δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀκρωτηρίων καὶ τὰ
νώατα τοῦ πελάγους ἰδοῦσαι πεδίῳ τε ῥοντο ἐντετυχη-
κεναὶ καὶ κατὰ τῆς θαλάττης ἐαντὰς ἦκαν.

- 16 ἀπῶλοντο δὲ καὶ αἱ νῆες τῶν Ἀμαζόνων ἀνέμου
σφοδρουῦ ἐς αὐτὰς πνεύσαντος· ἅτε γὰρ κεναὶ καὶ οὐ-
δενὶ κόσμῳ ὠρμισμέναι προσέπιπτον ἀλλήλαις καὶ
ξυνηράττοντο, ναῦς τε ὥσπερ ἐν ναυμαχίᾳ κατέδνε
ναῦν καὶ ἀνερρήγνυ, καὶ ὁπόσας ἐγκαρσίους τε καὶ
ἀντιπρόρους ἐμβολὰς ποιοῦνται κυβερνήται ναυ-
μάχοι, πᾶσαι ξυνέπεσον ἐν ναυσὶ κεναῖς καὶ οὐκ ἐκ
17 προνοίας πλεούσαις. πολλῶν δὲ ναυαγίων τῷ ἱερῷ
προσενεχθέντων καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἐν αὐτῷ κειμένων ἐμ-
πνεόντων ἔτι καὶ ἡμιβρώτων, μελῶν τε ἀνθρωπίων
ἐσπαρμένων καὶ σαρκῶν ἄς διέπτυσαν αἱ ἵπποι, κάθ-
αρσιν ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς ποιεῖται τῆς νήσου ῥαδίαν κορυ-
φήν γὰρ τοῦ πόντου ἐπισπασάμενος ἀπένυπέ τε καὶ
ἀπέκλυσε ταῦτα.

58. ΦΟΙΝ. Ὅστις, ἀμπελοργέ, μὴ θεοφιλή σε
ἠγέεται σφόδρα, αὐτὸς ἀπήχθηται τοῖς θεοῖς· τὸ γὰρ
τοιούτους τε καὶ θεῖους λόγους εἰδέναι οὕτω, παρ'
ἐκείνων οἶμαί σοι ἦκειν, οἱ καὶ τῷ Πρωτεσίλεω φίλον
τέ σε καὶ ἐπιτήδειον ἐποίησαν.

- 2 ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ τῶν ἥρωικῶν ἡμᾶς λόγων ἐμπέπληκας,
τὸ μὲν ὅπως αὐτὸς ἀναβεβίωκεν οὐκέτ' ἂν ἐροίμην,

They gnawed at the bare arms of the fallen, tore open their
 chests and mauled and devoured their intestines. Intoxi-
 cated with human flesh the mares thundered around the
 island in a frenzy of blood; once they stood on the summit
 and saw the crest of the waves, thinking they had reached
 the plain, they cast themselves down into the sea.

The Amazons' ships were also destroyed, when a strong 16
 wind blew against them. Since they were empty and
 moored haphazardly, they crashed into each other and
 were broken; just as in a naval battle one ship tries to sink
 or smash another, now all the sideways or head-on col-
 lisions that captains produce in war, these happened to
 ships empty and sailing without guidance. Many wrecks 17
 were carried ashore to the sanctuary with women still on
 board breathing and half-alive, or with scattered human
 limbs and pieces of flesh which the horses had spit out.
 Achilles cleaned the island easily by pulling in the tide and
 cleaning and washing it away.

58. *Phoenician*. Anyone who does not see how dear you
 are to the gods, vinedresser, must himself be their en-
 emy; I think that such knowledge of divine stories like this
 comes to you from the same gods who have made you
 Protesilaus' friend and companion.

But since you have lavished on me stories of heroes, I 2
 won't ask you any more how he came back to life, since

- 3 ἐπειδὴ ἀβεβήλω τε καὶ ἀπορρήτω φῆς αὐτὸν χρῆ-
σθαι τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ· τοὺς δὲ Κωκυτοὺς τε καὶ Πυρι-
φλεγέθοντας καὶ τὴν Ἀχερουσιάδα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα
τῶν ποταμῶν τε καὶ τῶν λιμνῶν ὀνόματα καὶ νῆ Δία
τοὺς Αἰακοὺς καὶ τὰ τούτων δικαστήριά τε καὶ δικαι-
ωτήρια αὐτός τε ἴσως ἀπαγγελεῖς καὶ ξυγχωρεῖ διη-
γεῖσθαι.
- 4 ἌΜΠ. Ξυγχωρεῖ μὲν, ἐσπέρα δὲ ἤδη καὶ βούς πρὸς
ἀναπαύλῃ· τὰ γοῦν ζευγάρια ὄρας ὡς ἐκ βουλυτοῦ
ἤκει καὶ χρῆ με αὐτὰ ὑποδέξασθαι καὶ ὁ λόγος
5 πλείων τοῦ καιροῦ. νῦν μὲν δὴ ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν χαίρων
ἴθι, πάντα ἔχων ὀπόσα ὁ κῆπος φέρει, κἂν μὲν τὸ
πνεῦμα ὑμέτερον, πλεί, ξένε, σπείσας ἀπὸ τῆς νεῶς
τῷ Πρωτεσίλει· τουτὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἐνθένδε λύοντας νε-
νόμισται πράττειν· εἰ δ' ἐναντίον εἴη τὸ πνεῦμα, χῶρει
δεῦρο ἅμα ἡλίῳ ἀνίσχοντι καὶ τεύξῃ οὐ βούλει.
- 6 ΦΟΙΝ. Πείθομαί σοι, ἀμπελουργέ, καὶ οὕτως ἔσται
πλεύσαιμι δὲ μήπω, Πόσειδον, πρὶν ἢ καὶ τοῦδε
ἀκρόασασθαι τοῦ λόγου.

you say that he considers this off-limits and a forbidden 3
topic; but perhaps he allows you to tell and you yourself
will report things like Cocytus and Pyriphlegethon, and
the Acherousian lake, and such names of rivers and lakes,
or, by Zeus, of people like Aeacus and their courts and
places of punishment.

Vinedresser. Yes, he allows it; but it is already evening 4
and the oxen are at the stopping point. You see at least that
the teams have returned from the end of their plowing. I
must meet them, and the story would last too long. For 5
now, return to your ship content, taking as much as the
garden offers, and if the wind favors you, give a libation to
Protesilaus and set sail—for that is the customary action
for those departing from our harbor—but if the wind is
unfavorable, come back at sunrise tomorrow and you will
obtain what you want.

Phoenician. I obey you, vinedresser, and it will be so; 6
but may I not sail, by Poseidon, until I hear this story as
well.

GYMNASTICUS

PREFACE

I have been puzzling over Philostratus' *Gymnasticus* for many years now, but it had never occurred to me to sit down and translate it for publication. I am very grateful to Jeff Rusten for suggesting that I might do so and for proposing this collaboration, as well as for organizing a visit to Cornell in April 2013, which gave me an opportunity to clarify the arguments laid out in the introduction, and provided a helpful deadline for finishing my final draft of the translation. I am grateful also to Jaś Elsner for comments on the translation, and to Jeffrey Henderson for his support and assistance.

J. P. K.

INTRODUCTION

The *Gymnasticus* is probably the least well known of Philostratus' surviving works. That is perhaps not surprising; structurally speaking it is a rather disjointed text. The Greek is often difficult, especially in the second half, which is full of specialized medical and athletic vocabulary. It has been discussed most frequently in publications whose primary aim is the reconstruction of ancient athletic practice and athletic history. There has been a tendency in those works to take Philostratus' evidence too much at face value¹ and to neglect the challenge of understanding the text on its own terms.² That is not to deny that it is an important source for the development of the Olympic program and for ancient training techniques, but it is also much more. It is an important landmark in Philostratus' lifelong project of defending and exploring Greek tradition: it has a great deal in common with his other

Ancient authors and works are abbreviated as in *OCD*.

¹ However, see Golden (1998, 48–50) and Potter (2011, 141–52) for more cautious recent accounts.

² See König (2005, 301–44; and 2009a) for one recent pair of attempts to fill that gap. This introduction recaps briefly on some of the conclusions of that earlier work but also aims to cover a range of other issues not dealt with there, particularly in sections 4 and 5.

works in its treatment of that theme, although it is also in some respects quite unusual and distinctive. It is also a fascinating example of the richness and flexibility of the traditions of ancient technical and scientific writing as they were treated within Greek imperial prose.

1. DATE AND AUTHORSHIP

The work is hard to date precisely. It was written probably in the 220s or 230s AD. The only secure indication comes from *Gym.* 46, where we hear that "this [massage accompanied by clapping] was the type of exercise used by the Phoenician Helix, not only when he was a boy, but also when he had come into the men's age category, and he was an indescribably wonderful athlete, more so than any of those whom I know to be practicing that kind of recreation." Helix, we know, was Olympic victor in the *pankration* in AD 213 and 217; he also won a double victory at the Capitoline games of 219.³ From the use of the past tense, and from the adulatory tone of his praise of Helix, it seems highly likely (although impossible to prove) that Philostratus was writing in the decade or so after those victories, when Helix's fame would have been at its height.⁴

Philostratus' authorship of the work is also hard to prove beyond doubt, especially since we know of a num-

³ See Moretti (1957, no. 915), and Cass. Dio 79.10.2-3 for the Capitoline victories.

⁴ See de Lannoy (1997, 2405-7) and Bowie (2009, 30), among others. Cf. p. 10, above, on the similar role of Helix in dating the *Heroicus*.

ber of different Philostrati from the same family.⁵ The *Gymnasticus* is assigned by the *Suda* to the so-called first Philostratus. But the current consensus is that the author of this work is the "second" Philostratus, probably identical with the sophist Flavius Philostratus, who was honored by Athens with a statue at Olympia⁶ and who is thought to have been the author of the *Heroicus* and also of the *Imagines*, the *Life of Apollonius*, the *Lives of the Sophists*, and the *Nero* (traditionally ascribed to Lucian). That consensus is based not least on the fact that it shares so many similarities of athletic subject matter with those other works, some of them discussed further below.⁷

2. ATHLETIC TRAINERS AND ATHLETIC TRAINING IN IMPERIAL CULTURE

Philostratus opens his work with the claim that "athletic training (*gymnastikē*) . . . is a form of wisdom (*sophia*), and one which is inferior to none of the other skills (*technai*)." How plausible would that claim have seemed to his contemporaries?

Athletics broadly defined had a prominent position in the cultural life of the Roman Empire. The second and early third centuries AD were arguably the great heyday

⁵ See pp. 5-6, above, for more details.

⁶ *Syll.*³ 878 = *IVO* 476.

⁷ Among others, see Billault (1993, 158-61), Flinterman (1995, 5-14), de Lannoy (1997, 2404-10), and König (2005, 304-5, esp. n. 4).

of the Greek athletic tradition.⁸ Greek athletic and musical festivals flourished right across the Mediterranean world. Victorious athletes in the more prestigious festivals could win great fame and fortune. They prided themselves on their membership of the Universal Athletic Guild, an institution that protected the interests of victors and competitors and was regularly involved in the foundation of new festivals. The guild had its headquarters in Rome and enjoyed the protection of successive emperors.⁹ Benefactors won renown from their home cities by funding festivals (as “agonothetes”) or by paying for the running of the gymnasia (as “gymnasiarchs”). All of this athletic activity was popular in part as a celebration of the classical heritage and of its continuing relevance for the present day.

The culture of the gymnasium also continued to flourish. Central to this was the institution of the *ephebeia* (the institution of higher education in which young members of the elite were trained in the gymnasium between the ages of seventeen and nineteen), which played an important role in civic life in cities throughout the Greek east. We have a rich body of epigraphical evidence for gymnasium activity for both the Hellenistic and the Roman periods.¹⁰ The gymnasium was an official building, owned

⁸ See among many others Robert (1984), van Nijf (2001), König (2005), and Newby (2005).

⁹ See König (2005, 221–24), with further bibliography, on the formation of the guild from two separate Mediterranean-wide guilds in the mid-second century AD and on its relationship with various local athletic guilds.

¹⁰ See Gauthier (2010) for the Hellenistic world and König (2005, 47–72), with further bibliography; also Miller (2004, no.

by the city, but the day-to-day administration of gymnasium education was generally left in the hands of the gymnasiarch. It generally involved a mixture of athletic and military training, but that was sometimes combined with rhetorical and literary education. We know from many surviving inscriptions that the gymnasium would typically have a permanent teaching staff attached to it, with specialists in these different disciplines. Gymnasia and private *palaistra* (wrestling schools) were also used for private exercise for health, and in the imperial period facilities for exercise were increasingly combined with bath buildings.

Athletic trainers played a prominent role within that wider athletic culture. It is clear, however, that there was a considerable amount of variation in their social and intellectual status, and that they performed a range of different functions and laid claim to many different areas of expertise.¹¹ In the context of day-to-day festival competition and gymnasium education, the word most often used for the athletic trainer was *paidotribês*, alternatively sometimes *aleiptês* or *epistatês*.¹² In many cases these men seem to have been well respected. The tradition of praising trainers for their contributions to athletic victory dates

185 [pp. 137–42]) for translation of the gymnasium law of Beroia (SEG 27.261), a long inscription dating from the early second century BC, which gives us some of our best evidence for the day-to-day running of ancient gymnasia.

¹¹ See König (2005, esp. 305–15); also König (2009a, 262–64, and forthcoming).

¹² See König (2005, 305–6).

back at least to Pindar and Bacchylides.¹³ Clearly a trainer was viewed as an important part of the entourage of any star athlete in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, and trainers are frequently mentioned in passing in victory inscriptions.¹⁴ The following example, a statue base from Smyrna recording the successes of a runner from the second century AD, is typical: "... M. Aur . . . , best of the Hellenes, first of runners, having won sixty-six sacred contests under the instruction of the trainer Areius the Alexandrian, son of Hermeius (*ὑπὸ ἀλείπττην Ἄρειον*)" (the opening of the inscription and the full name of the athlete have not survived). This is clearly an athlete of the very highest ability, with plenty to boast about: to have won sixty-six victories in sacred contests (the more prestigious of the two categories of ancient agonistic festival, where victory was rewarded with a wreath rather than just a money prize) would have required many years of domi-

¹³ See especially Pind. *Ol.* 8.54, *Nem.* 4.93, and *Nem.* 6.65 for the trainer Melesias; Pind. *Nem.* 5.48 and Bacchyl. 13.190–98, for the trainer Menander; and Nicholson (2005, 119–210), who argues, however, that there was a tendency in victory odes to downplay the contribution of athletic trainers so as to avoid detracting from the glory of the victorious athletes being celebrated, as well as a tendency, in cases where trainers are mentioned, to downplay the professional quality of their assistance, in order to avoid the impression that their athletes have paid for the skills needed to win victory. Cf. Burnett (2005, 51–53) for a more skeptical treatment of the claim that Pindar and his patrons felt uncomfortable with celebration of athletic trainers.

¹⁴ See also Paus. 6.3.6 for a statue honoring a *paidotribês* at Olympia, and *Inscriptions de Délos* 1924 for a similar example from Delos.

nance over his rivals. And yet this athlete, or whoever is responsible for the inscription, devotes two whole lines of the inscription to the contribution of his trainer, who stands prominently at the end.¹⁵ The key phrase *ὑπὸ ἀλείπττην* (under the instruction of the trainer χ), or sometimes *ὑπὸ παιδοτρίβην* or *ὑπ' ἐπιστάτην*, occurs over and over again in other inscriptions too.¹⁶

There is also evidence for trainers holding political office in their home cities¹⁷ and using rhetorical skills, for example, in presenting requests for funding.¹⁸ Some trainers clearly moved in intellectually elevated company. For example, Plutarch's *Quaestiones Convivales* includes one account of a symposium in Athens—"Pretty well all of our friends were present, and many other scholarly people in addition" (9.1.1, 736d)—where one of the guests is an athletic trainer (*paidotribês*) (9.15.1, 747a–b).¹⁹ At the same time, however, trainers are presented as relatively subordinate figures in many of the surviving gymnasium

¹⁵ See Robert (1937, 138–42).

¹⁶ See König (2005, 308), drawing on Robert (1967, 31n3; 1974, 520–23; and 1937, 139n1).

¹⁷ E.g., see van Nijf (1997, 42n54 and 59n144) on *Inschriften von Smyrna* 246.

¹⁸ See *Inschriften von Ephesos* 1416 and 2005, from the fourth or third centuries BC; König (2005, 313–14); and Golden (2008, 25–26), as part of a wider discussion (23–39) of the increasing willingness to acknowledge the contribution of trainers to victory through the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

¹⁹ However, see also Plut. *Precepts of Healthcare* 133b–d, with van Hoof (2010, 238–39), for a passage that criticizes the anti-intellectual conversation of *aleiptai* and *paidotribai* at dinner parties.

inscriptions, instructing young men in athletics without any exceptional expertise and earning (relatively modest) wages in the process.²⁰ We do have some evidence for written instruction in the techniques of the combat events, in a surviving papyrus fragment of a treatise on wrestling, but it gives the impression of being very functional and is lacking in any rhetorical embellishment, focusing mainly on bare description of different wrestling moves.²¹ The *paidotribês*, in other words, was a figure who tended to hover on the edge of the intellectual mainstream.

The picture is slightly different when we look at the long tradition of medicalized gymnastic writing by people who set themselves up as experts in preservative medicine, often referred to as dietetics or regimen, using techniques like massage and diet as well as exercise for the maintenance of health.²² It is in relation to these experts that we tend to find the word *gymnastês* (which is rare in the inscriptional record) rather than *paidotribês*.²³ The medi-

²⁰ See König (2005, 309–12), with reference among others to *Syll.* 3 577 and 578.

²¹ *P Oxy.* 3.466; for translation, see Miller (2004, no. 36, p. 32) and Poliakoff (1986, 161–63, and commentary at 165–71).

²² The fullest survey is Wöhrle (1990); see also Jüthner (1909, 3–60) and Lehmann (2009).

²³ For example, Arist. *Pol.* 1338b offers explicit, though cautious, approval of the *gymnastês* and the *paidotribês* as important contributors to the education of the young, the former as overall supervisors of the condition of the body, the latter as supervisors of its actions. For rare exceptions, where *gymnastês* is used in documentary texts, see *P London* 1178, line 63; *FD* 3.1.220; and further discussion at König (2005, 306).

calized school of athletic training stretches back to Iccus of Tarentum²⁴ in the fifth century BC, and Herodicus of Selymbria, his near contemporary, whose work seems to have involved among other things innovations in the uses of diet for the preservation of health.²⁵ Another later *gymnastês* who seems to have been influential was Theon, who wrote among other things on massage (discussed further below), although our only detailed evidence for his work is from Galen, and his date is not certain.²⁶ There was also a great deal of work on regimen by authors who would have identified themselves not as *gymnastai* but as philosophers or doctors. The most important example is the Hippocratic work *On Regimen*.²⁷ From the early Hellenistic period we know of work along these lines by Diocles of Carystus, Mnesitheus of Athens, Praxagoras of Cos, Erasistratus of Ceos, and Dieuches, thanks to surviving fragments and later testimonies.²⁸

Even this medicalized strand of gymnastic expertise, however, could be vulnerable to negative judgments, in cases where it was thought to prioritize training for competition over day-to-day good health. Plato's work is a case in point,²⁹ and especially his lengthiest discussion of the

²⁴ See *Pl. Prt.* 316d; Paus. 6.10; Jüthner (1909, 8–9).

²⁵ See *Pl. Prt.* 316d, *Phdr.* 227d, and *Resp.* 3, 406a; Jüthner (1909, 9–16).

²⁶ See Jüthner (1909, 16–22).

²⁷ See Jüthner (1909, 14–16) and Jouanna (1999, 166–68, 324–25, and 408–9).

²⁸ See Wöhrle (1990, 158–89) for survey.

²⁹ See Jüthner (1909, 37–43) for a survey of Plato's views on athletic training. Related to Plato's ambivalent attitude is a wider

subject, in *Republic* 3, 403c–12b. There he is clearly open to a positive role for athletic training so long as it is balanced with intellectual and musical education, but he is also very scathing about the effectiveness of Herodicus' views on regimen (at 406a) and more generally about some of the techniques used to train athletes for competition. For example, at 404a Socrates suggests that the condition of athletes is "a sleepy condition and dangerous for health: do you not see how these athletes sleep away their lives, and how they fall prey to great and violent diseases if they depart even a little from their prescribed regimen?" The Hippocratic writings similarly give an ambivalent assessment of the value of gymnastic training, partly, though perhaps not only, because of the varied authorship of the corpus. *Ancient Medicine* 4, for example, offers a fairly positive assessment: "Even today, those who give their attention to exercises and training are always making some additional discovery by the same method, investigating what foods and drinks a person will best overcome so as to become as strong as possible." Some ancient writers even thought that Hippocrates had been the pupil of Herodicus.³⁰ Elsewhere, by contrast, as in Plato, we find signs of anxiety about the dangerous, unhealthy character of the athletic condition. *Aphorisms* 1.3 is typical: "In athletes (*gymnastikoi*—literally, those involved in athletic training), good condition which is at its highest pitch is dan-

tradition of criticism of athletes by intellectuals in the classical period: e.g., Xen. *IE* 2.186–87; Eur. *Autolykus*, fr. 282 (*TGF*, 441–42); Isoc. *Paneg.* 1–2.

³⁰ E.g., see Soranus, *Life of Hippocrates* 2.

gerous." The Hippocratic work *On Regimen* falls halfway between these two extremes, embracing the power of exercise to improve the human constitution but also keeping training for competition rather at arm's length, stressing that the goal of exercise should always be the preservation of the correct constitutional balance within the human body.

Most vehement of all in his criticism of *gymnastai* is the great medical writer Galen, whose work dates from the second century AD.³¹ Galen is notoriously combative in his interactions with other medical professionals, regularly denouncing rivals who fall short in education and in the skills of reasoning that he deems necessary to any kind of medical expertise or who attempt to practice without an adequate degree of personal experience. His strongest criticism of all is reserved for athletic trainers, who threaten to encroach on his medical expertise by claiming medical skills they do not possess and in the process do enormous damage to the bodies of their charges. For Galen, in other words, the trainers are an extreme example of the way in which medical incompetence can masquerade as expertise. The most vehement version of those criticisms comes in his *Protrepticus*.³² That work is an exhortation to study the liberal arts and especially medicine, which is contrasted with a series of false arts. The worst of those, Galen suggests, in a denunciation that lasts for more than half the work as it survives, is athletics, which leads to a dangerous obsession with glory and also dam-

³¹ See Jüthner (1909, 51–59); König (2005, 254–300).

³² See König (2005, 291–300).

ages the health of the human body (he makes similar points in another brief work entitled *Good Condition*). In this work and others he aligns himself repeatedly with Hippocrates and Plato, although at times rather opportunistically, in a way that tends to overestimate the convergence of their views with his own.³³ Galen's *Thrasylbulus: Is Health a Part of Medicine or Gymnastics* offers a more sustained justification of his negative judgment.³⁴ He argues at great length that the expertise of the *gymnastês*, as an expert in the exercises of the gymnasium, should be viewed as just one tiny part of the half of medicine that is concerned with maintaining good condition (the other half being curative or therapeutic medicine) and so should be subordinate to the medical expert. Here he is resisting an alternative view that takes the *gymnastês* as the expert with primary responsibility for preserving the health of the body and the doctor as responsible only for curing disease and injury. Even in this more measured work, however, a more antagonistic tone sometimes bursts into view, in a way that seems to be partly explained by the context of public debate between doctors and trainers, or at least between Galen himself and some of his gymnastic rivals. We see a vivid glimpse of that context toward the end of the treatise, where he describes a hysterical public tirade directed against him by an ignorant *gymnastês* (46, K5.895).

Having established the subordinate role of the *gym-*

³³ See Smith (1979, 106–14); König (2005, 277–79).

³⁴ See König (2005, 267–74).

nastês, Galen then proceeds to reassert his own control over the art of medicalized regimen, in another important work, the *De sanitate tuenda* (usually translated as *On the Preservation of Health*, or sometimes as *Hygiene*),³⁵ which several times refers to the conclusions of the *Thrasylbulus*, as if imagining a reader who is familiar with that earlier work (see *De sanitate tuenda* 1.4, K6.12; 2.8, K6.136). The work opens in 1.1 with an account of the distinction between the two branches of medicine, the therapeutic and the “hygienic” or preservative (later, in 2.8, K6.135–36 he states his preference for the term *hygieinos* as the practitioner of the latter, criticizing those who instead use the term *gymnastês*). He then outlines the continual tendency of the human constitution to deteriorate from perfect balance between hot, cold, moist, and dry (1.1, K6.2) and defines correction and prevention of that deterioration as the primary goal of the science of *hygieinikê* (i.e., the expertise of the *hygieinos*). Exercise, he makes clear, is one of many different techniques for maintaining correct balance, and the second half of Book 2 comprises a painstaking categorization of different types of exercise and their effects, with extensive subdivision of each category, offering, for example, a range of different varieties of “vigorous” exercise (2.9) and a range of different varieties of “swift” exercise (2.10). He does repeatedly mention the exercises of the gymnasium, and even the experience of athletes, but he also makes it clear that gymnasium exercise is only one type of many. For example, at 2.8 he gives

³⁵ See van der Eijk (2008, 297–300); Wöhrle (1990, 213–48).

equal weight to the kinds of exercise linked with work: "digging, rowing, plowing, pruning, burden bearing, reaping, riding, fighting, walking, hunting, fishing . . . house building, bronze working, shipbuilding, plow making" (2.8, K6.134). Here the exclusively athletic style of training for competition associated with the *gymnastês* and the *paidotribês* is kept very much at arm's length (see 3.2.168-69 for a passage that makes that distinction explicit). The *De sanitate tuenda* makes it clear, then, that we should not overstate Galen's hostility to gymnastic exercise as a part of regimen. It is in fact by far the most ambitious of all surviving ancient writings on regimen³⁶ and is in itself heavily influenced by earlier writing on diet and massage and exercise, although even in this text he sometimes criticizes earlier gymnastic writers for their logical and physiological misunderstandings.³⁷ His hostility is directed not against those who use exercise as one of many techniques for maintaining a healthy balance in the human body but instead against those who set themselves up as experts in *gymnastikê* without having proper medical

³⁶ See Green (1951) for English translation. See also Plut. *Precepts of Healthcare*, for a similar approach, with Van Hoof (2010, 211-54) and König (forthcoming): like Galen, Plutarch denigrates the techniques of the athletic trainer while also constructing an alternative model of training for good health, based on dietetic traditions, rather than rejecting physical exercise outright.

³⁷ Especially Theon's writings on massage; see further below, n. 74; also *Thrasymboulos* 47 (K5. 898) for further brief criticism of Theon.

knowledge and with the primary goal of enhancing athletic performance rather than health.

3. ATHLETIC TRAINING AS A FORM OF SOPHIA IN *GYMNASTICUS* 1-2 AND 14-16

Philostratus' *Gymnasticus* reacts against this long-standing strand of ambivalence about the value of athletic trainers in Greek thought, especially, but not exclusively, in their guise as quasi-medical experts: his use of the word *gymnastês* for trainer throughout the work aligns him firmly with that medicalized strand of training and regimen. It also seems likely that he is reacting more specifically against Galen,³⁸ not least in the very opening passage of the work, where Philostratus' characterization of *gymnastikê* as a type of *sophia* goes provocatively against Galen's view. For example, in the closing paragraphs of Galen's *Protrepticus* as it survives, we find the following categorization:

Given that there is a distinction between two different types of art (*technê*)—some of them are rational and highly respected, whereas others are contemptible, and centered around bodily labor, in other words the ones we refer to as banausic or manual—it is better to take up one of the first category . . . In

³⁸ For a longer account, see König (2005, 315-25); cf. Jüthner (1909, 118-20) for the argument that Philostratus does not know the work of Galen, and König (2005, 315n45 and 329n70) for doubts about Jüthner's interpretation of the passage (*Gym.* 42) on which he bases that claim.

the first category are medicine, rhetoric, music, geometry, arithmetic, logic, astronomy, grammar and law; and you can also add sculpting and drawing if you wish. (14 [K1.38–9])

Athletic training, by contrast, has already been rejected as a false art in *Protrepticus* 9–14. Other imperial Greek writers too conspicuously decline to categorize athletic training with other types of wisdom. One particularly striking example is Pollux, in *Onomasticon* 3.140–55, where words connected with athletic training are included at the very end of Book 3, and conspicuously excluded from the discussion of different kinds of *technê* which follows on immediately as the central subject of Book 4.³⁹

Philostratus' opening paragraph gives a different impression:

Let us regard as types of wisdom, on the one hand, things like philosophy and skillful speech and engaging in poetry and music (*ποιητικῆς τε ἄψασθαι καὶ μουσικῆς*) and geometry, and by Zeus astronomy, so long as it is not carried to excess. On the other hand, the organization of an army is a form of wisdom, and in addition things like the following: the whole of medicine and painting and modeling, and the various types of sculpting and gem cutting and metal engraving . . . As for athletic training, we assert that it is a form of wisdom, and one that is inferior to none of the other skills. (*Gym.* 1)

³⁹ Cf. *Onom.* 7.17 for his inclusion of athletic training among other low-status, banausic areas of expertise.

The similarity in their list of skills suggests that Philostratus may well have had Galen's *Protrepticus* passage in mind. However, it is important to stress that Philostratus' comparison of athletic training with other kinds of wisdom is not simply a response to Galen. For one thing, this passage includes one very precise Platonic reminiscence in the phrase "engaging in poetry and music" (*ποιητικῆς τε ἄψασθαι καὶ μουσικῆς*). That phrase closely recalls Plato's recommendation of a healthy balance between athletics and music in *Republic* Book 3 (411c), a passage that Galen himself had used, opportunistically, to bolster his own negative characterization of athletic training. It is as if Philostratus is reminding us here, in opposition to Galen, that Plato had in fact allowed the possibility of a positive version of athletic activity, and suggesting that his own vision of *gymnastikê* is in line with Platonic precedent.⁴⁰ Philostratus' list of *technai* here has other precedents too, in addition to Plato and Galen. There was also a long philosophical tradition of attacking the *technai*. Many ancient technical treatises, like the *Gymnasticus*, anticipate this kind of criticism by situating the discipline they are treating in relation to a long list of other disciplines that similarly deserve to be categorized as *technai*. And Philostratus' catalog of types of wisdom here includes many that had been standard fixtures in lists of this type.⁴¹

⁴⁰ See König (2005, 321–22) for that point.

⁴¹ See Boudon (2000, 16–35) for discussion of Galen's ranking of the arts in the *Protrepticus*; Blank (1998, xvii–xxxiv) for the long tradition of attacking, defending, and defining *technai*, which stretches as far back as Plato and Hippocrates (and see esp. xviii–xx on evidence in the Hippocratic treatises for defense of the art

That is a good example of the way in which the *Gymnasticus* demands to be read not only within the context of other athletic or even medical works but also within the much broader context of the technical, compilatory prose that forms such a large part of the surviving literature of the Roman empire, and which had its own rich generic conventions.⁴²

The technique of offering comparison with other disciplines is also used again by Philostratus in one of his other works, the *Imagines*, where he defends the art of painting in strikingly similar terms in the opening lines of the work (1.1):⁴³

of medicine against attack); and at most length Nesselrath (1985, 123–239) for the history of writing about *technai* as it informs Lucian's *Parasite*, discussed further below.

⁴² For the general argument about the generic conventions of technical prefaces in imperial prose, see König (2009b); and for the *Gymnasticus* specifically, see Jüthner (1909, 97–107) on the context of *eisagogic* (i.e., introductory) and epideictic writing (the latter discussed further below). See also Billault (1993) for a positive view of the work's miscellaneous structure, which he links with the trend toward “encyclopedic” writing in the Roman empire; and Mestre (1991, 323–34) for examination of the *Gymnasticus* in the context of what she refers to as “essay” writing traditions in imperial Greek literature.

⁴³ Painting was represented in positive terms as a *technê* in a number of Socratic passages (e.g., *Pl. Prt.* 312c–d, *Crg.* 503e; *Xen. Oec.* 6.13), but it was also a standard target in attacks on the *technai* by later writers: e.g., see *Sen. Ep.* 88.19. Cf. Philostr. *VA* 8.7.3 for a similarly high valuation of painting (along with sculpting, navigating, and agriculture), which is represented as being almost deserving of the category of wisdom (ascribed by Philo-

Whoever does not welcome painting is unjust to truth and unjust to the wisdom (*ἀδικεῖ τὴν σοφίαν*) that has been bestowed on poets—for both poets and painters make an equal contribution to our understanding of the deeds and appearance of heroes—and also fails to give due praise to symmetry (*ξυμμετρίαν*), by which the skill of painting partakes of reason (*δι' ἣν καὶ λόγου ἡ τέχνη ἄπτεται*) . . . Wise men discovered it, and called it both painting and plastic art. There are many kinds of plastic art—modeling itself, and imitation in bronze, and those who carve Lygdian or Parian stone and ivory carving and by Zeus the art of gem cutting is also a plastic art.

Here there are close similarities with the *Gymnasticus* passage, especially in the mention of a series of different types of artistic expertise, which may be a sign that Philostratus intends his two works to be read together.⁴⁴ If so, that suggests that the *Gymnasticus* may be part of a wider

tratus in this passage to the arts of poetry, music, astronomy, and nonforensic rhetoric).

⁴⁴ The association between painting and athletic training has parallels both in Philostratus' work and elsewhere. For example, *Sen. Ep.* 88.19–20, denies the status of both painting and athletics as liberal arts in quick succession (he also attacks music, mathematics, and astronomy among others, all of which are also included in *Gym.* 1 and *Gal. Protrepticus* 14). See also *Gym.* 25 for the suggestion that the trainer's assessment of the proportions of the body has much in common with the sculptor's understanding of bodily proportion.

preoccupation in Philostratus' work with seeking manifestations of traditionally Greek wisdom in places one might not initially expect to find them.⁴⁵

In the opening paragraphs of the *Gymnasticus*, then, Philostratus sets out his determination to reclaim a position of intellectual respectability for the athletic trainer as a professional, against the views of Galen and others. From there, in *Gym.* 3 to 13, he changes tack to survey some key moments from athletic history, discussed further in the section following. In *Gym.* 14 to 16 he then returns to the topic of the categorization of *gymnastikê* from a slightly different angle. As we have seen, Galen, in his *Thrasylbulus*, had offered a belittling portrait of athletic training, portraying it as a tiny subsection of the wider art of medicine, in such a way as to make the trainers' claims to rival the doctors in expertise seem absurd. Philostratus, by contrast, offers a common-sense remapping of these disciplines, arguing that we need to think of *gymnastikê* as a valid art in its own right, which draws on medical expertise as well as on the expertise of *paidotribikê* (training in the techniques used for competition in the various events), but combines them into an independent and distinctive set of skills: "What, then, should one think about the art of athletic training? What else except to believe that it is a type of wisdom combining both the art of medicine and the art of the *paidotribês*?" (14). He also associ-

⁴⁵ See Elsner (2009, 15) for an argument along those lines; also Newby (2005, 324–26) on the way in which this passage raises questions, which are important for the rest of the work too, about the degree to which the painter's skill should be viewed as intellectual as well as technical.

ates *gymnastikê* particularly with preventative medicine, contrasted with therapeutic medicine, which is characterized as the province of the doctor: "Doctors cure the illnesses we refer to as catarrh and dropsy and consumption, and the various types of epilepsy, by prescribing irrigations or potions or dressings, whereas athletic training checks such conditions by the use of diet and massage."

In both 1–2 and 14–16, then, it is clear that Philostratus takes a very different view from Galen of the status of the trainer's art. That said, it is important to stress that Philostratus is not unequivocally hostile to Galen's position. For one thing Philostratus' discussion of particular types of regimen—for example massage and diet—in the second half of the work may well be influenced by Galen's *De sanitate tuenda*, although that is hard to demonstrate definitively. Certainly, they have a great deal in common, not least in their shared insistence on treating each of their subjects as an individual rather than applying blanket prescriptions.⁴⁶ Philostratus also criticizes the athletic trainers of the present day and suggests that they have been responsible for a decline:

The training of our fathers' time produced athletes who were less impressive than these but nevertheless remarkable and worthy of commemoration. But the kind of training which prevails today has so far changed the nature of athletes that the majority of people are irritated even by lovers of the gymna-

⁴⁶ Cf. Gal. *De sanitate tuenda* 3.1 (K6.164), 3.8 (K6.214), 5.1 (K6.306), for similar criticism of inflexible training methods that do not take account of differences between individuals.

sium. I have decided to make clear the causes of this degeneration and to contribute for trainers and their subjects alike everything I know. (1–2)

His criticism becomes even more vehement at *Gym.* 44:

When the situation changed, and when athletes became inexperienced in warfare rather than combatants, sluggish rather than energetic, and soft rather than hardened, and when Sicilian gastronomy became popular, then the stadia became enfeebled, and all the more so since the art of flattery was introduced into athletic training.

That attack on the luxury of contemporary athletic trainers is in fact reminiscent of some of Galen's more vehement assaults in the *Protrepticus* and elsewhere.⁴⁷ In some respects, then, Philostratus is happy to align himself with Galen's views. The key difference is that he takes a more optimistic view of the potential for athletic training to be a valuable profession in its own right, standing independently of medicine.

4. ATHLETIC HISTORY IN *GYMNASTICUS* 3–13 AND 17–24

Gym. 1–2 and 14–16 suggest that Philostratus' main topic will be the quasi-medical art of the *gymnastês*. At first sight then it seems odd that immediately after the opening paragraphs of the work he launches into an account of the

⁴⁷ E.g., see criticism of athletic overeating at Gal. *Protrepticus* 11.

origins of all the traditional Greek athletic events. What is the function of that excursus into Olympic history?

One obvious answer is that it helps to provide a history for the discipline Philostratus is presenting to his readers here. That too—like the comparison with other *technai* discussed above—was a standard technique within ancient technical writing.⁴⁸ It is also used ingeniously in a number of other surviving works that offer a defense of a particular *technê* using the praise traditions of epideictic rhetoric. Jüthner (1909), for example, has influentially cited Lucian's work *On Dance* as a text that draws on both of those closely connected strands and in that sense closely parallels Philostratus' work in generic terms.⁴⁹ That work

⁴⁸ See Pl. *Prt.* 316d–17a for Protagoras' claim that the art of the sophist is an ancient one (but that the early sophists disguised themselves under the cover of other professions). See also the preface to Columella, *Rust.* for another example that is strikingly close to the *Gymnasticus* not just in setting out a history for agriculture (preface 13–19, for an idealization of the farmer-politicians of the late Republic) and in comparing agriculture to other disciplines (3–6), but also in complaining about recent decline in agricultural skill, linked with the increasing luxury of Roman society (13, 15–16; cf. *Gym.* 2, 44–45), and in setting out to defend nature against the accusation that the ineffectiveness of present-day agriculture is her fault (1–3; cf. *Gym.* 2).

⁴⁹ Jüthner (1909, 97–100); he discusses Lucian's text as an example of eisagogic (i.e., introductory) literature, citing Horace's *Ars poetica* as a closely related example, and suggests that these works (like Philostratus' *Gymnasticus*) are characterized by a tendency to treat the art itself (including its history) in the first half and the practitioner in the second (for transition between the two, see *Gym.* 15; cf. Lucian, *On Dance* 35). However, see also

gives a very inventive defense of the art of pantomime, which most commentators would have been reluctant to categorize as an intellectually respectable profession. In the process Lucian, like Philostratus for *gymnastikē*, makes an elaborate and ingenious attempt to give pantomime a history, citing a wide range of precedents from Greek myth and epic.⁵⁰ Lucian's *Parasite* offers an even more blatantly parodic version of that same motif;⁵¹ he represents the art of the parasite as superior to philosophy and rhetoric and traces it back to the heroes of the *Iliad* and other famous figures from the classical past,⁵² for example, by representing Nestor as a parasite who earns his place at King Agamemnon's table through his entertaining conversation (*Parasite* 44–45).⁵³

Those parallels with Lucian are helpful, so long as we do not go too far in assuming that the *Gymnasticus* is simply an ingenious rhetorical exercise for Philostratus.⁵⁴

Billault (1993, 148) for skepticism about the importance of the *ars-artifex* distinction and especially about the relevance of the comparison with Horace.

⁵⁰ Lucian, *On Dance* 8–16.

⁵¹ See Nesselrath (1985).

⁵² Lucian, *Parasite* 44–48.

⁵³ The *Heroicus* too engages closely with works like *On Dance* and *Parasite*, although in that case the key point of overlap is the way in which all of these texts represent an interlocutor being converted from skepticism to belief or acceptance (belief in the existence of the heroes, in the *Heroicus*, or in the value of dance and parasitism, in the case of the Lucianic works): see *Her.* Introduction §7, above.

⁵⁴ See Anderson (1986, 268–72) for a view of the work along

The evidence of his other work, especially his *Life of Apollonius*, suggests that he cared deeply about defending traditional Greek culture, often in a way that involved quite an archaizing and even quite an exoticized view of the classical past, and often in a way that involved celebration of traditional festival culture.⁵⁵ That love of archaizing, exoticizing detail is also on show in these opening sections of the *Gymnasticus*.⁵⁶ The version of athletic history Philostratus offers us in *Gym.* 1–13 in many respects seems to draw closely on traditional sources. Much of the information he presents is close to passages in Pausanias, although also often with odd divergences, which have led some people to argue that he was not aware of Pausanias' work, but which may also conceivably be deliberate.⁵⁷ He

those lines, linking the *Gymnasticus* with the traditions of “adoxography,” in other words, rhetorical exercises involving praise of things that are difficult to praise.

⁵⁵ E.g., see Swain (1999) on the theme of defending Hellenism in Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius*, and König (2007) on the many scenes in that text where Apollonius travels around the Greek world correcting the observance of festival ritual, trying to bring present-day customs more closely in line with what he views as a more ancient, more virtuous original (e.g., 3.58, 4.5–9, 4.19, 4.27–9, 5.25), and on the way in which that attitude closely parallels the attitude to the athletic past we find in the *Gymnasticus*.

⁵⁶ Cf. Billault (1993, 149–50) on Philostratus' fascination with the past in this work.

⁵⁷ See Rusten (2004) for similar discussion of the possibility that Philostratus has read Pausanias, in relation to the *Heroicus*; and cf. p. 362 below, on the relationship between Philostratus' anecdotes about trainers and the equivalent stories in Pausanias.

also seems to draw heavily on the Olympic victory-list tradition that dates back to Aristotle and Hippias and others.⁵⁸ In line with Pausanias—and to a much greater degree than the victory lists—Philostratus gives us a glimpse of a world that is quite alien to the Roman present, defined, for example, by the omnipresence of military activity in the Peloponnese of the fifth and fourth centuries BC. In *Gym.* 8, for example, we hear the following:

The best of the hoplite races was thought to be the one in Plataea in Boeotia because of the length of the race and because of the armor, which stretches down to the feet covering the athlete completely, as if he were actually fighting; also because it was founded to celebrate a distinguished deed, their victory against the Persians, and because the Greeks devised it as a slight against the barbarians; and especially because of the rule concerning competitors that Plataea long ago enacted: that any competitor who had already won victory there, if he competed again, had to provide guarantors for his body; for death had been decreed against anyone who was defeated in that circumstance.

That brief account (which is not paralleled elsewhere) conjures up an image of a ruthless and heavily militarized

⁵⁸ See Jüthner (1909, 60–70); and for a broader account of the tradition, see Christesen (2007, esp. 178–79 on Philostratus; also 210–11, where he suggests that Philostratus has misread one of his sources); and see *Gym.* 2 for mention of “the records of the Eleans” as a key source, which may be a reference to official victory records, with discussion by Jüthner (1909, 109–16).

culture. This defamiliarizing vision of the past is further intensified later in the work, for example in the description of heroic athletes sleeping in the open air and competing against animals in *Gym.* 43.⁵⁹ At first sight it seems that these heroic figures inhabit a very alien world, although the whole thrust of Philostratus' *Gymnasticus* is that we can in fact recapture something of that ancient virtue through a reinvigoration of the art of training and that we can in that sense paradoxically find ways of celebrating the links between archaic past and imperial present, despite the apparent distance between them.⁶⁰ Philostratus' interest in presenting what seems to be a stylized, archaizing view of the Greek past should of course make us cautious about taking at face value his versions of the origins of the various events he describes, or indeed in accepting his broader vision of a decline from a pure, ancient past to a degenerate present.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Cf. the description of Heracles Agathon in *VS* 552–54, who similarly lives in the countryside and trains in competition with wild animals; also Philostr. *Her.* 10–13 for Protesilaus training in the open air and helping the vinedresser with his work in the fields, and 33.41 for Palamedes sleeping in the open air.

⁶⁰ Cf. Swain (2009, 39–40) on the way in which Philostratus' call for a return to nature is central to his desire to revive the virtues of the past in the *Gymnasticus*.

⁶¹ See König (2007) for the argument that Philostratus' model of decline is rather implausible, given the evidence for the continued flourishing and popularity of athletic festivals under the Severan emperors; also Billault (2000, 68–69) on decline as a commonplace sophistic topic, although he then goes on to endorse Philostratus' vision of increasing professionalization and degeneracy in ancient athletic culture. See also Gardiner (1930,

One might argue that these sections of the work are simply ineffective if they are designed to present the reader with a history of the art of athletic training, since *gymnastikê* is barely mentioned in the course of Philostratus' account of the origins of the events he discusses. However there are two passages from toward the end of this section that suggest he is aware of that problem and keen to overcome it as far as possible. The first is from the beginning of 12: "It is said that these events were not brought into the contests all at the same time but one after another, as they were invented and perfected by the art of athletic training." That claim makes *gymnastikê* responsible for the whole evolution of the Olympic program, as if it has a kind of supervisory role. The second instance is at the end of 13: "It seems to me that these events would not have been introduced in this way, one at a time, nor would they have won the enthusiasm of the Eleians and all the Greeks, if the art of athletic training had not undergone improvement, and if it had not trained them (*εἰ μὴ γυμναστικῆ . . . ἤσκει αὐτά*)."⁶² There the art of *gymnastikê* is said, with rather odd phrasing, to "train" the various events (*ἤσκει* can also mean "worked" or "perfected,"

115–16), who similarly cites Philostratus in support of that view, and Kyle (2010) for Gardiner's views on what he saw as a decline from amateur sport to corrupt professionalism in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, set in the context of Gardiner's commitment to early twentieth-century amateurist ideology (although he also points out [p. 305] that Gardiner did not use Philostratus as much as one might expect).

⁶² Cf. 12: καὶ ἀνδρῶν πάλην ἤσκησεν ἡ ὀγδόη ἐπὶ δέκα Ὀλυμπιάς.

but the athletic resonances would surely be dominant for most readers in the context of this treatise), again as if it exercises its developmental, supervisory powers over the contests themselves, just as it does over the athletes. Admittedly, Philostratus is vague here about exactly what involvement for athletic training he envisages. Nevertheless, he does seem to be insisting on the centrality of training even to this early history of Olympic development, in a way that might have been surprising to contemporary readers used to the much barer listing of the development of the Olympic festival program in the writing of the Olympic chroniclers.

In 17–25, Philostratus' goal of giving a new prominence to the figure of the athletic trainer then becomes much more conspicuous. He talks there about the need for the trainer to be at least competent in his use of words: "neither garrulous nor untrained in speech" (25).⁶³ What he seems to have in mind is not so much a full-scale rhetorical training but rather the power of a few well-chosen words addressed to the athlete for motivational purposes.⁶⁴ He also offers his readers a number of anecdotes to illustrate those qualities. In doing so he portrays the trainers as key members of the Olympic community, reminding us vividly of their presence at the

⁶³ Cf. the verbal skills of the trainer Melesias in Pind. *Nem.* 4.94–96; also Pl. *Prt.* 316d for sophists disguising themselves as athletic trainers, and as other kinds of professionals, with mention of Iccus and Herodicus.

⁶⁴ Cf. *Her.* 14–15 for anecdotes about Protesilaus giving advice—again in just a few well-chosen words—to athletes who come to consult his oracle on how to win victory.

games, which tends to get lost from view in many other ancient portrayals of Olympia. Several of these anecdotes are accordingly set in specific areas of the Olympic site, for example, in the gymnasium or the stadium. It is striking also that earlier versions of these same stories, for instance in Pausanias, often do not involve trainers. For example, the story of Glaucus of Carystus being encouraged to victory by his trainer in *Gym.* 20 also appears in Paus. 6.10.1–2, except that there the athlete is encouraged by his father. And the story of Arrichion in *Gym.* 21, who prefers victory to death, in response to the encouragement of his trainer on the sidelines, also occurs in Paus. 8.40.2, but there again with no mention of a trainer. It seems perfectly possible that Philostratus has invented the contributions of these trainers himself.⁶⁵ There is also a negative version of a trainer's expertise (or lack of it) on show within the Olympic sanctuary in the second half of the work, in the story (not attested elsewhere) of the death of an athlete called Gerenus in *Gym.* 54 (discussed further in the section following): Philostratus tells us that he died in the Olympic gymnasium, having been overexercised by his trainer, who misjudged his condition when he turned up to training with a hangover from celebrating an Olympic victory the night before.

⁶⁵ By contrast, Nicholson (2005, 119–21) suggests (to my mind less plausibly) that these are the original versions of these stories and that the contributions of the trainers were suppressed by Pindar and Bacchylides and other sources used by Pausanias in order to avoid detracting from the glory of their clients (he also acknowledges at 132 the possibility that they may be late inventions).

One other aspect of festival culture Philostratus is particularly fascinated by in his other works, and which is surely relevant to this portrayal of the trainers displaying their expertise at Olympia, is the tradition of intellectuals speaking to the assembled Greeks in the context of Panhellenic festivals. Apollonius' series of visits to the important religious sites of Greece is one example of that. In the *Life of Apollonius* (8.15), for example, Philostratus describes Apollonius' second visit to Olympia in the work as follows: "An incessant and eager rumor took hold of the Hellenic world (τὸ Ἑλληνικόν) that the man was alive and that he had arrived at Olympia"; the rumor is confirmed, and Philostratus tells us that "Greece (ἡ Ἑλλάς) had never before come together in such a state of excitement as it did for him then." That motif is even more prominent in the *Lives of the Sophists*, where Philostratus repeatedly describes classical orators like Isocrates and Gorgias,⁶⁶ and also the sophists of the Roman Empire like Herodes Atticus,⁶⁷ speaking at Olympia. In addition, he repeatedly uses this idea of "the Greeks" as the implied audience for sophistic speech making, even when these occasions are not taking place in Olympia and other festive sites. For example, his sophists are repeatedly described as speaking to "the Greeks" even when they are not performing at Olympia or Delphi or other equivalent venues, and their students and admirers are often referred to as "Hellenes" or "Hellenic" or even "Hellas," as if a notion-

⁶⁶ VS 1.9, 493 (Gorgias); 1.11, 495–96 (Hippias of Elis); 1.17, 505 (Isocrates).

⁶⁷ E.g., see VS 1.25, 539 for a good example involving Herodes Atticus, or 2.27, 618 for Hippodromus.

ally festive, Panhellenic quality is one of the defining features of sophistic speech.⁶⁸

There are perhaps traces of that interest in intellectual display at Olympia in Philostratus' portrayal of the trainer as an Olympic expert, whose contributions have lain at the heart of Olympic history for nearly a millennium (on Philostratus' account) by the time Philostratus is writing. The trainer is, of course, a rather unusual version of the Olympic intellectual—apart from anything else, he is not an orator—but as we have seen he does nevertheless make use of the skills of speech, and also powerful skills of physiological analysis, based on a sophisticated, even virtuosic understanding of the way in which outward signs on the surface of the athletic body reveal that body's underlying condition (more on those skills in the section following). The trainer too, in other words, is another (rather idiosyncratic) example of Philostratus' repeated celebration of the figure of the Panhellenic intellectual.

Similarly significant is Philostratus' repeated comparison between the athletic trainers and the *hellanodikai*, the Olympic judges, who were trained for overseeing the games for ten months in the Hellenodikaion building in Elis before the beginning of the festival and who similarly had the task of scrutinizing athletes (although in their case in order to determine which age category they belonged to).⁶⁹ In two passages (*Gym.* 18 and 25) Philostratus even

⁶⁸ For more detailed discussion, see Follet (1991, 206–8), and cf. Tell (2007) and Tarrant (2003) for similar links between wisdom and athletic activity and festival culture in classical Greek culture.

⁶⁹ E.g., see Paus. 6.23.2.

suggests that the trainer should be viewed as superior to the *hellanodikês* in some respects.⁷⁰ That comparison too bolsters the sense that *gymnastikê* should be viewed as a distinctively Olympic kind of expertise and also helps to portray the athletic trainer, like the *hellanodikês*, as a kind of guardian figure, in charge of a very old and important body of knowledge.

5. MEDICINE AND PHYSIOGNOMY IN *GYMNASTICUS* 25–58

From *Gym.* 25 onward, it becomes increasingly clear that the trainer also has a level of intellectual, physiological sophistication that the first half of the work has only hinted at. Here Philostratus turns away from the public face of the athletic trainer to concentrate instead on a much more private, intimate kind of expertise, exercised over the bodies of individual athletes within the gymnasium. In doing so he draws on the conventions of ancient scientific writing in order to stress the complexity of the discipline of athletic training, offering us many subdivisions and sub-categorizations of different types of body and different types of regimen.⁷¹ He also insists that the trainer has to take account of many different variables in making his judgments: these are not principles that can just be ap-

⁷⁰ The *hellanodikai* are mentioned also at *Gym.* 54.

⁷¹ Cf. Barton (1994, esp. 151–67) on similar techniques of subdivision in Galen; and see Jouanna (1999, 167–68) on the beginnings of that technique in the Hippocratic writings, for example, in *Regimen* Book 3.

plied in a mechanical fashion; each individual case, each athlete, is different.⁷²

The very final chapter of the *Gymnasticus* as it survives is typical. It gives detailed instructions for sunbathing:

Some athletes take sunbaths in an ignorant fashion, in every kind of sun and all in the same way; others, by contrast, sunbathe with understanding and rationally, not in all circumstances, but rather waiting for the most beneficial types of sunshine. The kinds of sunshine that accompany the north wind and come on windless days are clean and healthily sunny because they come from a clear sky, but those that accompany the south wind or come on overcast days are moist and burn excessively, and are liable to enfeeble those in training rather than warming them. The days with good types of sunshine I have described. But phlegmatic athletes should be exposed to the sun more often, so as to sweat out excessive secretions, whereas choleric athletes should be kept away from the sun so that fire is not poured over fire. Those who are advanced in age should sunbathe while lying idle, exposed to the sun as if they are being roasted, whereas those who are in their prime should be active while they sunbathe and should be trained in all types of exercise, following the custom of the Eleans.

⁷² See Harris-McCoy (2013, esp. 160–61, for a similar approach in Artemidorus' *Oneirocritica*, and 161n20, for parallels from other technical writing in imperial culture).

Here Philostratus differentiates between different types of sunshine caused by different environmental conditions and different types of athletes with different combinations of humors, each of whom needs to be exposed to the sun in a different way. That is typical of the way in which many scientific disciplines in imperial culture use subdivisions in order to insist on their own complexity.

Admittedly, it is important to stress that the complexity of Philostratus' work falls a long way behind what we find in Galen's *De sanitate tuenda*, and indeed in many of Galen's other works. Their very different treatments of massage bring out that difference vividly. Philostratus discusses massage only quite briefly and cryptically in two separate passages, referring to the categorizational complexity of ancient theories of massage in passing, without any attempt at systematic coverage. The first passage is in *Gym.* 46:

One should train boys in movement, as in the *pal-aistra*; by movement I mean the kind of passive movement produced in the legs by a softening massage and the kind of movement produced in the arms by a hardening massage. And the boy should keep time by clapping, since that makes these exercises more energetic.

The second is in *Gym.* 50:

Athletes who have overeaten, whether they happen to be light athletes or competitors in the heavier events, are to be treated by massage of the kind which moves downward, so that the excess in the most important parts of the body can be eliminated

... Both light and heavy athletes should be softened by the trainer in the same way, with massages that use a moderate amount of oil, especially on the upper body; and when he applies the oil he must wipe it off.

Galen, by contrast, offers an enormously long and systematic treatment of the subject, mapping out the many different varieties of massage systematically in an account that takes up more than half of Book 2 of his *De sanitate tuenda*⁷³ and criticizing the gymnastic writer Theon for oversimplifying in his works on the subject.⁷⁴

Philostratus thus falls a long way short of Galen in his use of these techniques. Some commentators have also argued convincingly that Philostratus is not closely familiar with many of the techniques he discusses.⁷⁵ But even if it is unlikely that he had spent years of his life working with athletes himself, that does not mean that we should take his engagement with earlier gymnastic writing to be superficial. Introductory treatment of specialist disciplines for general readers is common in the scientific and

⁷³ *De sanitate tuenda* 2.1–7 (K6.90–133); the uses of massage are mentioned repeatedly in later books too (e.g., see 3.13 on morning and evening massage).

⁷⁴ Engagement with Theon at *De sanitate tuenda* 2.3–4 (K6.96–119); and for discussion of the strategy of extensive subdivisions in this passage specifically, see Barton (1994, 224–25n103).

⁷⁵ See Poliakoff (1986, 143–47) for a negative view of the depth of Philostratus' knowledge of athletic vocabulary and combat techniques.

technical writing of the Roman Empire.⁷⁶ Even if the *Gymnasticus* is in some respects derivative and imprecise, Philostratus clearly has made a serious attempt to engage with complex medical-gymnastic principles. There seems no reason why it could not have made an innovative and empowering contribution to the way in which the expertise of the athletic trainer was understood by his contemporaries (although there is no sign of it being widely quoted in later classical literature).⁷⁷ In that sense it is a powerful reminder of the remarkable range of Philostratus' interests across his oeuvre.

There is also one respect in which Philostratus' contribution is unusual in relation to other surviving writing on training, and that is in his treatment of traditions of physiognomical analysis. Ancient physiognomical writing too, like regimen, had a long prehistory, stretching right back to classical Greece. That earlier physiognomical tradition is concerned primarily with working out how physical appearance can give signs of moral character. There is a considerable amount of physiognomical writing surviving also from the imperial period, most famously the work of

⁷⁶ Galen's *Protrepticus* is a case in point; cf. Gal. *On the Order of My Own Books* 1 (K19.49), where he explains that some of his works were written at request for friends and others for "young beginners," with suggestions later in the text, e.g., at 2 (K6.54), about the order in which such beginners should read his books; and see also König (2009b) for further discussion of the motif of writing for friends in Galen's work and beyond, which often contributes to the impression that specialist knowledge is being imparted to a nonspecialist reader.

⁷⁷ However, see p. 383 below, for quotation of the *Gymnasticus* in three separate scholia on Plato.

Polemo.⁷⁸ Philostratus suggests, at the moment of transition between the historical and physiological halves of the work, that the trainer needs to have some understanding of that body of knowledge:

Let him also take into consideration the whole art of physiognomy . . . The trainer, by contrast, needs to know these things well, being a sort of judge of the athlete's nature. Indeed he should know all the signs of character in the eyes, by which are revealed lazy people, impetuous people, and inactive people and those who are less capable of endurance and lacking in self-control. Some characteristics are associated with people who have black eyes, others with those who have bright, blue or bloodshot eyes, others again with those whose eyes are yellow or flecked, prominent or sunken; for nature has signaled the seasons by the stars, and character by eyes. (*Gym.* 25)

There he stresses the value of knowing about an athlete's character. Later, however, his concerns are rather different and more idiosyncratic: much of the second half of the *Gymnasticus* is taken up with an investigation of how the outward appearance of an athlete reveals not so much his character but rather his physical condition. Many passages in the second half of the work seem to envisage a situation where the trainer needs to be constantly on the alert for the hidden meaning of outward bodily signs, which will affect his decisions about how a particular athlete needs to be trained. The following is a typical example:

⁷⁸ See Barton (1994, 95–131); Swain (2007).

Those who have overeaten will be revealed by an overhanging brow and by shortness of breath and by the filling in of the hollows in the collar bones and by the flanks at the side of the body, which will show signs of a certain bulkiness. Athletes who are heavy drinkers can be detected by an oversized stomach, blood that is too lively and moistness in the flank and the knee. (*Gym.* 48)

Philostratus' anecdote about the death of Gerenus, already mentioned above, gives a vivid illustration of what can go wrong:

The trainer became angry and listened furiously and was irritable with him on the grounds that he was relaxing his training and interrupting the tetrads [i.e., a system of training according to a rigid, pre-planned four-day cycle], until he actually killed the athlete through his training, out of ignorance, by not prescribing the exercises he should have chosen even if the athlete had said nothing about his condition. (*Gym.* 54)

Gerenus' trainer, it seems, should have been perceptive enough to work out his condition from his outward bodily appearance.

It is hard to find anything quite like this sustained application of physiognomical method to athletic subjects in earlier Greek or Roman literature. Galen does give great prominence throughout his oeuvre to his own powers of diagnosis, including his own ability to decipher visual clues in order to shed light on underlying condition, and some of his anecdotes have an element of showmanship in

their illustration of that quality, drawing attention to his quasi-magical perceptiveness.⁷⁹ There are traces of a similar conception even as far back as the Hippocratic writings.⁸⁰ Plato, *Leg.* 11, 916a suggests that both *gymnastai* and doctors who purchase a slave with a hidden disease—for example, epilepsy—will have no right of restitution, on the grounds that they should have spotted it before purchase.⁸¹ The idea that the exercising body needs to be closely observed is present in Galen's *De sanitate tuenda*,⁸² and there is some material on diagnosis of various types of bodily dysfunction.⁸³ Philostratus may well be influenced by those medical models of virtuosic diagnosis in his portrayal of the skills required by the athletic trainer. Presumably the many nonsurviving treatises on athletic training also recommended close observation of the athletic body: for example, we have evidence for treatises on different kinds of sweat and on different kinds of tiredness.⁸⁴ It also seems possible, however, that the choice to em-

⁷⁹ See Nutton (1979).

⁸⁰ See Jouanna (1999, 291–322).

⁸¹ Cf. *Gorg.* 464a: both doctors and *gymnastai* should be able to spot health problems.

⁸² See Gal. *De sanitate tuenda* 2.12 (K6.160–61) for a good example.

⁸³ Good examples among others at *De sanitate tuenda* 3.9 (K6.215), 3.10 (K6.219); cf. similar examples in the Hippocratic *On Regimen* Book 3.

⁸⁴ E.g., see Theophrastus' treatises on sweat, dizziness, and fatigue: Fortenbaugh, Sharples and Sollenberger (2002), and especially Theophr. *On Sweat* 11, with Jüthner (1909, 16), for passing mention of a work on sweat by a writer called Diotimus. See

phasize visual decipherment of the athletic body so prominently, in a way which borrows from the procedures of physiognomical analysis, may have been partly Philostratus' own innovation.

Even harder to parallel is Philostratus' interest in using outward appearance to determine what kinds of event and what kinds of technique a particular athlete is most suited to. In 35, for example, we hear the following—

The ideal wrestler should be tall rather than well-proportioned in size, but his body shape should be the same as that of the well-proportioned athlete, having neither a high neck nor a neck which is sunk into the shoulders . . . the neck should be erect like the neck of a beautiful and proud horse and the base of the throat should stretch down to both collar bones. Well-connected upper shoulders and elevated shoulder tips contribute bulk to the future wrestler and nobleness of appearance and strength and help him to wrestle better; for shoulders of this kind, even when the neck is being bent and twisted in the wrestling, are good defenses, by conveying support from the arms to the head

—and so on at great length for wrestling and also for other disciplines. In many cases he uses the standard physiognomical techniques of argument from analogy, especially

also Jüthner (1909, 290–92) for a survey of evidence for gymnastic writings on fatigue.

between humans and animals.⁸⁵ For example in 40 we hear that "those who are similar to bears are rounded and supple and fleshy and less well structured and stooping rather than upright, and they are hard to wrestle against and good at slipping away and strong in the intertwining that wrestling requires. And their breath splutters like bears when they are running." There is occasional discussion in Galen's *De sanitate tuenda* of the way in which different kinds of body are suited to different kinds of exercise⁸⁶ (Galen's main concern is of course the use of exercise for maintenance of health rather than the allocation of athletes to the competitive events to which they are most suited). But there is nothing else in surviving ancient literature that offers anything like such a detailed account of these approaches. The best ancient model is perhaps Xenophon, *On Hunting*, which uses similar techniques to distinguish between the different aptitudes of horses or hunting dogs.⁸⁷ Indeed, Philostratus may have had that text in mind as a precedent for his discussion of athletic differentiation, as the following passage (from *Gym.* 26) suggests:

⁸⁵ See Barton (1994, 104–6, 124–28), and Boys-Stones (2007, 64–75) on prominent use of animal imagery in the Aristotelian *Physiognomy*.

⁸⁶ E.g., see 5.10 (K6.322) for a good example (translated as part of 5.3 by Green [1951, 196–97]) on the asymmetrical body types, in old men, which should not be exercised at all. For brief parallels from classical Greek texts, see Xen. *Symp.* 2.17, and Arist. *Rh.* 1.5.11, 1361b.

⁸⁷ See especially Xen. *On Hunting* 4.1–8.

It is not right that there should be so much discussion among hunters and horsemen about dogs and horses—so much so that they do not use the same dogs for every kind of hunting or against every kind of prey, but instead use some for one and others for another, while some horses are made into hunters, some into horses for battle, some into race horses, some into chariot horses, and not simply that but they are assigned to one of the shafts of the chariot or to one of the ropes according to what each is best suited for—but that humans who have to be introduced at Olympia or Pythia in search of victory proclamations to which even Heracles himself aspired, should remain unjudged.⁸⁸

Philostratus may be innovating in this, or he may be drawing on nonsurviving treatises by trainers for these features of his work, and giving them a new prominence.⁸⁹ Either way, it is clear that this adaptation of the terminology and logic of the discipline of ancient physiognomy for athletic purposes plays a major role in his project of giving prestige and intellectual respectability to the art of the athletic trainer.

It is striking, too, that Philostratus' interest in that topic is not confined to the *Gymnasticus*. Two of his other works—the *Imagines* and the *Heroicus*—similarly show an in-

⁸⁸ The opening paragraph of the Aristotelian *Physiognomy* also draws a brief comparison between physiognomical analysis of humans and the techniques used by hunters for selecting horses and dogs.

⁸⁹ As suggested by Jüthner (1909, 127).

terest in quasi-physiognomical descriptions of the athletic body, and several passages from these texts recall the *Gymnasticus* closely.⁹⁰ Those similarities have in fact often been used, in combination with a range of other factors, as arguments for common authorship. At one point in the *Heroicus*, to take just one example, Palamedes is described as follows:

Stripped, they say he was somewhat between a lightweight and heavyweight athlete, and he had a great deal of dirt on his face that was more pleasant than Euphorbus' golden locks; he cultivated the dirt as the result of sleeping wherever he found himself, and of spending many nights, during lulls in the fighting, at the summit of Mt. Ida. (33.41)

That is reminiscent of the tendency to categorize athletes into light or heavy, to varying degrees, throughout the *Gymnasticus*. More specifically, it is reminiscent of the characterization of the ideal pentathlete in *Gym.* 31 as halfway between the two ("The athlete who intends to compete in the pentathlon should be heavy rather than light, and light rather than heavy"). Moreover, the detail about sleeping in the open air links Palamedes with the idealized heroic athletes of *Gym.* 43 ("They washed in rivers and springs, and they trained themselves to lie on the ground, some of them stretched out on skins, others harvesting their beds from the meadows"). In *Imag.* 2.2 we see Achilles as a boy being educated by Cheiron. His

⁹⁰ See, however, pp. 59–60 above, for the point that the majority of descriptions of heroes in the *Heroicus* focus on the face without description of the body.

athletic potential is as yet unfulfilled but is unmistakable to the practiced eye: "For the boy's leg is straight and his arms come down to his knees; for such arms are excellent assistants in running."⁹¹ In both of those works, subjecting heroes and other figures from Greek mythology to the physiognomical gaze—effectively the gaze of the athletic trainer as Philostratus constructs it in the *Gymnasticus*—is, once again, a way of celebrating the links between past and present, reimagining those figures from the distant past as if they are training in the gymnasium of the Roman Empire, with which Philostratus and his readers were so familiar.

That said, there are also some very striking differences between the *Gymnasticus* and these other two works. Both the *Imagines* and the *Heroicus* draw heavily on traditions of eroticized viewing of the male athletic body. An obvious example is the description of the beauty of Protesilaus in *Her.* 10–11, for instance at 10.4: "He looks most handsome nude, for he is well-proportioned (*εὐπαγής*) and graceful (*κοῦφος*), like the herms one sees at racecourses." The words *εὐπαγής* (which can mean "well-proportioned" or "solid") and *κοῦφος* (which can refer to "light" athletes as opposed to heavy, as in the description of Palamedes just quoted, in addition to the more general meaning "graceful") are both used repeatedly in the *Gymnasticus* and in that sense represent another example of how close the *Heroicus* is to that text in its use of athletic-physiognomical vocabulary. However, the eroticized context of this passage (obvious for example in its mention of

⁹¹ For more examples from both works, see König (2005, 338–40).

Protesilaus' passionate love for Laodameia in 11.1) makes it in some respects entirely alien to the physiological descriptions of the *Gymnasticus*.⁹² The *Heroicus* also draws on traditions of religious viewing associated with divine epiphanies:⁹³ the making-present of the past through the appearance of the heroes in the *Heroicus* is a supernatural process that inspires wonder in viewers and narratees alike. That traditional mode of viewing too is absent in the *Gymnasticus*. For example, there is no sign of the supernatural in the description of hero athletes in *Gym.* 43. That absence stands in contrast not just with the *Heroicus* but also with the supernatural details we find in some of the anecdotes about heroized athletes in Pausanias.⁹⁴ Philostratus in the *Gymnasticus* thus seems to be experimenting with an entirely different way of analyzing the human body as a marker of the continuing links between past and present, making the viewing of athletic bodies into an act of technical, physiological judgment, separated from any overtones of eroticism or divinity.

Finally, the image of visual and analytical perceptiveness that lies at the heart of Philostratus' celebration of gymnastic expertise also ties the skills of the trainer very

⁹² The obvious exception is *Gym.* 45, where we hear that "luxury acts as an acute stimulus also for the sex-drive," but that passage is not linked with the act of viewing; it also describes degenerate contemporary athletic practice, in contrast with the more sober viewing practices Philostratus recommends.

⁹³ See Platt (2011, 235–52).

⁹⁴ For example, see Paus. 6.11.6–8 for the famous story of the statue of Theagenes, and 6.11.9 for his subsequent worship as a hero.

closely to those of Philostratus himself as narrator.⁹⁵ That effect is part of a wider equation between narrator and trainer. Philostratus himself shares with the trainers he describes an ingenious, adaptable approach to analysis, where the usefulness and moral value of an utterance often seems to matter as much as its accuracy.⁹⁶ The imagery of analysis and visual assessment is also crucial. In *Gym.* 16, for example, we hear the following: "That is the symmetry (*ξυμμετρία*) of the art of training. Its origin (*γένεσις*) lies in the fact that humans are by nature capable of wrestling and boxing and running upright." The word *symmetria* is on the face of it an odd word to use for a *technê*. One of its functions here is surely to equate Philostratus' survey of *gymnastikê* with the trainer's analysis of his charges, given that the words *xymmetros/symmetros* and *xymmetria/symmetria* are used repeatedly in the *Gymnasticus* to describe the bodies of athletes.⁹⁷ *Symmetria* is also a word that often has sculptural connota-

⁹⁵ For more general discussion of the commanding tone of Philostratus as narrator in this work, see Billault (1993, 156–57); cf. Whitmarsh (2004) for similar characteristics in his other work, especially the *Lives of the Sophists*.

⁹⁶ See König (2005, 325–37). For other parallels between the vocabulary used to discuss Philostratus' narratorial procedures and the practice of the trainer (all four of them prominently in the first sentence of a new paragraph), see *Gym.* 2, *ξυμβαλέσθαι δὲ γυμνάζουσί τε καὶ γυμναζομένοις ὅποσα οἶδα* (of Philostratus), cf. 20, *Ὅποσα δὲ γυμναστὰι ξυμβάλομπο ἀθληταῖς* (of the trainer); and 35, *Ἴωμεν ἐπὶ τοῦς παλαίσοντας* (of Philostratus), cf. 28, *ἴτω ὁ γυμναστῆς ἐπὶ τὸν παῖδα ἀθλητῆν* (of the trainer).

⁹⁷ Examples at *Gym.* 10, 33 (twice), 34, 35 (twice), 36, 56.

tions⁹⁸ and in that sense perhaps looks ahead to the passage in *Gym.* 25, where we hear that

the characteristics of the parts of the body are also to be considered, as in the art of sculpture,⁹⁹ as follows: the ankle should agree in its measurements with the wrist, the forearm should correspond to the calf and the upper arm with the thigh, the buttock with the shoulder, and the back should be examined by comparison with the stomach, and the chest should curve outward similarly to the parts beneath the hip joint, and finally the head, which is the benchmark for the whole body, should be well proportioned in relation to all of these other parts (*πρὸς ταῦτα πάντα ἔχειν ἑυμμέτρως*).

With that parallel in mind, and given that 14–15 have been focused on the way in which *gymnastikê* includes elements of the art of medicine mixed with elements of the art of the *païdotribês*, it may be that Philostratus means the “symmetry” of the art of training to refer to the relationship between its different constituent parts, just as it refers to the relationship between the different parts of

⁹⁸ Galen in several passages discusses *symmetria* as the defining feature of the beautiful body as defined by Polyclitus’ *Canon*: e.g., see *De placitis Hippocratis et Platonis* 5.3.15–17 (= de Lacy 1978, 308–9).

⁹⁹ A reference among others to Polyclitus and his attempt to fix the ideal relations between different parts of the human body in his lost treatise the *Canon* and exemplified in his famous athletic statue, the Doryphoros: see Gal. *De Placitis Hippocratis et Platonis* 5.3, and Plin. *HN* 34.55.

the human body as viewed by the athletic trainer. The trainer and narrator are also paralleled in *Gym.* 16 by their common interest in origins: the use of the word “birth” (*γένεσις*) in the passage quoted above to describe the origin of athletic training perhaps recalls the following account in *Gym.* 27 to 29 on techniques for understanding the parentage of athletes. Origins are also of course a major focus for the historical half of the work, especially in the section on origins of events in 3 to 13.¹⁰⁰

There are also two other important later passages where Philostratus’ own narratorial activity is given a very visual character. In *Gym.* 26 he announces his transition to a new topic as follows: “Now that I have dealt with these matters, let us not imagine that the topic of training is coming next, but instead we will strip the person who is undergoing training and subject him to an examination of his nature, how it is constituted and for what it is suited.” Here the narrator himself, within his text, is performing the actions of stripping and examination that one would normally ascribe to the athletic trainer, and so equating his own written analysis with the perceptive gaze of the ideal *gymnastês*. There is a similar effect at *Gym.* 25: “Let us have a look (*σκεψώμεθα*) now at the trainer himself, to see what sort of man will supervise the athlete, and what the extent of his knowledge will be.” Here, the metaphor of examination, in other contexts a commonplace staple of

¹⁰⁰ More generally speaking, that concern with origins aligns the *Gymnasticus* with the concept of *aitia*, which has such a long pedigree as a marker of technical, historiographical, and scientific prose writing as far back as the fifth century BC: see Goldhill (2002, esp. 115) for summary.

technical-philosophical vocabulary, portrays the trainer as an object of visual inspection by Philostratus, just as the athlete is inspected by a trainer.¹⁰¹ Philostratus in these passages lends his own authority to the trainer and appropriates some of the qualities of the ideal trainer in return, and in doing so reinforces the image of athletic training as a formidably perceptive and intellectually sophisticated body of expertise.

6. MANUSCRIPT TRADITION

There are three manuscripts. The first (Codex Parisinus Suppl. Gr. 1256) (P), dating probably from the fourteenth century, contains all of the surviving text of the *Gymnasticus* together with some of the *Heroicus* and Philostratus' *Dialexis* 1 (possibly by Philostratus' nephew, Philostratus of Lemnos).¹⁰² The manuscript was acquired by Minoides Mynas in the mid-nineteenth century.¹⁰³ After editing the text and making copies of it, he left it with a friend in Paris; it was thought lost, until it was sold to the Bibliothèque Nationale in 1898 by the friend's son. The manuscript is in bad condition, with many missing letters and words. A second manuscript (Codex Laurentianus LVIII, 32) (F)

¹⁰¹ At the same time, these passages portray Philostratus as a Socratic figure, by recalling Pl. *Prt* 352a–b, where Socrates compares examining an argument with stripping a patient for medical examination.

¹⁰² See Swain (2009, 41n32), and 500–501 below.

¹⁰³ For a brief account of the life and career of Mynas, including his links with the movement for revival of the Olympic festival in mid nineteenth-century Greece, see Kitriniari (1961, 139–44).

contains only a few pages from the final section of the *Gymnasticus*, together with the *Heroicus* and *Imagines*, and several texts by other authors. A third manuscript (Codex Monacensis 242) (M) contains an epitome of the last third of the *Gymnasticus*, followed by a copy of the *Imagines* and various other texts. It is most valuable in the unepitomized sections, where it often improves on P. In addition, two paragraphs of the *Gymnasticus* are cited in scholia: *Gym.* 4, both in Schol. Pl. *Prt.* 335e and in Olympiodorus' scholia on Plato's *Gorgias*, and much of *Gym.* 10, in Schol. Pl. *Resp.* 338e (S').¹⁰⁴ For a much more detailed account of the manuscripts, see Jüthner (1909, 75–87).

Some commentators have claimed to identify gaps in the text as it survives. For convincing refutation of those claims, ascribing the odd transitions in the text instead to Philostratus' love of abruptness, see Jüthner (1909, 92–94). Others have suggested that F, whose version of the *Gymnasticus* tails off just before the end of the text as it survives in P and M, but which also has space in the manuscript for additional pages beyond the current, rather abrupt endpoint of *Gym.* 58, may have preserved a longer version. Jüthner (1909, 94) again rejects that possibility, convincingly if not conclusively, on the grounds that P and M share exactly the same endpoint; he suggests instead that F may have contained some other small text after the *Gymnasticus*.

The title of the work as transmitted by P is Περὶ Γυμναστικῆς (“Concerning the art of the athletic trainer”). The *Suda* gives the title of the work as Γυμναστικός (sc.

¹⁰⁴ See Jüthner (1909, 83–84) for details.

logos—i.e., “Treatise concerning athletic training”). The Latinate form of the latter, *Gymnasticus*, has been taken as the standard title for the work in most recent scholarship, and I have therefore used it throughout this edition.

7. PREVIOUS EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

The work was edited first by Mynas (1858). Significant later editors referred to in the apparatus include Daremberg (1858), Cobet (1859), and Kayser (1871), all of whom based their editions on Mynas’ copies. But by far the most important landmark is the edition and translation of Jüthner (1909), whose edition is based unlike those earlier post-Mynas versions on the rediscovered full manuscript. Kitriniari’s (1961) edition follows Jüthner’s text with a few variations and new conjectures.

Robinson (1955) and Sweet (1987) have both translated sections into English in their sourcebooks; there are also shorter sections in Miller (2004) and in a number of other standard sourcebooks on ancient sport. Nearly all sections of the text (although with a few exceptions) are translated in at least one of these three. The only full translation of the text into English—Woody (1936)—is unfortunately very inaccessible. In addition, I have frequently consulted translations of the *Gymnasticus* into other languages, especially Daremberg (1858) (French), Jüthner (1909) (German), Kitriniari (1961) (modern Greek), Noccelli (1955) and Caretta (1995) (Italian), Mestre (1996) (Spanish), and Roos (2010) (Swedish). Jüthner’s (1909) commentary is a remarkable piece of scholarship and indispensable to anyone who wants to study the text

in depth. Kitriniari (1961), Caretta (1995), and Mestre (1996) all include valuable short notes.

8. THIS EDITION AND TRANSLATION

I have followed Jüthner’s (1909) text, with occasional adjustments of punctuation, and occasional incorporation of later conjectures by Zingerle (1936) and Kitriniari (1961). In line with the standard Loeb format, it has not been possible to provide a detailed apparatus. Anyone interested in a more detailed account should consult Jüthner (1909). I have included textual notes, and angled brackets to signal attempts by Jüthner and other editors to fill in missing letters and words, only when they are particularly interesting or controversial, or particularly important for translation.

As far as possible, I have kept closely to the sense of the original Greek in my translation. It is important to stress that there are some passages—especially in the physiological sections in the second half—where it is difficult to establish a correct translation beyond doubt. I have occasionally referred to the challenges associated with particular words and phrases in the notes, where they are particularly important for the work as a whole, or where they are often repeated in the course of the *Gymnasticus*, but there is not space to give a full justification of all translation decisions. In cases where the translation is debated, I have most often, though not always, followed Jüthner’s (1909) interpretation, and the reader is referred to Jüthner’s commentary as the first port of call for explanation of translation decisions that are not explained in full in the notes here.

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OUTLINE OF THE GYMNASTICUS

It is hard in any summary to do justice to the richness of the work, which is full of opinionated authorial asides and colorful anecdotes. It is hard also to convey its difficulty, especially the abruptness of some of Philostratus' transitions between different sections, and the oddity (at least to modern eyes) of many of the explanations and instructions he chooses to include. Nevertheless a brief précis of the text may be useful.

Chapters 1–2: Philostratus declares his conviction that the art of athletic training (*gymnastikê*) is a type of wisdom (*sophia*) rather than a craft. But he also argues that there has been a degeneration in the art of training, which has led to a decline in athletic ability among present-day athletes, and declares his intention to correct that through this treatise.

3–13: These chapters describe the origins of the main athletic events—many of which are linked by Philostratus with famous figures from Greek myth, or with the military history of the classical Greek world—and the evolution of the Olympic program. He deals in turn with the pentathlon, the four running events—*dolichos* (long-distance race), *stadion* (approximately 200 meters), *diaulos* (ap-

proximately 400 meters), and race in armor—then boxing, wrestling, and *pankration*.

14–16: Philostratus turns to the question of how *gymnastikê* is to be defined, stressing that it is a skill (*technê*) in its own right, which has some overlap both with the art of medicine and the practical instruction of the *paidotribês*, but which also stands independently of both.

17–24: The qualities the good trainer needs are discussed, with reference to a series of anecdotes from Olympic history. Philostratus stresses in particular the need for clever speech, which the trainer can use to encourage and inspire his athletes.

25–26: After a final summary of the need for skillful speech, Philostratus suggests that the trainer also needs a full understanding of the art of physiognomy, which will allow him to judge character from physical appearance, and an awareness of the ideal proportions of the athletic body.

27–30: Philostratus affirms the importance of parentage and discusses how to spot an athlete whose constitution is weak through having been born from aged parents; also discussed is the related question of how to spot illness in an athlete.

31–41: This section offers a detailed description of the best body types for the various different types of event, first pentathlon, then running events, then combat sports, followed by an account of some of the other common athletic body types.

42: This section summarizes Philostratus' views on the best mixture of humors and the best ways of training athletes with unbalanced humoral combinations.

43–47: The simple, austere training methods of the

heroic athletes of long ago are compared with the degenerate forms of training that have become common more recently, particularly the introduction of luxury and overeating, which have led in turn to cheating. Others make the mistake of training boy athletes as if they were men, and of using the "tetrad" system, which involves training athletes on a dangerously inflexible four-day cycle, with a different type of exercise on each day.

48–54: Philostratus provides information on how to spot athletes whose condition is damaged in some way—by overeating, excessive drinking, sex, wet dreams—and appropriate ways to train them. This is followed by further critique of the tetrad system through an anecdote about an athlete who turned up for training with a hangover, after celebrating an Olympic victory, and died because his trainer insisted on following the vigorous training methods prescribed for that particular day.

55–58: A range of other equipment and other techniques are discussed: jumping weights, different types of dust and their effects on the body, punching bags, and sunbathing. The text as it survives ends with Philostratus expressing his lack of interest in saunas, which he associates especially with Spartan types of training.

ΠΕΡΙ ΓΥΜΝΑΣΤΙΚΗΣ

1. Σοφίαν ἡγάμεθα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα μὲν οἶον φιλοσοφῆσαι καὶ εἰπεῖν ξὺν τέχνῃ ποιητικῆς τε ἄψασθαι καὶ μουσικῆς καὶ γεωμετρίας καὶ νῆ Δί' ἀστρονομίας, ὀπόση μὴ περιττή, σοφία δὲ καὶ τὸ κοσμηθῆσαι στρατιὰν καὶ ἔτι τὰ τοιαῦτα· ἰατρικὴ πᾶσα καὶ ζωγραφία καὶ πλάσται καὶ ἀγαλμάτων εἶδη καὶ κοῖλοι λίθοι καὶ κοῖλος σίδηρος. βάνουσοι δὲ ὀπόσαι, δεδόσθω μὲν αὐταῖς τέχνῃ, καθ' ἣν ὄργανόν τι καὶ σκευὸς ὀρθῶς ἀποτελεσθήσεται, σοφία δὲ ἐς ἐκείνας ἀποκείσθω μόνας, ἃς εἶπον. ἔξαιρῶ κυβερνητικὴν τῶν βαναύσων, ἐπειδὴ ἄστρων τε συνήσῃ¹ καὶ ἀνέμων καὶ τῶν ἀδήλων ἄπτεται. ταῦτα μὲν ὄν ἐνεκά μοι εἴρηται, δειχθήσεται. περὶ δὲ γυμναστικῆς σοφίαν λέγομεν οὐδεμιᾶς ἐλάττω τέχνης, ὥστε εἰς ὑπομνήματα ξυμφεῖναι τοῖς βουλομένοις γυμνάζειν. ἢ μὲν γὰρ πάλαι γυμναστικὴ Μίλωνας ἐποίει καὶ Ἴπποσθένας, Πουλυδάμαντάς τε

¹ συνήσῃ Cobet: σύνεσις P

¹ Wrestler from Croton; Olympic victor once in the boys' category (540 BC) and five or six times as an adult (536–520 or 516); renowned for his prodigious strength and his gluttony.

PHILOSTRATUS, *GYMNASTICUS*

1. Let us regard as types of wisdom, on the one hand, things like philosophy and skillful speech and engaging in poetry and music and geometry, and by Zeus astronomy, so long as it is not carried to excess. On the other hand, the organization of an army is a form of wisdom, and in addition things like the following: the whole of medicine and painting and modeling, and the various types of sculpting and gem cutting and metal engraving. As for the activities of craftsmen, let us accept that they require skill, by which tools and equipment can be correctly built, but let the label of wisdom be reserved only for those activities I have mentioned. I exempt the piloting of ships from the category of craftsmen's activities, since it requires understanding of the stars and the winds and concerns itself with things that are not evident to the senses. My reasons for saying all of this will become clear. As for athletic training, we assert that it is a form of wisdom, and one that is inferior to none of the other skills, which means that it can be summed up in treatise form for the benefit of those who wish to undertake training. For the old system of athletic training produced men like Milo¹ and Hippothenes²

² Wrestler from Sparta; Olympic victor once in the boys' category (632 BC) and five times in the adult category (624–608).

καὶ Προμάχους² καὶ Γλαῦκον τὸν Δημύλου καὶ τοὺς πρὸ τούτων ἔτι ἀθλητάς, τὸν Πηλέα δῆπου καὶ τὸν Θησέα καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα αὐτόν· ἢ δ' ἐπὶ τῶν πατέρων ἤττους μὲν ἢ οἶδε,³ θαυμασίους δὲ καὶ μεμνήσθαι ἀξίους· ἢ δὲ νῦν καθεστηκυῖα μεταβέβληκεν οὕτω τὰ τῶν ἀθλητῶν, ὡς καὶ τοῖς φιλογυμναστοῦσι τοὺς πολλοὺς ἄχθεσθαι.

2. Δοκεῖ δέ μοι διδάξαι μὲν τὰς αἰτίας δι' ἃς ὑποδέδωκε ταῦτα, ξυμβαλέσθαι δὲ γυμνάζουσί τε καὶ γυμναζομένοις ὅποσα οἶδα, ἀπολογήσασθαι τε ὑπὲρ τῆς φύσεως ἀκουούσης κακῶς, ἐπειδὴ παρὰ πολὺ τῶν πάλαι οἱ νῦν ἀθληταί· λέοντάς τε γὰρ καὶ νῦν βόσκει φαυλοτέρους οὐδέν, τῶν τε κυνῶν τε καὶ ἵππων καὶ ταύρων ταῦτόν χρῆμα, καὶ τὸ εἰς δένδρα δὲ αὐτῆς ἦκον ἄμπελοί τε ὅμοιαι ἔτι καὶ συκῆς δῶρα, χρυσοῦ τε καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ λίθων οὐδὲν παρήλλαξεν, ἀλλ' ὡς

² Προμάχους Daremberg; πρωτομάχους P

³ ἢ οἶδε Kitriniari; οἶδε P, Jüthner

³ Pancratiast from Thessaly; Olympic victor in 408; mentioned again below, chs. 22 and 43.

⁴ Pancratiast from Pellene; Olympic victor in 404, defeating Poulydamas, as described in ch. 22.

⁵ Boxer from Carystus; Olympic victor in the boy's category (date uncertain), as discussed further below, in chs. 20 and 43.

⁶ Father of Achilles; on his athletic skill, see further below, ch. 3.

⁷ Theseus was particularly associated with wrestling, for example in his defeat of Cercyon, who challenged travelers on the

and Poulydamas³ and Promachus⁴ and Glaucus⁵ the son of Demylus, and other athletes who were alive even before these, like Peleus⁶ and Theseus⁷ and Heracles⁸ himself. The training of our fathers' time produced athletes who were less impressive than these but nevertheless remarkable and worthy of commemoration. But the kind of training that prevails today has so far changed the nature of athletes that the majority of people are irritated even by lovers of the gymnasium.⁹

2. I have decided to teach the causes of this degeneration and to contribute for trainers and their subjects alike everything I know, and to defend nature, which is criticized because the athletes of today are inferior to those of former times. For nature even today nourishes lions that are not at all inferior, and dogs and horses and bulls have the same qualities as they did before. As for her treatment of trees, the vines are still the same and the gifts of the fig tree, and she has made no change in the quality of gold and silver and precious stones. Instead, nature pro-

road to Megara to wrestling matches and killed them; see Paus. 1.39.3 for that story and for the claim that Theseus was the inventor of wrestling. He was also the legendary founder of the festivals of the Panathenaia and the Isthmia and was often commemorated by statues in gymnasia.

⁸ Many of Heracles' labors involved hand-to-hand fighting. He is said to have refounded the Olympic festival and to have won the wrestling and *pankration* in that festival on the same day. Many other athletic festivals were held in his honor, and statues of Heracles were common in gymnasia.

⁹ Philostratus seems to mean here nonspecialist enthusiasts, rather than full-time competitive athletes.

αὐτὴ ἐνόμισε, τοῖς προτέροις ὅμοια φύει τὰ πάντα. ἀθλητῶν δέ, ὁπόσαι περὶ αὐτοὺς ἦσαν ποτε ἀρεταί, οὐχ ἡ φύσις ἀπηρέχθη—φέρει γὰρ δὴ ἔτι θυμοειδείς, εὐειδέις, ἀγχίνους· φύσεως γὰρ ταῦτα—τὸ δὲ μὴ ὑγιῶς γυμνάζεσθαι μηδὲ ἐρρωμένως ἐπιτηδεύειν ἀφείλετο τὴν φύσιν τὸ ἑαυτῆς κράτος. καὶ ὅπως μὲν ξυνέβη ταῦτα, δηλώσω ὕστερον· πρῶτον δὲ ἐπισκεψώμεθα δρόμου αἰτίας καὶ πυγμῆς καὶ πάλης καὶ τῶν τοιούτων καὶ ἐξ ὅτου ἤρξατο ἕκαστα καὶ ἀφ' ὅτου παρακίεσται δὲ ἀπανταχοῦ τὰ Ἡλείων· δεῖ γὰρ περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐκ τῶν ἀκριβεστάτων φράζειν.

3. Ἔστι τοίνυν ἀγωνίας ξυμπάσης τὰ μὲν κοῦφα ταῦτα: στάδιον, δόλιχος, ὀπλίται, διάυλος· τὰ βαρύτερα δὲ παγκράτιον, πάλη, πύκται, πένταθλος δὲ ἀμφοῖν συνηρμόσθη· παλαῖσαι μὲν γὰρ καὶ δισκεῦσαι βαρεῖς, τὸ δὲ ἀκοντίσαι καὶ πηδῆσαι καὶ δραμεῖν

¹⁰ Chs. 44–47.

¹¹ Official records of the games, kept by the city of Elis, which was responsible for the festival, are repeatedly mentioned by Pausanias (e.g., 3.21.1, 5.21.9, 6.2.3, 6.13.10). The exact nature of these records is not clear, but they probably included an Olympic victor list, which may well have provided much of Philostratus' information in chs. 12–13, below. For detailed discussion of the problem, see Jüthner (1909, 109–16).

¹² The distinction between heavy and light events is a common feature of ancient writing on athletics; e.g., see Paus. 6.24.1.

¹³ Sprint race of one track length, approx. 200 meters; the word is also used as English "stadium" and as a unit of measurement (often translated as "stade") of 600 ancient feet.

¹⁴ Long-distance race; the exact distance is uncertain and may

duces all things the same as before, as she originally decreed. As far as athletes are concerned, and the virtues that were once associated with them, it is not nature who has abandoned them—for she still produces men who are spirited and well formed and quick witted; these are all natural attributes. Instead, it is the lack of healthy training and vigorous exercise that have deprived nature of her strength. How this happened, I will reveal later.¹⁰ But first let us examine the origins of running and boxing and wrestling and things of that sort, looking at when and how each of them came into being. The records of the Eleians will be kept at hand in each case.¹¹ For it is important in such matters to make reference to the most accurate sources possible.

3. The light events, taking the whole of athletic competition into account, are these:¹² the *stadion*,¹³ the *dolichos*,¹⁴ the hoplite race¹⁵ and the *diaulos*.¹⁶ The heavy events are the *pankration*,¹⁷ wrestling and boxing. The pentathlon was formed by combining the two: for wrestling and discus throwing are heavy events, while javelin throwing and jumping are light events. Be-

anyway have varied between festivals; possibly twenty-four track lengths (i.e., approx. 4,500 meters) at Olympia.

¹⁵ Race in armor, usually of *diaulos* length (i.e., two track lengths), originally in full armor but later with just a shield; one possible exception is the hoplite race at the Eleutheria at Plataea, which seems to have been raced in full armor even in the Roman period; cf. ch. 8.

¹⁶ Sprint race of two track lengths; the runners would turn around a turning post at the halfway point, at the end of the track.

¹⁷ The third of the ancient combat events, together with wrestling and boxing, combining elements of both.

κούφοι εἰσι. πρὸ μὲν δὴ Ἰάσονος καὶ Πηλέως ἄλλα ἐστεφανοῦτο ἰδίᾳ καὶ δίσκος ἰδίᾳ, καὶ τὸ ἀκόντιον ἤρκει ἐς νίκην κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους οὓς ἡ Ἀργὼ ἔπλει. Τελαμῶν μὲν κράτιστα ἐδίσκευε, Λυγκεὺς δὲ ἠκόντιζεν, ἔτρεχον δὲ καὶ ἐπήδων οἱ ἐκ Βορέου, Πηλεὺς δὲ ταῦτα μὲν ἦν δεύτερος, ἐκράτει δὲ ἀπάντων πάλη. ὁπότ' οὖν ἠγωνίζοντο ἐν Λήμνῳ, φασὶν Ἰάσονα Πηλεὶ χαριζόμενον συνάψαι τὰ πέντε καὶ Πηλέα τὴν νίκην οὕτω συλλέξασθαι πολεμικώτατόν τε νομισθῆναι τῶν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ διὰ τε τὴν ἀρετὴν, ἣ ἔχρητο εἰς τὰς μάχας, διὰ τε τὴν εἰς τὰ πέντε ἐπιτήδευσιν οὕτω πολεμικὴν οὔσαν ὡς καὶ ἀκοντίζεν ἐν τοῖς ἄθλοις.

4. Δολίχου δὲ αἰτία ἦν ἦδε δρομοκῆρυκες ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας ἐφοίτων εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τῶν πολεμικῶν ἀγγελιοὶ καὶ ἀπείρητο αὐτοῖς μὴ ἱππεύειν, ἀλλ' αὐτουργοὺς εἶναι τοῦ δρόμου. τὸ αἰεὶ οὖν ἐν βραχεὶ τῆς ἡμέρας διαδραμεῖν στάδια ὅποσα ὁ δόλιχος δρομοκῆρυκας ἐργάζετο καὶ ἐγύμναζε τῷ πολέμῳ.

5. Στάδιον δὲ ᾧδε εὐρηται θυσάντων Ἠλείων ὅποσα νομίζουσι, διέκειντο μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τὰ

¹⁸ Cf. Pind. *Isthm.* 1.26–27 for the claim that the pentathlon did not exist in the mythical age. ¹⁹ Calais and Zetes.

²⁰ For the tradition that the Argonauts competed in athletic contests during their stay with the female-only community on the island of Lemnos, see also Pind. *Ol.* 4.19–28 and *Pyth.* 4.253.

²¹ The precise means by which victory was won in the ancient pentathlon is much debated: see Miller (2004, 73–74 for brief discussion, and 259 for extensive bibliography).

fore the time of Jason and Peleus the jump won a crown on its own, as did the discus, and the javelin too was enough for victory at the time when the Argo was sailing.¹⁸ Telamon was the strongest discus thrower, Lynceus the best javelin thrower, the best jumpers and runners were the sons of Boreas,¹⁹ while Peleus was second best in these events, but strongest of all in wrestling. Therefore, when they held contests in Lemnos,²⁰ they say that Jason, in order to please Peleus, joined the five events together and that Peleus in this way accumulated victory²¹ and gained the reputation for being the most warlike of his contemporaries, not only because of his bravery in battle but also because of his devotion to the pentathlon, which was so warlike that the contests even included javelin throwing.

4. The origin of the *dolichos* was as follows: couriers from Arcadia used to go backward and forward into the rest of Greece as messengers on matters concerning warfare;²² they were forbidden to use horses and instead were made to depend on their own ability as runners. And so the process of continually running, in the brief course of every day, as many stades as are in the *dolichos* made them into couriers, and trained them for war.²³

5. The *stadion* was invented as follows: when the Elisians had sacrificed in the accustomed way, the offerings

²² Possibly a reference to the messengers from Elis (viewed as part of Arcadia by some ancient authors; cf. Paus. 5.1.1), who announced the Olympic truce (*ekecheiria*), i.e., the arrangement that allowed spectators and athletes to travel to the games without military interference.

²³ The whole of ch. 4 is quoted in Schol. Pl. *Prt.* 335e in order to explain Socrates' use of the word *ήμεροδρόμος* (day runner).

ιερά, πῦρ δὲ αὐτοῖς οὐπω ἐνέκειτο. στάδιον δὲ οἱ δρομείς ἀπέιχον τοῦ βωμοῦ καὶ εἰστήκει πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἱερεὺς λαμπαδίῳ βραβεύων· καὶ ὁ νικῶν ἐμπυρίσας τὰ ἱερά ὀλυμπιονίκης ἀπήει.

6. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἡλεῖοι θύσειαν, ἔδει μὲν καὶ τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας Ἑλλήνων θύειν θεορούς. ὡς δὲ μὴ ἀργῶς ἢ πρόσσοδος αὐτῶν γίγνοιτο, ἔτρεχον οἱ δρομείς ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ στάδιον οἶον καλοῦντες τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ πάλιν ἐς ταῦτον ὑπέστρεφον οἶον ἀγγέλλοντες, ὅτι δὴ ἀφίξιτο ἢ Ἑλλάς χαίρουσα. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν περὶ διαύλου <αἰτίας.>

7. Δρόμοι⁴ δὲ ὀπλίται παλαιοὶ⁵ μὲν καὶ μάλιστα οἱ κατὰ Νεμέαν, οὓς ἐνόπλους τε καὶ ἱππίους ὀνομάζουσιν, ἀνάκεινται δὲ τοῖς ἀμφὶ Τυδέα τοῖς ἑπτὰ. ὁ δὲ γε

⁴ διαύλου <αἰτίας.> Δρόμοι Jüthner: διαύλου· οἱ ἄδρομοι P

⁵ παλαιοὶ Jüthner: πολλοὶ P: ποικίλοι Kayser

²⁴ This etiology is not paralleled in any other ancient source.

²⁵ Throughout the history of the Olympic festival, the Eleans would send envoys around the Greek world to announce the festival, and Greek cities would send envoys to the festival in turn to offer sacrifice. ²⁶ Philostratus characteristically uses a number of different phrases for "Greece" and "the Greeks." In this case, the phrase is *to hellenikon*, used by Hdt. 8.144 and frequently by Philostratus elsewhere, often with overtones of cultural as well as ethnic Hellenism; it is prominent especially in the *Lives of the Sophists* (e.g., 2.3, 567; 2.10, 587; 2.27, 617; cf. VA 8.15), where he regularly describes the sophists speaking to assembled audiences which stand for the whole of the Greek world; see Introduction for further discussion.

were placed on the altar, but with no fire yet applied to them. The runners stood one stade away from the altar and a priest stood in front of it as umpire, holding a torch; and the winner of the race, having set fire to the offerings, went away as Olympic victor.²⁴

6. When the Eleans had sacrificed, any envoys from the Greeks who were present were also required to make a sacrifice.²⁵ In order that their approach to the altar should not be without ceremony, runners ran away from the altar as if inviting the Greeks²⁶ to sacrifice, and then ran back again as if announcing that Greece would be glad to come. So much on the origin of the *diaulos*.²⁷

7. Hoplite races are ancient events, especially the one in Nemea, which they call the "armor race" as well as the "horse race,"²⁸ and which is dedicated to Tydeus and the rest of the Seven.²⁹ By contrast the Olympic hoplite race,

²⁷ This etiology is not paralleled in any other ancient source.

²⁸ The distinction here seems to be one of length, the "armor" race being two stades, and the "horse" race four, i.e., the equivalent of two lengths of the hippodrome. See Paus. 6.16.4 for evidence that this latter length was used at both the Isthmian and Nemean games, although he seems to be talking about a race without armor.

²⁹ The Seven, the heroes who fought against Thebes, are said in many ancient accounts to have been the founders of the Nemean games, one of the four great festivals of the *periodos*, the others being the Olympic, Pythian, and Isthmian festivals. The usual story is that they were funeral games in honor of the boy Opheltēs/Archemorus who had been killed by a snake; but other accounts suggest that the games were founded by Heracles to celebrate his defeat of the Nemean lion.

Ὀλυμπικὸς ὀπλίτης ὡς μὲν Ἠλεῖοί φασιν ἐτέθη διὰ ταῦτα πόλεμον Ἠλεῖοι Δυμναίοις ξυνήψαν οὕτω τοὶ ἀκήρυκτον, ὡς μὴδὲ τὰ Ὀλύμπια ἀνοχὰς εἶναι νικῶντων δ' αὐτῶν [Ἠλείων] κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἄθλων ἡμέραν ὀπλίτης λέγεται τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης ἐσδραμεῖν εἰς τὸ στάδιον εὐαγγέλια ἀπάγων τῆς νίκης. ταυτὶ δὲ πιθανὰ μὲν, ἀκούω δ' αὐτὰ καὶ Δελφῶν, ἐπειδὴ πρὸς ἐνίας τῶν Φωκίδων ἐπολέμησαν, καὶ Ἀργείων, ἐπειδὴ πολέμῳ ξυνεχεῖ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐτρίβοντο, καὶ Κορινθίων, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ Πελοποννήσῳ καὶ ὑπὲρ τὰ ὄρια τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ἐπολέμουν. ἐμοὶ δὲ ἕτερα περὶ ὀπλίτου δοκεῖ φημὶ γὰρ νενομίσθαι μὲν αὐτὸν ἐκ πολεμικῆς αἰτίας, παριέναι <δ> ἐς τοὺς ἀγῶνας πολέμου ἀρχῆς ἕνεκα δηλοῦσης τῆς ἀσπίδος ὅτι πέπανται μὲν ἐκεχειρία, δεῖ δὲ ὀπλων. εἰ δὲ μὴ ραθύμως ἀκούεις τοῦ κήρυκος, ὀρᾶς ὡς ἐπὶ πάντων κηρύττει

³⁰ The identity of this conflict is not clear; one candidate is the war between Elis and the western cities of Greece recorded for 668 BC, but that is well before the date when the hoplite race is said to have been added to the Olympic program; see ch. 13 on the first hoplite race, in the 65th Olympiad, in 520 BC.

³¹ The athletic contests at Olympia were originally confined to a single day, whereas by Philostratus' time they were distributed among the five days of the festival.

³² Probably a reference to the first Sacred War, which ended in 586 BC and was followed by the foundation of the Pythian festival in 582, which involved the addition of athletic contests to the already existing musical competitions.

according to the Eleans, was included for the following reason. The Eleans embarked on a war with the people of Dyme,³⁰ a conflict so truceless that not even the Olympic festival brought any break in hostilities. When the Eleans were winning, on the day of the Olympic contests,³¹ a hoplite from the battle is said to have run into the stadium, bringing the good news of victory. This explanation is plausible, but I have heard the same story from the Delphians, about the time when they were at war with some of the cities of Phocis³² and from the Argives, about the time when they were being worn down by constant warfare with the Spartans,³³ and from the Corinthians, about a time when they were fighting both in the Peloponnese itself, and also beyond the boundaries of the Isthmus.³⁴ But my opinion about the hoplite race is different, for I agree that it was invented originally for military reasons, but I believe that it is included in the contests as a reminder of the resumption of warfare, and that the shield signifies that the truce is over³⁵ and that weapons are necessary again.³⁶ If you listen to the herald carefully, you will notice that he announces to the assembled people that the

³³ Probably a reference to the conflict that led to Argos' defeat at the hands of Cleomenes in 494.

³⁴ The identity of this conflict is not clear.

³⁵ Cf. n. 22, above, on the Olympic truce; it was not, contrary to what Philostratus appears to suggest here, a suspension of all fighting in the Greek world.

³⁶ On the final place of the hoplite race in the Olympic program, cf. Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 2.5, 639e, who gives a similar explanation, and Paus. 3.14.3.

λήγειν μὲν τὸν τῶν ἄθλων ταμίαν ἀγῶνα, τὴν σάλ-
πυγγα δὲ τὰ τοῦ Ἐνυαλίου σημαίνειν προκαλουμένην
τοὺς νέους εἰς ὄπλα· κελεύει δὲ τοῦτ' ἰδὲ τὸ κήρυγμα καὶ
τοῦλαιον ἀραμένους ἐκποδῶν ποι φέρειν, οὐχ ὡς ἀλει-
φομένους, ἀλλ' ὡς πεπαυμένους τοῦ ἀλείφεισθαι.

8. Ἄριστος δὲ ὁ κατὰ Βοιωτίαν καὶ Πλάταιαν ὀπλί-
της ἐνομίζετο διὰ τε τὸ μήκος τοῦ δρόμου διὰ τε τὴν
ὀπλισιν ποδῆρη οὔσαν καὶ σκεπάζουσαν τὸν ἀθλη-
τὴν, ὡς ἂν εἰ καὶ μάχοιτο, διὰ τε τὸ ἐπ' ἔργῳ λαμπρῶ
κείσθαι τῷ Μηδικῷ διὰ τε τὸ νομίσει ταῦτα Ἑλλη-
νας κατὰ βαρβάρων καὶ μὴν καὶ διὰ τὸν νόμον τὸν
ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀγωνιουμένοις κείμενον, <ὃν ἔθετο πάλαι ἡ>
Πλάταια.⁶ τὸν γὰρ ἤδη παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐστεφανωμένοι,
εἰ ἀγωνίζοιτο αὖθις, ἐγγυητὰς ἔδει καταστήσαι τοῦ
σώματος· θάνατος γὰρ ἤττωμένῳ προσετέτακτο.

9. Πυγμαὶ δὲ Λακωνικὸν εὖρημα καὶ εἰς Βέβρυκάς
ποτε βαρβάρους ἦλθεν ἄριστά τε αὐτῇ Πολυδεύκης

⁶ Suppl. Jüthner: [.....] Πλάται[.] P

³⁷ These sentences seems to paraphrase the traditional her-
ald's announcement at the end of the games; the phrase "the
dispenser of prizes" seems to be a direct quotation.

³⁸ I.e., Ares, the god of war.

³⁹ It was standard practice to rub oneself with olive oil before
athletic activity; the phrase *οἱ ἀλειφομένοι* (those who anoint
themselves) came to be used regularly, as in this passage, to de-
scribe those engaged in athletic training.

contest, the dispenser of prizes,³⁷ is coming to an end, and
that the trumpet is giving the signal of Enyalius,³⁸ calling
the young men to take up arms. This announcement also
orders them to pick up the oil and take it away, acting not
as people who anoint themselves,³⁹ but as people who
have ceased to do so.

8. The best of the hoplite races was thought to be the
one in Plataea in Boeotia because of the length of the
race⁴⁰ and because of the armor, which stretches down
to the feet covering the athlete completely, as if he were
actually fighting; also because it was founded to celebrate
a distinguished deed, their victory against the Persians,⁴¹
and because the Greeks devised it as a slight against the
barbarians; and especially because of the rule concerning
competitors that Plataea long ago enacted: that any com-
petitor who had already won victory there, if he competed
again, had to provide guarantors for his body; for death
had been decreed for anyone defeated in that circum-
stance.⁴²

9. Boxing is a Spartan invention. It was adopted at some
stage by the barbarian Bebrycians. Polydeuces was best at

⁴⁰ The length of the race in Plataea (presumably at least as
long as the four stades attested for Nemea; cf. n. 28, above) is
given neither by Philostratus nor by any other ancient source.

⁴¹ The festival in question is the Eleutheria at Plataea,
founded to commemorate the defeat of the Persians there in 479
BC and held every four years; cf. Paus. 9.2.6 on the prominence
of the Eleutheria, and of its armor race, into the Roman Empire.

⁴² This rule is not attested by other authors; but see also ch.
24, which implies that the guarantor himself risks execution if the
athlete loses, or perhaps if the athlete absconds in order to avoid
punishment after losing.

ἐχρήτη, ὅθεν οἱ ποιηταὶ αὐτὸν ἐκ τούτων ἦδον. ἐπίκτευον δὲ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι διὰ τὰδε κράνη Λακεδαιμονίους οὐκ ἦν οὐδ' ἐγχώριον ἠγοῦντο τὴν ὑπ' αὐτοῖς μάχην, ἀλλ' ἦν ἀσπίς ἀντὶ κράνους τῷ μετ' ἐπιστήμης φέρουσι. ὡς οὖν φυλάττοιτο μὲν τὰς κατὰ τοῦ προσώπου πληγὰς, πληττόμενοι δὲ ἀνέχοντο, πυγμὴν ἐπέσηκσαν καὶ τὰ πρόσωπα οὕτως ἐξεγυμνάζοντο. προϊόντες δὲ μεθήκαν τὸ πυκτεῦεν καὶ τὸ παγκρατιάζειν ὁμοίως, αἰσχρὸν ἠγοῦμενοι διαγαυίεσθαι τὰτα, ἐν οἷς ἔστιν ἐνὸς ἀπειπόντος διαβεβλήσθαι τὴν Σπάρτην ὡς μὴ εὐψυχον.

10. Ὡπλιστο δὲ ἡ ἀρχαία πυγμὴ τὸν τρόπον τούτου εἰς στρόφιον οἱ τέτταρες τῶν δακτύλων ἐνεβιβάζοντο καὶ ὑπερέβαλλον τοῦ στροφίου τοσοῦτον, ὅσον εἰ συναγῶντο πύξ εἶναι, ξυνείχοντο δὲ ὑπὸ σειρᾶς, ἦν καθάπερ ἔρεισμα ἐβέβλητο ἐκ τοῦ πήχεος. νυνὶ δὲ αὐτὴ μεθέστηκε ῥινοῦς γὰρ πιωτάτων βοῶν δέψοντες⁷ ἱμάτια ἐργάζονται πυκτικὸν ὄξυν καὶ προεμβάλλοντα, ὁ δὲ γε ἀντίχειρ οὐ ξυλλαμβάνει τοῖς

⁷ δέψοντες Cobet: ἔψοντες P, S¹

⁴³ E.g., see Hom. *Il.* 3.237 and *Od.* 11.300 for the phrase πύξ ἀγαθὸν Πολυδεύκα. Polydeukes was famous above all for his defeat of the Bebrycian king Amycus, hence Philostratus' reference to the Bebrycians (from Bithynia); e.g., see Theoc. 22.1-134; Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 2.1-97.

⁴⁴ This claim is not paralleled in any other ancient source.

it, which is why the poets celebrate him for that accomplishment.⁴³ The ancient Spartans used to box for this reason: they did not have helmets nor did they think that fighting beneath helmets was appropriate for their country;⁴⁴ instead a shield could serve in place of a helmet for anyone who used it with skill. Therefore in order that they might protect themselves from blows to the face and endure when struck, they practiced boxing and trained their faces in that manner. In time, however, they abandoned boxing and likewise the *pankration*,⁴⁵ believing that it was disgraceful to compete in these events, in which it is possible, through just one person admitting defeat, for the whole of Sparta to be reproached for lack of courage.

10. The ancient style of boxing used the following equipment. The four fingers were wrapped in a band, and projected beyond the band far enough to be formed into a fist when clenched together.⁴⁶ They were then held together in a fist shape by a strap, which the athletes attached to the forearm as a support. Now, however, the equipment has changed. For these days they knead the hide of the fattest cows in order to make a sharp, projecting boxing glove; and the thumb does not join the fingers

⁴⁵ The Spartan ban on boxing and *pankration* (cf. *Gym.* 58, below) seems to have applied to competition only, not to training. It is elsewhere ascribed to Lycurgus, on the grounds that these were the only two events in which it was possible for a defeated competitor to give a signal acknowledging his defeat, e.g., Plut. *Lyc.* 19.

⁴⁶ This seems to have been a soft band, often perhaps made of soft leather (cf. Paus. 8.40.3), in contrast with the hardened leather boxing gloves described below.

δακτύλους τοῦ πλήττειν ὑπὲρ συμμετρίας τῶν τραυμάτων, ὡς μὴ πᾶσα ἡ χεὶρ μάχοιτο. ὅθεν τοὺς ἱμάντας τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν συῶν ἐκκρίνουσι τῶν σταδίων ὀδυνηρὰς ἡγούμενοι τὰς ἀπ' αὐτῶν πληγὰς καὶ δυσιάτους.

11. Πάλη δὲ καὶ παγκράτιον ὡς ἐς τὸ πρόσφορον τῷ πολέμῳ εὔρηται, πρῶτον μὲν δηλοῖ τὸ Μαραθῶνι ἔργον διαπολεμηθὲν οὕτως Ἀθηναίοις, ὡς ἀγχοῦ πάλης φαίνεσθαι [προσόντος πολέμου τῷ ἔργῳ],⁸ δεῦτερον δὲ τὸ ἐν Θερμοπύλαις, ὅτε Λακεδαιμόνιοι κλασθέντων αὐτοῖς ξιφῶν τε καὶ δοράτων πολλὰ ταῖς χερσὶ γυμναῖς ἔπραξαν. ὅποσα τέ ἐστὶν ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ προτετίμηται πάντων τὸ παγκράτιον καίτοι συγκεϊμένον ἐξ ἀτελοῦς πάλης καὶ ἀτελοῦς πυγμῆς· προτετίμηται δὲ παρ' ἐτέροις, ὡς Ἡλείοι γε τὴν πάλην καρτερὰν νενομίκασι καὶ ἀλεγεινὴν κατὰ τοὺς ποιητὰς οὐ μόνον ἐπὶ ταῖς διαπλοκαῖς τῶν παλαισμάτων, αἷς δὲ τοῦ σώματος ὑγροῦ καὶ εὐκόλου, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀγωνίζεσθαι τρίς, ἐπεὶ δεῖ τοσοῦτων διαπρωμάτων. παγκράτιον γοῦν καὶ πυγμὴν [καὶ πάλην]⁹

⁸ Del. Jüthner

⁹ Del. Cobet

⁴⁷ The precise design of Greek boxing gloves, and their development over time, is much debated; see Poliakoff (1986, 68–79) and Miller (2004, 51–52) for detailed discussion.

⁴⁸ For close-quarters fighting against the Persians at the battle of Marathon (490 BC), see Hdt. 6.112–13; but I know of no an-

in striking, in order to avoid excessive wounding, and so that the whole hand should not be involved in fighting.⁴⁷ For this reason too they ban from the stadium boxing gloves made from pigs, thinking that blows from these are painful and hard to heal.

11. That wrestling and *pankration* were devised for their usefulness for warfare is clear first of all from the achievement at Marathon,⁴⁸ where the battle was fought by the Athenians in such a way that it seemed almost like a wrestling contest, and secondly from the events at Thermopylae, where the Spartans, when their swords and spears were broken, accomplished much with their bare hands.⁴⁹ Of all the contests the *pankration* is the most highly respected, even though it is a combination of imperfect wrestling with imperfect boxing. Or at any rate it is honored most highly among all but the Eleans, who consider wrestling to be a test of strength and, as the poets put it, “grievous”:⁵⁰ not only because of the twisting involved in wrestling holds, which need a supple and agile body, but also because it is necessary for wrestlers at Olympia to compete three times, since that is the number of falls one needs for victory.⁵¹ They think it is a terrible

cient parallel for Philostratus’ comparison of the fighting with wrestling.

⁴⁹ For the broken spears and the use of hands in battle at Thermopylae (480 BC), see Hdt. 7.224–25.

⁵⁰ A reference to Hom. *Il.* 23.701 (the same word is used for boxing at 23.653) and *Od.* 8.126.

⁵¹ Philostratus is characteristically imprecise: three is the minimum number of rounds, five the maximum.

ἀκονιτὶ στεφανοῦν δεινὸν ἠγοῦμενοι τὸν παλαιστῆν οὐκ ἀπελαύνουσιν, ἐπειδὴ ὁ νόμος τὴν τοιάνδε νίκην μόνῃ ξυγχωρεῖν φησι τῇ γυρᾷ καὶ ταιλαιπώρῳ πάλλῃ. καὶ σαφῆς ἔμοιγ' οὖν ἡ αἰτία, δι' ἣν ὁ νόμος οὕτω προστάττει· τοῦ γὰρ δὴ ἀγωνίσασθαι ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ δεινοῦ ὄντος χαλεπώτερον ἔτι τὸ γυμνάζεσθαι δοκεῖ. τὰ μὲν οὖν τῶν κούφων γυμνάσεται ὁ δολιχοδρόμος ὀκτώ πον ἢ δέκα στάδια καὶ ὁ πένταθλος τὸ δεῖν' ἀπὸ τῶν κούφων,¹⁰ οἱ δρομεῖς δίαυλον ἢ στάδιον ἢ ἄμφω ἀπὸ τῶν τριῶν. χαλεπὸν ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων οὐδέν· ὁ γὰρ τρόπος τῶν κούφων γυμνασίων ὁ αὐτός, ἦν τε Ἡλείοι γυμνάζωσι, ἦν τε ἕτεροι· ὁ δὲ βαρύτερος ἀθλητῆς γυμνάζεται μὲν ὑπὸ Ἡλείων κατὰ τὴν ὥραν τοῦ ἔτους, ὅτε μάλιστα ὁ ἥλιος τὴν ἰλὺν¹¹ ἐν κοίλῃ Ἀρκαδία αἶθει, κόνιν δὲ ἀνέχεται θερμότεραν τῆς

¹⁰ κούφων Jüthner: αὐτῶν P ¹¹ ἰλὺν Daremberg: ὕλην P

⁵² Victory without contest (literally, "without dust": ἀκονιτὶ) occurred when all the other competitors withdrew or when no other competitors entered the contest; victories of this type are listed regularly on inscriptions celebrating athletic victory in all the combat events. There are several recorded exceptions to the rule Philostratus states here, i.e., cases where victory without contest seems to have been awarded in other events at Olympia; e.g., see Paus. 5.21.14 (a boxer) and 6.11.4 (a pankratiast).

⁵³ Like other major festivals, the Olympic festival had its own laws; e.g., see Paus. 6.24.3 on the building in Elis where the Olympic judges (*hellanodikai*) were instructed in their duties by the guardians of the law (*nomophylakes*) for ten months before

thing for a crown to be awarded without a contest⁵² in the case of *pankration* and boxing, but they do not rule it out for the wrestler; for their law⁵³ explicitly allows that kind of victory only for curved⁵⁴ and misery-causing wrestling. It is clear to me why the law prescribes this: for even though competing in Olympia is a fearful matter, the training seems even harder.⁵⁵ In the light events, the *dolichos* runner will train by running eight or ten stades, the pentathlete will practice one or other of the light events, those runners who specialize in the other three running events together⁵⁶ will train by running the *diaulos* or *stadion* or both. There is nothing difficult in such exercises. For the training techniques for the light events are the same whether the Eleans are in charge of the training or others. But the heavy athlete is trained by the Eleans at the time of year⁵⁷ when the sun most of all burns the mud in the lowlands of Arcadia, and he must endure dust hotter than

the festival. For other mentions of the laws in this text, see chs. 12 and 55 (on rules for particular events), 17 (on rules governing the behavior of the athletes' trainers), and 25 (on eligibility to compete).

⁵⁴ Probably a reference to the hunched, forward-leaning posture of ancient wrestlers; perhaps also to the curving and intertwining of limbs in combat. ⁵⁵ Competitors at Olympia were required to arrive in Elis at least a month before the festival in order to undergo a period of official training (e.g., see ch. 54; Paus. 6.23.1) and to swear an oath that they had been in training for at least ten months (see Paus. 5.24.9).

⁵⁶ For athletes who compete in all three of the shorter running events—hoplite race, *stadion*, and *diaulos*—see ch. 33.

⁵⁷ The Olympic festival took place at the second full moon after the summer solstice, so this training period was always some time between early July and early September.

Διθιόπων ψάμμου, καρτερῆ δὲ ἐκ μεσημβρίας ἀρξάμενος. καὶ τούτων οὕτω τάλαιπῶρων ὄντων τὸ ἐπιπινώτατον οἱ παλαισταὶ εἰσιν ὁ μὲν γὰρ πύκτης, ἐπειδὴν ὁ τοῦ σταδίου καιρὸς ἤκη, τρωθήσεται καὶ τρώσει καὶ προσβήσεται ταῖς κνήμαις, γυμναζόμενος δὲ σκιὰν τῆς ἀγωνίας ἐπιδείξεται, καὶ ὁ παγκρατιαστής ἀγωνιέεται μὲν πάντα τρόπον, ὅποσοι ἐν τῷ παγκρατίῳ εἰσὶ, γυμνάσεται δὲ ἄλλοτε [καὶ] ἄλλῳ, πάλῃ δὲ ταῦτὸν μὲν ἐν προάγωνι, ταῦτὸν δὲ καὶ ἐν ἀγῶνι παρέχεται γὰρ ἑκατέρα πείρα, ὅποσα οἶδε καὶ ὅποσα δύναται, γυρά τε εἰκότως εἴρηται γυρὸν γὰρ πάλης καὶ τὸ ὀρθόν. ὅθεν Ἡλείοι στεφανοῦσι τὸ γυμναστικώτατον κακὸν μόνου τοῦ γεγυμνάσθαι.¹²

12. Παρελθεῖν δὲ ταῦτα οὐχ ὁμοῦ πάντα <φασὶν> εἰς τοὺς ἀγῶνας, ἐπ' ἄλλῳ δὲ ἄλλο εὐρισκόμενον τε ὑπὸ τῆς γυμναστικῆς καὶ ἀποτελούμενον. ἦν μὲν γὰρ πάλαι Ὀλύμπια εἰς τὴν τρίτην ἐπὶ δέκα Ὀλυμπιάδα

¹² κακὸν μόνου τοῦ Kayser, Kitrinari: καὶ μόνου το Jüthner: καὶ μόνου τοῦ P

⁵⁸ According to Paus. 6.24.1, the trainers worked with the light athletes in the morning and the heavy athletes in the afternoon.

⁵⁹ It does seem to be the case that kicking was allowed in ancient boxing, but its infrequent attestation suggests that it was viewed as a relatively marginal feature; cf. ch. 34 and occasional references in other sources, e.g., Euseb. *Praep. evang.* 5.34.

⁶⁰ Either a reference to shadowboxing, which is attested elsewhere, or to practice combat against training partners, with softer coverings for the hands than those used in competition; cf. Paus. 6.23.4.

Ethiopian sand, holding out from midday onward.⁵⁸ Of all these misery-causing exercises the most strenuous are those practiced by the wrestlers. For the boxer, whenever the time to compete in the stadium arrives, will be wounded and will wound in turn, and will kick against his opponent's shins,⁵⁹ but in training will perform only a shadow of real competition;⁶⁰ the pankratiast will compete with all the techniques associated with the *pankration*, but in training he will practice sometimes one and sometimes another. But wrestling is the same both in the precontest training and in competition. For each of them gives a test of how much a man knows and of his ability, and wrestling is rightly described as "curved"; for even the upright variety of wrestling is "curved."⁶¹ For that reason the Eleians award the crown to this most training-intensive discipline even for training alone.

12. It is said that these events were not brought into the contests all at the same time but one after another, as they were invented and perfected by the art of athletic training. For the ancient Olympic festival, up to the thirteenth Olympiad,⁶² consisted of the *stadion* only, and

⁶¹ A reference to the two different possible phases of a wrestling bout, which would characteristically start with "upright" combat and then move to "rolling" combat, on the ground; see Poliakoff (1986, 20-27) on the latter. ⁶² 728 BC. For the most part, Philostratus' list of victors in this chapter and the one following agrees with our other sources (e.g., Julius Africanus and Pausanias) although with some minor discrepancies, including omission of the boys' wrestling and misdating of the introduction of the boys' *stadion*: both of those events were introduced in the 37th Olympiad, in 632 BC, according to our other sources; see Christesen (2007, 209-10 and table 13).

σταδίου μόνου καὶ ἐνίκων ἐν αὐτοῖς Ἡλείοι τρεῖς, ἐπὶ τὰ Μεσσηνίαι, Κορινθίαι, Δυμαῖαι, Κλεωναῖαι, ἄλλοι ἄλλη Ὀλυμπιάδα, δύο δὲ οὐδέεις ὁ αὐτός. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς τετάρτης ἐπὶ δέκα δίαυλος μὲν ἤρξατο, Ἰππῶν δὲ ἐγένετο Ἡλείου ἢ ἐπ' αὐτῷ νίκη, μετ' ἐκείνην δολίχου ἀγῶν καὶ ἐνίκα Σπαρτιάτης Ἀκανθος. ἀνδρῶν δὲ πένταθλον καὶ ἀνδρῶν πάλην ἤσκησεν ἢ ὀγδόῃ ἐπὶ δέκα Ὀλυμπιάς, ἐνίκα δὲ πάλην μὲν Εὐρύβατος Λουσιεύς, τὰ δὲ πέντε Λάμπις Λάκων· εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καὶ τὸν Εὐρύβατον Σπαρτιάτην γράφουσιν. ἢ δὲ τρίτῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ Ὀλυμπιάς ἀνδρα ἤδη ἐκάλει πύκτην καὶ κρατίστως ὁ Σμυρναῖος Ὀνόμαστος πυκτεύσας ἐνίκησεν ἐπιγράψας τὴν Σμύρναν ἔργῳ καλῷ· ὁπόσαι γὰρ πόλεις Ἰωνικαὶ τε καὶ Δυδαῖαι, ὅσαι καθ' Ἑλλάσποντον τε καὶ Φρυγίαν, καὶ ὁπόσα ἔθνη ἀνθρώπων ἐν Ἀσίᾳ εἰσὶ, ταῦτα ὁμοῦ ξύμπαυτα ἢ Σμύρνα ὑπερεβάλετο καὶ στεφάνου Ὀλυμπικοῦ πρώτη ἔτυχε· καὶ νόμους ἔγραψεν ὁ ἀθλητῆς οὗτος πυκτικούς, οἷς ἐχρῶντο οἱ Ἡλείοι διὰ σοφίαν τοῦ πύκτου, καὶ οὐκ ἤχθοντο οἱ Ἀρκάδες, εἰ νόμους ἔγραψέ τις αὐτοῖς ἐναγωνίους ἐξ Ἰωνίας ἢ κων τῆς ἀβρᾶς. κατὰ δὲ τὴν τρίτην καὶ τριακοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα παγκράτιον μὲν ἐτέθη μῆπω τεθέν, Λύγδαμις δὲ ἐνίκα Συρακούσιος. μέγας δὲ οὕτω τις ὁ Σικελιώτης ἦν, ὡς τὸν πόδα ἰσόπηχυν εἶναι τὸ

three Eleans won victory in it, seven Messenians, and one each from Corinth and Dyme and Cleonae; each of them in a different Olympiad, none of them twice. In the fourteenth Olympiad,⁶³ the *diaulos* was introduced, and victory in that event was won by Hypenus from Elis. At the next Olympiad came the *dolichos* event, won by the Spartan Acanthus.⁶⁴ The eighteenth Olympiad⁶⁵ introduced the men's pentathlon and the men's wrestling; Eurybatus from Lousoi won the wrestling, and Lampis from Sparta the pentathlon, although there are some who record that Eurybatus was a Spartan. The 23rd Olympiad⁶⁶ then summoned competitors in the men's boxing, and Onomastus from Smyrna won the victory, having boxed most strongly, so linking the name of Smyrna with a glorious deed. For all the cities of Ionia and Lydia, all the cities along the Hellespont and in Phrygia, all the races of men in Asia, Smyrna surpassed all of these together and was the first to win an Olympic crown.⁶⁷ And this athlete wrote down rules for boxing, which the Eleans adopted because of the boxer's wisdom, and the Arcadians were not upset by the fact that someone from the luxurious land of Ionia had written down for them rules of competition. In the 33rd Olympiad⁶⁸ the *pankration* was introduced, not having been included before, and Lygdamis from Syracuse was the victor. This Sicilian was so big that his feet were a cubit in length; at any rate he is said to have measured out

63 724 BC

64 720 BC

65 708 BC

66 688 BC

67 Philostratus refers here to the fact that Onomastus was the first Olympic victor from outside the Greek mainland.

68 648 BC

γοῦν στάδιον ἀναμετρήσαι λέγεται τοσοῦτοις ἑαυτοῦ ποσίν, ὅσοι τοῦ σταδίου πήχεις νομίζονται.

13. Φασὶ καὶ παίδων πένταθλον παρελθεῖν ἐκεῖ κατὰ τὴν ὀγδόην καὶ τριακοστήν, ὅτε νικήσαι μὲν Εὐτελίδαν¹³ Λακεδαιμόνιον, τὴν δὲ ἰδέαν ταύτην μηκέτι ἀγωνίσασθαι παῖδα ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ. ὁ δὲ νικήσας τὸ τῶν παίδων στάδιον κατὰ τὴν ἕκτην καὶ τεσσαρακοστήν Ὀλυμπιάδα—τότε γὰρ πρῶτον ἐτέθη—παῖς ἦν αἰπόλος Πολυμήστωρ ὁ Μιλήσιος, ὃς τῇ ρύμῃ τῶν ποδῶν λαγῶν ἔφθανε. πυγμῆν δὲ παίδων οἱ μὲν φασιν ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτης καὶ τεσσαρακοστῆς ἄρξασθαι καὶ Φιλύταν Συ>βαρίτην¹⁴ νενικηκέναι, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ἔξηκοστῆς λέγουσιν, ἐνίκα δὲ <κατ' αὐτοὺς Λεο-> κρέων¹⁵ ἐκ Κέω τῆς νήσου. Δαμάρετος¹⁶ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἔξηκοστήν πέμπτην πρῶτος ὀπλίτου λέγεται τυχεῖν Ἑραεὺς,¹⁷ οἶμαι, ὦν. ἑκατοστή καὶ τεσσαρακοστή καὶ πέμπτη Ὀλυμπιάδι παιδὸς παγκρατιαστοῦ ἐπέγραψαν <ἀγῶνα>¹⁸ οὐκ οἶδα ἐξ ὅτου βραδέως αὐτὸν νομίσαντες¹⁹ εὐδοκιμοῦντα ἤδη παρ' ἐτέροις· ὅψε γὰρ τῶν Ὀλυμπιάδων Αἰγύπτου ἤδη στεφανομένης ἤρξατο, κάκειν τε ἡ νίκη Αἰγυπτία ἐγένετο· Ναύκρατις οὖν

¹³ Εὐτελίδαν Daremberg: εὐτέαδα P

¹⁴ Suppl. Jüthner: φ[.....]βαρίτην P

¹⁵ Suppl. Jüthner: κ[.....]κρεων P

¹⁶ Δαμάρετος Cobet: δαμάρητος P

¹⁷ Ἑραεὺς Jüthner: κραεὺς P

¹⁸ Suppl. Cobet

¹⁹ νομίσαντες Volckmar: νοήσαντος P

the stadium, with as many of his own foot lengths as there are thought to be cubits in the stadium.⁶⁹

13. They also say that the boys' pentathlon competition was included there in the 38th Olympiad,⁷⁰ when it was won by the Spartan Eutelidas, but that no boy competed in this type of contest again at Olympia after that.⁷¹ The victor of the boys' *stadion* in the 46th Olympiad⁷²—for that is when it was first introduced—was the young goat-herd Polymestor from Miletus, who could run faster than hares by the speed of his feet. Some say that the boys' boxing began at the 41st Olympiad,⁷³ and that Philytas from Sybaris was the victor, others that it began at the 60th,⁷⁴ and that it was won by Leocreon from the island of Ceos. Damaretus, who was, I think, from Heraia, is said to have been the first to win the race in armor, in the 65th Olympiad.⁷⁵ In the 145th Olympiad they introduced the event of the boys' *pankration*. I do not know why they took so long to adopt it when it was already highly esteemed elsewhere; for it began late in the series of Olympiads, after the time when Egyptians first began to be crowned as victors, and that victory was itself an Egyptian one; and so Naucratis was proclaimed the victorious city, with the

⁶⁹ The length of the stadium was 600 feet, or 400 cubits (one cubit = 1.5 feet). The more plausible account of Julius Africanus puts Lygdamis' foot length at one foot (i.e., 32 centimeters) rather than at one cubit (48 centimeters) and suggests that he paced out the Olympic stadium with 600 of his foot lengths rather than with 400. See Gell. NA 1.1.2 for the same anecdote told of Heraacles. ⁷⁰ 628 BC ⁷¹ Cf. Paus. 5.9.1 and 6.15.8.

⁷² 596 BC ⁷³ 616 BC

⁷⁴ 540 BC ⁷⁵ 520 BC

ἀνερρήθη νικῶντος Αἰγυπτίου Φαιδίμου. ταῦτα οὐκ ἂν μοι δοκεῖ καθ' ἐν οὕτωςι παρελθεῖν εἰς ἀγῶνας, οὐδ' ἂν σπουδασθῆναι ποτε Ἥλείοις καὶ Ἑλλήσι πᾶσιν, εἰ μὴ γυμναστικὴ ἐπέδιδον καὶ ἥσκει αὐτά· καὶ γὰρ αὐταὶ τῶν ἀθλητῶν αἱ νίκαι καὶ τοῖς γυμνασταῖς—οὐ μείον ἢ τοῖς ἀθληταῖς—πρόσκεινται.

14. Τί οὖν χρή περὶ γυμναστικῆς γινώσκεις; τί δ' ἄλλο ἢ σοφίαν αὐτὴν ἠγγεῖσθαι ξυγκειμένην μὲν ἐξ ἰατρικῆς τε καὶ παιδοτριβικῆς, οὐσαν δὲ τῆς μὲν τελεωτέραν, τῆς δὲ μόριον. ὁπόσον δὲ ἀμφοῖν μετέσχηκεν, ἐγὼ δηλώσω. παλαισμάτων εἶδη ὁπόσα ἐστί, δηλώσει ὁ παιδοτρίβης καιρούς τε ὑποτιθέμενος καὶ ὀρμὰς καὶ μέτρα καὶ ὅπως ἂν τις ἢ φυλάττοιο ἢ φυλαττομένου κρατοῦη, διδάξει δὲ καὶ ὁ γυμναστής εἰδότα μήπω τὸν ἀθλητὴν ταῦτα. ἀλλ' ἔστιν ὅπου μεταχειρίσασθαι δεῖ πάλην ἢ παγκράτιον ἢ καὶ πλεονέκτημα ὑπάρχον ἀντιπάλων διαφυγεῖν ἢ ἐκκρούσαι, ὧν οὐδὲν ἂν εἰς ἐπίνοιαν ἦει τῷ γυμναστῇ μὴ καὶ τὰ τῶν παιδοτριβῶν εἰδότη. κατὰ μὲν τοῦτο δὴ ἴσαι αἱ τέχναι· χυμούς δὲ ἀποκαθῆραι καὶ τὰ περιττὰ ἀφελεῖν καὶ λεάναι τὰ κατεσκληρότα καὶ πιάναι τι ἢ μεταβαλεῖν ἢ θάλαψαι αὐτῶν γυμνασταῖς ἐν σοφίᾳ.

⁷⁶ Probably a reference to good timing (*kairos*) in the choice of particular moves in a wrestling bout (cf. ch. 57 on boxing; Paus. 5.14.9 for the altar in honor of *Kairos* near to the entrance to the stadium at Olympia) rather than to the need for good timing in the choice of what type of training to do when, although the word is often used for that latter challenge as well.

victory going to the Egyptian Phaidimus. It seems to me that these events would not have been introduced in this way, one at a time, nor would they have won the enthusiasm of the Eleans and all the Greeks, if the art of athletic training had not undergone improvement, and if it had not trained them. For these victories obtained by the athletes also belong—no less than to the athletes themselves—to the trainers.

14. What, then, should one think about the art of athletic training? What else except to believe that it is a type of wisdom combining both the art of medicine and the art of the *paidotribês*; it is more comprehensive than the latter, and a part of the former. I will show now to what extent it partakes of each. The *paidotribês* will demonstrate all the different types of wrestling move, giving instruction in good timing,⁷⁶ in the degree of force to be used, in the limits to be observed in training, and in how one can defend oneself or defeat an opponent who is defending himself, and the trainer (*gymnastês*) too will teach these things to an athlete who does not yet know them. But there are times when it is necessary to turn one's hand to wrestling or the *pankration*, or to the question of how to evade or parry the advantage held by one's opponents, none of which the trainer would be aware of if he did not also know the skills of the *paidotribês*. In those respects the two disciplines are identical. But cleansing the humors and removing excess from the body and smoothing dried-up flesh, and fattening or transforming or warming some part of the body, all of these things belong to the wisdom

ἐκεῖνα ἢ οὐκ ἐπιστήσεται ὁ παιδοτρίβης ἢ, εἰ γνώσκοι τι, πονηρῶς ἐπὶ τοὺς παῖδας χρήσεται βασιλεύων ἐλευθερίαν ἀκραίφνουσ αἵματος. τῆς μὲν δὴ προειρημένης ἐπιστήμης ἢ γυμναστικῆ τοσοῦτω τελεωτέρα, πρὸς δέ γε ἰατρικὴν ὄδε ἔχει νοσήματα, ὅποσα κατάρρους καὶ ὑδέρους καὶ φθόας ὀνομάζομεν καὶ ὅποσα ἱεραὶ νόσοι, ἰατροὶ μὲν παύουσιν ἐπαντλοῦντές τι ἢ ποτίζοντες ἢ ἐπιπλάττοντες, γυμναστικὴ δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα διαίταις ἴσχει καὶ τράψει ῥήξανά τι δὲ ἢ τρωθέντα ἢ θολωθέντα τὸ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς φῶς ἢ ὀλισθήσαντά τι τῶν ἄρθρων ἐς ἰατροὺς χρῆ φέρειν, ὡς οὐδὲν ἢ γυμναστικὴ πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα.

15. Ἐκ τούτων μὲν οἶμαι ἀποδεδεῖχθαί μοι ὅποσα πρὸς ἑκατέραν ἐπιστήμην ἢ γυμναστικὴ, δοκῶ δέ μοι κάκεῖνα ἐν αὐτῇ ὄραν ἰατρικὴν πᾶσαν ὁ αὐτὸς οὐδὲκ εἰς γινώσκει, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν τετρωμένων²⁰ οἶδεν, ὁ δὲ ξυνιέναι πυρεττόντων, ὁ δὲ ὀφθαλμιῶντων, ὁ δὲ φθισικῶν ὑγιῶς ἄπεται. καὶ μεγάλου ὄντος τοῦ κἂν σμικρόν τι αὐτῆς ἐξεργάσασθαι ὀρθῶς φασιν οἱ ἰατρικοὶ πᾶσαν γινώσκειν. γυμναστικὴν δὲ οὐκ ἂν ἐπαγγείλαιτό τις ὀμοῦ πᾶσαν ὁ γὰρ τὰ δρομικὰ εἰδῶς τὰ τῶν παλαι-

²⁰ οὐδὲκ εἰς γινώσκει, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν τετρωμένων Jüthner: οὐδ[.....]μένων P

⁷⁷ Cf. Gal. *Thrasymbulus* 24 for similar discussion of the specialization of medicine in the Roman Empire and the use of the term doctor even by individuals with quite a narrow field of medical expertise.

of the trainer. The *paidotribês* will not understand them, or if he does know something about them, he will use that knowledge in harmful ways on the boys he is training, torturing their free and pure blood. That is the degree to which the art of training is more comprehensive than the aforementioned skill of the *paidotribês*. Its relation to the art of medicine is as follows. Doctors cure the illnesses we refer to as catarrh and dropsy and consumption, and the various types of epilepsy, by prescribing irrigations or potions or dressings, whereas athletic training checks such conditions by the use of diet and massage. But if someone has a break or a flesh wound or clouding of the sight in his eyes or a dislocation of one of his limbs, then he needs to be taken to the doctor, for the art of the athletic trainer does not concern itself with problems of those kinds.

15. With that discussion I believe I have demonstrated how far athletic training is related to each of these two disciplines. But the following points about athletic training also seem to me to be clear. Nobody individually knows the whole discipline of medicine, but some know about treating the wounded, some understand those with fevers, some those with ophthalmia, while others give their attention successfully to those with consumption. And since it is considered a significant achievement to gain knowledge of even a small part of the art of medicine, doctors are right in claiming that they know all of their subject.⁷⁷ No one could lay claim to the whole of athletic training together. For the trainer who knows about running will not understand the expertise associated with

όντων καὶ τῶν παγκρατιαζόντων οὐκ ἐπιστήσεται ἢ ὁ τὰ βαρύτερα γυμνάζων ἀμαθῶς τῆς ἄλλης ἐπιστήμης ἄψεται.

16. Ἐνυμετρία μὲν τῆς τέχνης ἦδε, γέनेσις δὲ αὐτῆς τὸ φῦναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον παλαιῶσαι τε ἰκανὸν καὶ πικτεῦσαι καὶ δραμεῖν ὀρθόν· καὶ γὰρ οὐδ' ἂν γένοιτό τι τῶν τοιούτων μὴ προϋπάρχοντος τούτου, δι' ὃ γίνυται. καὶ ὡσπερ χαλκευτικῆς γέनेσις ὁ σίδηρος καὶ ὁ χαλκὸς, καὶ γεωργίας γῆ καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς γῆς, καὶ ναυτιλίας τὸ εἶναι θάλατταν, οὕτως ἡγώμεθα καὶ τὴν γυμναστικὴν ξυγγεγεστάτην τε εἶναι καὶ συμφυᾶ τῷ ἄνθρώπῳ. καὶ λόγος δὲ ἄδεταί τις, ὡς γυμναστικὴ μὲν οὐπω εἶη, Προμηθεὺς δὲ εἶη καὶ γυμνάσαιτο μὲν ὁ Προμηθεὺς πρῶτος, γυμνάσειε δ' αὐτὸν ἑτέροις Ἑρμῆς ἀγασθείη τε αὐτὸν τοῦ εὐρήματος, καὶ παλαιστρα γε Ἑρμοῦ πρῶτη καὶ οἱ πλασθέντες ἐκ Προμηθέως ἄνθρωποι οἶδε ἄρα [οὔτοι] οἱ ἐν τῷ πηλῷ γυμνασάμενοι εἶεν [τῷ ἦσαν], οἱ πλάττεσθαι²¹ ὑπὸ τοῦ Προμηθέως ὦοντο, ἐπειδὴ τὰ σώματα αὐτοῖς ἢ γυμναστικὴ ἐπιτήδειά τε καὶ ξυγκείμενα ἐποίει.

²¹ ἄνθρωποι οἶδε ἄρα [οὔτοι] οἱ ἐν τῷ πηλῷ γυμνασάμενοι εἶεν [τῷ ἦσαν], οἱ πλάττεσθαι Jüthner: ἄνθρωποι δὲ ἄρα οὔτοι εἶεν, τῷ πηλῷ γυμνασάμενοι· εἰ ἐν τῷ ἦσαν· ἢ πλάττεσθαι P

⁷⁸ Cf. Philostratus' positive portrayal of nature in ch. 2.

⁷⁹ Hermes was regularly linked with gymnastic activity (e.g., Pind. *Ol.* 6.79), and there is extensive epigraphical evidence for Hermes honored in gymnasia; the regular contests between boys

wrestlers or pankratiasts, and the trainer who trains the heavy events will be inexpert in the other parts of the art.

16. That is the symmetry of the art of training. Its origin lies in the fact that humans are by nature capable of wrestling and boxing and running upright.⁷⁸ For no activity of this kind would come into being were it not for the preexistence of that through which it comes into being. For just as the origin of metalwork is iron and bronze, the origin of farming is the earth and the things that grow from it, the origin of sailing is the existence of the sea, so let us believe that athletic training too is inborn in and has grown hand in hand with humankind. The story is told that, at a time when athletic training did not yet exist, Prometheus, who was alive at that time, was the first to train himself; they say also that Hermes was the first to train others and that he admired Prometheus for his invention, and that the *palaistra* of Hermes was the first;⁷⁹ and finally that the people molded by Prometheus were in fact those men who undertook training in clay, and that they thought they had been molded by Prometheus because of the way in which athletic training made their bodies useful and well formed.⁸⁰

trained in the gymnasium were often known as *Hermaea*. For another version of Hermes' connection with the origins of the *palaistra* (originally a space used just for wrestling, but later for other athletic training in addition), see Philostr. *Imag.* 2.32, where he is depicted as the father of the girl *Palaistra*.

⁸⁰ The link between Prometheus and athletic training, and the ingenious equation between muddy athletes and Prometheus' humans molded in clay, is not paralleled elsewhere in classical literature.

17. Πυθοὶ μὲν οὖν καὶ Ἴσθμοὶ καὶ ὅποι ποτὲ τῆς γῆς ἦσαν ἀγῶνες, τρίβωνα ὁ γυμναστής ἀμπεχόμενος ἀλείφει τὸν ἀθλητὴν καὶ οὐδεὶς ἀποδύσει ἄκοντα, ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ δὲ γυμνὸς ἐφέστηκεν, ὡς μὲν δόξα ἐνίων, διελέγχοντες Ἠλείοι τὸν γυμναστήν ἄρα ἔτους, εἰ καρτερεῖν οἶδε καὶ θέρεσθαι, ὡς δὲ Ἠλείοι φασι, Φερενίκη ἢ Ῥοδία ἐγένετο Διαγόρου θυγάτηρ τοῦ πύκτου, καὶ τὸ εἶδος ἢ Φερενίκη οὕτω τοι ἔρρωτο, ὡς Ἠλείοις τὰ πρῶτα ἀνὴρ δόξαι. εἰκλ>η<το>²² γοῦν ὑπὸ τρίβωνι ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ Πεισίδωρον τὸν ἑαυτῆς νιδὸν ἐγύμνασε. πύκτης δὲ ἄρα κάκεινος ἦν εὐχειρ τὴν τέχνην καὶ μείων οὐδὲν τοῦ πάππου. ἐπεὶ δὲ ξυνηκαν τῆς ἀπάτης, ἀποκτεῖναι μὲν τὴν Φερενίκην ὤκνησαν ἐνθυμηθέντες τὸν Διαγόραν καὶ τοὺς Διαγόρου παῖδας—ὁ γὰρ Φερενίκης οἶκος ὀλυμπιονίκαι πάντες—νόμος δὲ ἐγράφη τὸν γυμναστήν ἀποδύεσθαι καὶ μηδὲ τοῦτον ἀνέλεγκτον αὐτοῖς εἶναι.

18. Φέρει δὲ καὶ στλεγγίδα ὁ γυμναστής ἐκεῖ διὰ τοῦτο ἴσως· κονίσασθαι²³ παλαιστρα τὸν ἀθλητὴν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ πηλοῦσθαι²⁴ ἀνάγκη· ἴν' οὖν μὴ λυμαί-

²² εἰκλ>η<το> Jüthner: εἰ[.]η[. .] P

²³ κονίσασθαι Jüthner: κονίσαι P

²⁴ πηλοῦσθαι Zingerle: ἠλιοῦσθαι P, Jüthner

⁸¹ Diagoras is the dedicatee of Pind. *Ol.* 7; he won his first Olympic victory in 464 BC.

⁸² Winner of the boys' boxing in 404 BC (named Peisirodus by Paus. in 5.6.8).

17. At the Pythian and Isthmian festivals, and wherever else in the world there are athletic contests, the trainer oils the athlete wearing a cloak and nobody can make him strip against his will. At Olympia, however, he takes charge naked. Some people think this is because the Eleians want to test the trainer in the summer season and find out whether he can endure and put up with the heat. The Eleians, by contrast, tell the following story: Pherenice, from Rhodes, was the daughter of the boxer Diagoras.⁸¹ Her appearance was so strong that the Eleians at first assumed she was a man. Therefore she wrapped herself in a cloak at Olympia and undertook the training of her son Peisidorus.⁸² He too was a boxer, a very dexterous one, and not at all inferior to his grandfather. When they discovered the deception, they hesitated to kill Pherenice out of consideration for Diagoras and his children—for the family of Pherenice were all Olympic victors—but a law was written that the trainer must strip naked, and that not even he should go untested by them.⁸³

18. Moreover the trainer at Olympia also carries a strigil,⁸⁴ perhaps for the following reason: it is necessary for the athlete in Olympia to dust his body with the sand of the *palaestra* and to be covered in mud.⁸⁵ And so, in order that their good condition should not be damaged,

⁸³ Cf. Paus. 5.6.7-8 for another version of this story and for the claim that any woman found to be watching the games at Olympia risked the death penalty.

⁸⁴ The scraping instrument, usually made of metal, used to remove dust, oil, and sweat after exercise or bathing.

⁸⁵ For the distinction between mud and dust or sand in wrestling training, cf. ch. 53.

νουντο τὴν ἕξιν, ἢ στλεγγίς ἀναμμνήσκει τὸν ἀθλητὴν ἐλαίου καὶ φησι δεῦν ἐπάγειν αὐτὸ οὕτως ἀφθόως, ὡς καὶ ἀποστλεγγίζειν ἀλείψαντα. εἰσὶ δ' οἱ φασιν ὡς γυμναστὴς ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τεθηγγμένη τῇ στλεγγίδι τὸν ἀθλητὴν ἀπέκτεινε μὴ καρτερήσαντα ὑπὲρ τῆς νίκης. καὶ ξυγχωρῶ τῷ λόγῳ βέλτιον γὰρ πιστεῦσθαι ἢ ἀπιστεῖσθαι. ξίφος μὲν δὴ ἐπὶ τοὺς πονηροὺς τῶν ἀθλητῶν στλεγγίς ἔστω, καὶ ἐχέτω δὴ τι ὑπὲρ τὸν ἑλληνοδίκην ὁ γυμναστὴς ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ.

19. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ καὶ τακτικὴν ἐβούλοντο πᾶσαν τοὺς γυμναστὰς εἰδέναι μελέτην τῶν πολεμικῶν τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἡγούμενοι καὶ οὐ χρεὶ θαναμάζειν, ὅπου καὶ τὴν ὄρχησιν, τὸ ῥαθυμότερον τῶν ἐν εἰρήνῃ, Λακεδαιμόνιοι πάντως ἐς τὰ πολεμικὰ ἀνέφερον ὄρχούμενοι τρόπον, ὃν φυλάσσεται τις βέλος ἢ ἀφήσει ἢ ἀρθήσεται ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ τῇ ἀσπίδι εὐμεταχειρίστως χρῆσεται.

20. Ὅποσα δὲ γυμνασταὶ ξυμβάλλοντο ἀθληταῖς ἢ παρακλευσάμενοι τι ἢ ἐπιπλήξαντες ἢ ἀπειλήσαντες ἢ σοφιστάμενοι, πολλὰ μὲν ταῦτα καὶ πλείω λόγου, λεγέσθω δὲ τὰ ἐλλογιμώτερα. Γλαῦκον μὲν τοῖνυν τὸν Καρύστιον ἀφιστάμενον²⁵ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τὴν πυγμὴν τῷ

²⁵ ἀφιστάμενον Volckmar: ἀπιστούμενον P

⁸⁶ The Olympic judges, ten for each Olympiad for most of the centuries of Olympic history; cf. n. 53, above.

the strigil reminds the athlete of oil, and tells him that he must apply it so abundantly that it is necessary to scrape himself down after he has oiled himself. But there are some who say that a trainer in Olympia killed his athlete with a sharpened strigil as a punishment for not exercising endurance in pursuit of victory. And I agree with that explanation. For it is better for it to be believed than disbelieved. Let the strigil be a sword against worthless athletes, and let the trainer at Olympia rank in some respects above the *hellanodikai*.⁸⁶

19. The Spartans wanted their trainers in addition to know all about tactics, since they viewed athletic contests as practice for warfare, and one should not be surprised at that, given that the Spartans connected even dancing, the most lighthearted of peacetime activities, in all respects with warfare, and danced in the manner in which one would ward off a missile or launch one or jump up from the ground or use one's shield dexterously.⁸⁷

20. As for cases where trainers have been of use to their athletes, either by encouraging them in something or rebuking them or threatening them or tricking them, there are many of these, too many to recount, but let us mention the more remarkable ones. When Glaucus⁸⁸ of Carystus was giving way to his opponent in the boxing at Olympia,

⁸⁷ This kind of weapon dance, often given the name *pyrrhichê* in Greek, is attested not just for Sparta (e.g., Ath. *Deipnosophists* 14, 631a) but also for many other ancient cities (e.g., for Athens in the festival of the Panathenaea).

⁸⁸ Cf. n. 5, above; and cf. Paus. 6.10.1-2 on this incident (although in Pausanias' version the encouragement comes from his father rather than his trainer).

ἀντιπάλῳ Τισίας ὁ γυμναστῆς εἰς νίκην ἤγαγε παρακελευσάμενος “τὰν ἀπ’ ἀρότρου” πλήξαι. τοῦτ’ ἰδὲ ἀρα ἦν ἡ τῆς δεξιᾶς ἐς τὸν ἀντίπαλον φορά· τὴν γὰρ χεῖρα ἐκείνην ὁ Γλαῦκος οὕτω τοι ἔρωτο, ὡς ὕνυ ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ ποτὲ καμφθεῖσαν ὀρθῶσαι σφυρηδὸν τῇ δεξιᾷ πλήξας.

21. Ἀρριχίωνα²⁶ δὲ τὸν παγκρατιαστὴν δύο μὲν ἤδη Ὀλυμπιάδας νικῶντα, τρίτην δὲ ἐπ’ ἐκείναις Ὀλυμπιάδα μαχόμενον περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου καὶ ἤδη ἀπαγορεύοντα Ἐρυξίας ὁ γυμναστῆς εἰς ἔρωτα θανάτου κατέστησεν ἀναβοήσας ἕξωθεν, “ὡς καλὸν ἐντάφιον τὸ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ μὴ ἀπειπεῖν.”

22. Προμάχου²⁷ δὲ τοῦ ἐκ Πελλήνης²⁸ ξυνίει μὲν ὁ γυμναστῆς ἐρώωντος, ἀγχού δὲ Ὀλυμπίων ὄντων, “ὦ Πρόμαχε,²⁹ εἶπεν, “δοκεῖς μοι ἐρᾶν.” ὡς δὲ εἶδεν ἐρυθρῶντα, “ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐλέγξω,” ἔφη, “ταῦτα ἠρόμη, ξυλληψόμενος δέ σοι τοῦ ἔρωτος· καὶ γὰρ ἂν καὶ διαλεχθεῖην ὑπὲρ σοῦ τῷ γυναιῷ.” καὶ διαλεχθεὶς οὐδὲν ἀφίκετο πρὸς τὸν ἀθλητὴν ἀπάγων λόγον οὐκ ἀληθῆ, πλείστου δὲ ἄξιον τῷ ἐρώωντι “οὐκ ἀπαξιοῦ τί σε,” ἔφη, “τῶν ἐαυτῆς παιδικῶν νικῶντα Ὀλυμπιάζει.” καὶ ὁ Πρόμαχος³⁰ ἀναπνεύσας ἐφ’ ὧν ἤκουσεν, οὐκ ἐνίκα

²⁶ Ἀρριχίωνα Cobet: ἀρίωνα P

²⁷ Προμάχου Daremberg: πρωτόμαχου P

²⁸ Πελλήνης Volckmar: πέλλης P

²⁹ Προμάχε Daremberg: πρωτόμαχε P

³⁰ Προμάχος Daremberg: πρωτόμαχος P

his trainer Tisias led him to victory by encouraging him to strike “the blow from the plow.” This meant a right-handed punch against his opponent; for Glaucus was so strong with that hand that he once straightened a bent plowshare in Euboea by hitting it with his right hand like a hammer.

21. Arrichion⁸⁹ the pankratiast, having won two Olympic titles already, was competing for the crown in his third Olympiad, following these other two, and when he was just beginning to give up, his trainer Eryxias inspired him with a desire for death by shouting from the sidelines, “What a fine funeral shroud, not to give up at Olympia.”

22. The trainer of Promachus⁹⁰ from Pellene was aware that Promachus was in love, and when the Olympic festival drew close, he said, “Promachus, you seem to me to be in love.” And when he saw him blushing, he said, “I did not ask that in order to disgrace you, but in order to help you in your love; for I could talk to the woman on your behalf.” And without actually having spoken to her he then returned to the athlete bringing a message that was not true but that was very valuable for the man in love with her: “She does not think you at all unworthy of her love,” he said, “if you win at Olympia.” And Promachus, recovering thanks to what he had heard, not only won, but actually

⁸⁹ Athlete from Phigalia (otherwise known as Arrachion), winner of the Olympic *pankration* in 572 and 568 BC. For longer versions of the story Philostratus alludes to here, where Arrichion prefers death to victory, cf. Philostr. *Imag.* 2.6, and Paus. 8.40.2, neither of which makes any mention of his trainer.

⁹⁰ See n. 4, above; and cf. Paus. 7.27.5-7 for a longer account of Promachus' victories, but with no mention of his trainer.

μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ Πουλυδάμαντα τὸν Σκοτουσσαίου μετὰ τοὺς λέοντας, οὓς ὁ Πουλυδάμας ἤρῃκει παρ' Ὠχφ τῷ Πέρσῃ.

23. Μανδρογένους δὲ τοῦ Μάγνητος αὐτὸς ἤκουσα τὴν καρτερίαν, ἣ ἐκέχρητο ἐφ' ἡλικίας εἰς τὰ παγκράτια τῷ γυμναστῇ ἀνατιθέντος. τεθνάναι μὲν γὰρ τὸν πατέρα ἔλεγεν, ἐπὶ μητρὶ δὲ εἶναι τὸν οἶκον ἀρρενικῆ τε καὶ γενναία, πρὸς ἣν γράψαι τὸν γυμναστὴν ἐπιστολὴν τοιαύτην "τὸν υἱὸν εἰ μὲν τεθνεῶτα ἀκουσείας, πίστευσον, εἰ δὲ ἠττώμενον, ἀπίστει." ταύτην ἔφασκεν αἰδούμενος τὴν ἐπιστολὴν εὐψυχίαν ἐνδείξασθαι πάσαν, ὡς μήτε ὁ γυμναστής ψεύσαιτο, μήτε ἡ μήτηρ ψευσθείη.

24. Ὀπτάτος³¹ δὲ ὁ Αἰγύπτιος ἐνίκα μὲν ἐν Πλαταιαῖς δρόμον, κειμένον δ' ὡς ἔφην παρ' αὐτοῖς νόμου δημοσία ἀποθνήσκειν τὸν μετὰ νίκην ἠττώμενον καὶ μὴ συγγυμνάζεσθαι πρότερον ἢ ἐγγυητὰς καταστήσαι τοῦ σώματος, οὐδενὸς δὲ ἐγγυωμένου τὸ οὕτω μέγα, ὑπέθηκεν ἑαυτὸν ὁ γυμναστής τῷ νόμῳ καὶ τὸν ἀθλητὴν ἐπέρωσεν εἰς νίκην δευτέραν. τοῖς γὰρ ἀπεισθαι διανοομένους ἔργον μείζονος εὐέλπι, οἶμαι, τὸ μὴ ἀπιστεῖσθαι.

³¹ Ὀπτάτος Jüthner: ὀπιατος P

⁹¹ See n. 3, above; and cf. Paus. 6.5 and Julius Africanus, *Olympionicarum Fasti* 93 for his victories and his lion killing and other exploits.

defeated Poulydamas⁹¹ from Scotoussa following his encounter with the lions, which Poulydamas had overpowered in front of the Persian king Ochus.

23. I have myself heard Mandrogenus⁹² of Magnes attributing to his trainer the powers of endurance he displayed in his youth in the *pankration*. For he said that his father had died, and that the whole household came under the authority of his mother, a woman of masculine nobility. To her, he said the trainer wrote a letter of this kind: "If you hear that your son has died, believe it; if you hear that he has been defeated, do not." He said that out of respect for this letter, he displayed all possible courage, in order that neither should his trainer be a liar, nor his mother the victim of deception.

24. Optatus⁹³ the Egyptian won the running race in Plataea. Since there was a law among the Plataeans, as I said before,⁹⁴ that anyone who was defeated, having previously won, should be publicly executed, and that a previous winner should not be allowed to train before providing guarantors for his body, and since no one was willing to provide a guarantee for something so serious, his trainer subjected himself to the law and so gave his athlete the strength for a second victory. For those who intend to undertake a great deed, I believe, not being mistrusted is a source of optimism.

⁹² Olympic victor in the *pankration* in AD 213.

⁹³ The name of this athlete is corrupt in the manuscript; Optatus seems the most likely correction, but no athlete of this name is attested elsewhere in ancient sources.

⁹⁴ Cf. ch. 8.

25. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπιρρεῖ τῶν τοιούτων ὄχλος ἐγκατα-
 μιγνύοντων ἡμῶν παλαιοῖς νέα, σκεψώμεθα τὸν γυμνα-
 στὴν αὐτόν, ὁποῖός τις ὢν καὶ ὅποσα εἰδὼς τῷ ἀθλητῇ
 ἐφεστῆξει. ἔστω δὴ ὁ γυμναστής μήτε ἀδολεσχής,
 μήτε ἀγύμναστος τὴν γλώτταν, ὡς μήτε τὸ ἐνεργὸν
 τῆς τέχνης ἐκλύουτο ὑπὸ τῆς ἀδολεσχίας, μήτε ἀγρο-
 κότερον φαίνοιτο μὴ ξὺν λόγῳ δρώμενον. φυσιогνω-
 μουικὴν τε ἐπεσκεψῆσαν πᾶσαν. τοῦτ' δὲ κελεύω διὰ
 τόδε παῖδα ἀθλητὴν ἑλληνοδικῆς μὲν τις ἢ ἀμφι-
 κτύων κρίνουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν τοιῶνδε· εἰ φυλὴ τῷδε καὶ
 πατρίς, εἰ πατὴρ καὶ γένος, εἰ ἐλευθέρων καὶ μὴ νό-
 θος, ἐπὶ πᾶσιν, εἰ νέος καὶ μὴ ὑπὲρ παῖδα· εἰ <δ'>
 ἐγκρατῆς ἢ ἀκρατῆς, εἰ μεθυστῆς ἢ λίχνος, εἰ θαρ-
 σαλέος ἢ δειλός, οὐδὲ εἰ γινώσκοιεν, οὐδὲν οἱ νόμοι
 σφίσιν ὑπὲρ τῶν τοιούτων διαλέγονται, τὸν δὲ γυμνα-
 στὴν ἐξεπίστασθαι χρὴ ταῦτα φύσεως που κριτῆν
 ὄντα. γινγνωσκέτω δὴ τὴν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἠθικὴν πᾶ-
 σαν, ὑφ' ἧς δηλοῦνται μὲν οἱ νωθοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων,

⁹⁵ The *amphiktyones* were officials at the Pythian games, in other words the Delphic equivalents of the Olympic *hellanodikai*.

⁹⁶ This process of judging eligibility to compete is widely attested: athletes were required to demonstrate that they were of free birth, were citizens of a city, and were members of a tribe (*phyle*) within that city; they were also assigned as appropriate to the two Olympic age classes (boys and men).

⁹⁷ "Dissembling" is at first sight the obvious translation for *εἴρωνες*, but see Jüthner (1909, 238) for the alternative transla-

25. Since a crowd of such examples keeps on pouring out, a mixture of ancient stories with modern ones, let us have a look now at the trainer himself, to see what sort of man will supervise the athlete, and what the extent of his knowledge will be. Let the trainer be neither garrulous nor untrained in speech, so that the effectiveness of his craft may not be reduced because of his talkativeness nor appear too unsophisticated through being performed without proper speech. Let him also take into consideration the whole art of physiognomy. I insist upon that for the following reason. A *hellanodikês* or an *amphiktyon*⁹⁵ judges a boy athlete according to the following kinds of criteria: whether he has a tribe and a home city, whether he has a father and a family, whether he is of free birth and not illegitimate, and finally whether he is young and not too old for the boys' age category.⁹⁶ But the question of whether he is self-disciplined or immoderate, whether he is a drunkard or a glutton, whether he is courageous or cowardly, even if they knew the answers, their laws do not enter into discussion about such factors at all. The trainer, by contrast, needs to know them well, being a sort of judge of the athlete's nature. Indeed he should know all the signs of character in the eyes, by which are revealed lazy people, impetuous people, and inactive⁹⁷ people and those who

tion "sluggish" or "inactive," justified by reference to passages of Photius, *Lexicon s.v. κατειρωνεσόμενοι*, and Hesychius *s.v. εἴρων*, who give that as an alternative meaning. Kitriniari's (1961) proposed alternative, *εἴροντες*, by analogy with ch. 40, seems rather forced in this passage; it is a little more plausible in ch. 38, on which see further below.

δηλοῦνται δὲ οἱ ξύντονοι εἰρωνές³² τε καὶ ἦτρον καρτερικοὶ καὶ ἀκρατεῖς· ἄλλα μὲν γὰρ μελανοφθάλμων, ἄλλα δὲ χαροπῶν τε καὶ γλαυκῶν καὶ ὑφαίμων ὀφθαλμῶν ἦθη, ἕτερα καὶ ξανθῶν καὶ ὑπεστγυμένων, προπαλῶν τε καὶ κοίλων· ἢ γὰρ φύσις ὥρας μὲν ἄστροις ἐσημήνατο, ἦθη δὲ ὀφθαλμοῖς. ἦθη δὲ αὐτῶν σώματος <μερῶν>³³ ὥσπερ ἐν ἀγαλματοποιίᾳ ὧδε ἐπισκεπτέον· σφυρὸν μὲν καρπῷ ὁμολογεῖν, κνήμη δὲ πῆχυν καὶ βραχίονα μηρῷ ἀντικρίνεσθαι καὶ ὤμφῳ γλουτόν, μετάφρενα δὲ θεωρεῖσθαι πρὸς γαστέρα³⁴ καὶ στέρνα ἐκκείσθαι παραπλησίως τοῖς ὑπὸ τὸ ἰσχίον, κεφαλὴν τε σχῆμα τοῦ παντὸς οὔσαν πρὸς ταῦτα πάντα ἔχειν ξυμμέτρως.

26. Τούτων ὧδε μοι εἰρημένων μὴ τὸ γυμνάζειν ἠγῶμεθα ἐπεσθαι τούτοις, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀποδῦσαι τὸν γυμναζόμενον καὶ ἐς δοκιμασίαν καταστήσαι τῆς φύσεως, ὅπη τε σύγκειται καὶ πρὸς ὃ· οὐ γὰρ δὴ³⁵ κυνῶν τε καὶ ἵππων τοσοῦτον εἶναι προσήκει λόγον κυνηγετικoῖς τε καὶ ἵππικoῖς, ὡς μὴ ἐς πάσαν ἰδέαν, μηδὲ ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ θηρώμενα τοῖς αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ἐς τόδε <τοῖς δὲ ἐς τόδε>³⁶ τῶν κυνῶν³⁷ χρῆσθαι, τῶν τε ἵππων τοὺς μὲν ξυνθηρατὰς ποιείσθαι, τοὺς δὲ μαχί-

³² εἰρωνές Kitrinari ³³ Suppl. Jüthner ³⁴ γαστέρα Kayser: τὰ ἕτερα P ³⁵ οὐ γὰρ δὴ Kitrinari: ποῦ γὰρ δὴ Kayser, Jüthner: ὅπου γὰρ δεῖ P. ³⁶ Suppl. Mynas ³⁷ κυνῶν Kayser: κυνηγετικῶν P

⁹⁸ A reference among others to Polyclitus and his attempt to

are less capable of endurance and lacking in self-control. Some characteristics are associated with people who have black eyes, others with those who have bright, blue or bloodshot eyes, others again with those whose eyes are yellow or flecked, prominent or sunken; for nature has signaled the seasons by the stars, and character by eyes. The characteristics of the parts of the body are also to be considered, as in the art of sculpture,⁹⁸ as follows: the ankle should agree in its measurements with the wrist, the forearm should correspond to the calf and the upper arm with the thigh, the buttock with the shoulder, and the back should be examined by comparison with the stomach, and the chest should curve outward similarly to the parts beneath the hip joint, and finally the head, which is the benchmark for the whole body, should be well proportioned in relation to all of these other parts.

26. Now that I have dealt with these matters, let us not imagine that the topic of training is coming next, but instead we will strip the person who is undergoing training and subject him to an examination of his nature, how it is constituted and for what it is suited. For it is not right that there should be so much discussion among hunters and horsemen about dogs and horses—so much so that they do not use the same dogs for every kind of hunting or against every kind of prey but instead use some for one and others for another, while some horses are made into hunters, some into horses for battle, some into race horses, some into chariot horses, and not simply that but they are

fix the ideal relations between different parts of the human body in his lost treatise the *Canon*, and exemplified in his famous athletic statue, the Doryphoros; see Gal. *De Placitis Hippocratis et Platonis* 5.3, and Plin. *HN* 34.55.

μους, τοὺς δὲ ἀμιλλητηρίους, τοὺς δὲ ἄρματηλάτας καὶ μηδὲ ἀπλῶς τούτους, ἀλλ' ὡς ἕκαστος ἐπιτήδειος πλευρᾷ τινι ἢ σειρᾷ τοῦ ἄρματος, ἀνθρώπων δὲ ἀκρίτους εἶναι, οὓς δεῖ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ ἢ Πυθοῖ ἄγειν ὑπὲρ κηρυγμάτων, ὧν καὶ Ἡρακλῆς ἦρα. κελεύω δὴ καὶ ἀναλογίαν μὲν ἐπισκέφθαι τὸν γυμναστήν,³⁸ ἣν εἶπον, πρὸ δὲ τῆς ἀναλογίας καὶ τὰ τῶν χυμῶν ἦθη.

27. Καίτοι καὶ πρεσβύτερον τούτου, ὃ καὶ Λυκούργῳ ἐδόκει τῷ Σπαρτιάτῃ παριστάμενος γὰρ τῇ Δακεδαίμονι πολεμικοὺς ἀθλητὰς, "γυμναζέσθων," φησὶν, "αἱ κόραι καὶ ἀνείσθων δημοσίᾳ τρέχειν." ὑπὲρ εὐπαιδίας δῆπου καὶ τοῦ τὰ ἔκγονα βελτίω τίπτειν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐρρῶσθαι τὸ σῶμα: ἀφικομένη γὰρ ἐς ἀνδρὸς ὑδροφορεῖν οὐκ ὀκνήσει οὐδὲ ἀλείν δια τὸ ἡσκήσθαι ἐκ νέας· εἰ δὲ καὶ νέψ καὶ συγγυμναζομένη συζυγείῃ, βελτίω τὰ ἔκγονα ἀποδώσει, καὶ γὰρ εὐμήκη καὶ ἰσχυρὰ καὶ ἄνοσα, καὶ ἐγένετο ἡ Δακεδαίμων τοσαύτη κατὰ πόλεμον, ἐπειδὴ τὰ γαμικὰ αὐτοῖς ὦδε ἐπράττετο.

28. Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐκ γονῆς ἀνθρώπου προσήκει ἀρχεσθαι, ἴτω ὁ γυμναστής ἐπὶ τὸν παῖδα ἀθλητῆν

³⁸ γυμναστήν Mynas: ποιητῆν P

⁹⁹ Ancient racing chariots were usually drawn by four horses, two central ones attached to a yoke and two outer horses attached by ropes. ¹⁰⁰ Cf. n. 8, above.

¹⁰¹ Cf. Xen. *Lac.* 1.4; Plut. *Lyc.* 14.

assigned to one of the shafts of the chariot or to one of the ropes according to what each is best suited for⁹⁹—but that humans who have to be introduced at Olympia or Pythia in search of victory proclamations to which even Heracles himself aspired,¹⁰⁰ should remain unjudged. My advice to the trainer is to pay attention to the questions of proportion I mentioned before, but before looking at proportion to pay attention also to the quality of the athlete's humors.

27. That said, there is also an even more ancient consideration than this one, a consideration that seemed important also to the Spartan Lycurgus. For wishing to provide Sparta with warlike athletes, he said, "Let the girls exercise, and let them be allowed to run in public."¹⁰¹ Doubtless this was for the sake of ensuring good children and to make sure that they would have better offspring by having strong bodies. For a woman with that background, even when she comes to the house of her husband, will not hesitate to carry water and grind grain, because she has exercised from her youth. And if she is married to a young man who is a fellow enthusiast of athletic training she will produce better offspring, for they will be tall¹⁰² and strong and resistant to disease. Sparta became so great in warfare because their marriages were conducted like this.

28. Since, therefore, it is fitting to begin from a person's birth, let the trainer approach the boy athlete and examine

¹⁰² The correct translation of the word *εὐμήκης* in this work is debated. The standard translation, which I have usually followed, is "tall"; others prefer "well-proportioned"; Jüthner (1909) translates "slim." For other examples see chs. 31, 33, 35, and 38.

ἐκ γονέων αὐτὸν ὄρων πρῶτον, εἰ νέοι³⁹ ξυνηρημόσθησαν καὶ γενναῖοι καὶ ἄνοσοι νόσων, ὁπόσαι ἐς νεῦρα ἀπερείδονται καὶ ὀφθαλμῶν ἕδρας καὶ ὄτα ἐκφοιτῶσιν ἢ σπλάγχνα· ταυτὶ γὰρ τὰ νοσήματα καὶ ξυναποχωρεῖ ποτε τῇ φύσει καὶ παιδία μὲν ὄντα ἀφανῶς ὑποδέδυκε, προΐόντων δὲ ἐς ἐφήβους καὶ μεθισταμένων εἰς ἄνδρας καὶ ἀπιούσης ἀκμῆς δῆλα καὶ φανερά γίνεται μεταβολὴν σχόντος τοῦ αἵματος ἐν ταῖς τῆς ἡλικίας τροπαῖς. νεότης δὲ γονέων, ἣν ἄμφω καὶ γενναῖοι ξυνέλθωσιν, ἰσχύν τε ξυμβάλλεται καὶ ἀθλητῆ καὶ αἷμα ἀκήρατον καὶ ὀστέων κράτος καὶ χυμοὺς ἀκραιφνεῖς καὶ ἴσον μέγεθος, ἔτι δ' ἂν φαίην, ὅτι καὶ ὄραν φέρουσιν. ἀγνοεῖσθων μὴ παρόντες τῷ παιδί ἐς τὴν κρίσιν πῶς βασανιοῦμεν τὴν σποράν; ἐς εὔηθες γὰρ ἐκπεσεῖται ὁ λόγος, εἰ τὸν ἀθλητὴν ἐφεστηκότα ἤδη τῷ σταδίῳ καὶ τοῦ κοτίνου τε καὶ τῆς δάφνης ἐχόμενον ἐς τὸν πατέρα ἀναβαλλοίμεθα καὶ τὴν μητέρα τάχα που καὶ τεθνεώτας ἐπὶ νηπίῳ· δεῖ γὰρ θεωρίας, καθ' ἣν ἐς γυμνὸν τὸν ἀθλητὴν βλέψαντες οὐδὲ τὰ τῶν γονέων ἠγνοηκέναι δόξομεν, ὅπῃ αὐτῷ ἔχει. χαλεπὸν μὲν τὸ ἐνθύμημα καὶ οὐ πάνυ τι ῥάδιον, οὐ μὴν πρόσω γε τῆς τέχνης. παραδίδωμι οὖν αὐτὸ ἐς γνώσιν.

³⁹ εἰ νέοι Daremberg: εἶναι οἱ P

him first of all with reference to his parents, considering whether they were young when they were married and in excellent condition and free from illnesses of the kind which affect the nervous system or arise in the eyes or the ears or the internal organs. For these diseases sometimes disappear from view naturally and conceal themselves unobserved during childhood, but when the children advance to the age of ephebes and make the transition to being men and then go past their prime, then they become obvious and apparent, because of the changes the blood undergoes with the changes of age. The youth of the parents, if they are both in excellent condition when they come together, contributes strength also to the athlete, and pure blood, and strength in the bones and unadulterated humors and even stature, and I would even go so far as to say that it brings beauty. Assuming that the parents are not known about and are not present at the examination of the child, how shall we put the athlete's origins to the test? For the whole procedure will degenerate into absurdity if we make the athlete wait, when he is already standing ready to enter the stadium and within reach of the crown of olive or laurel,¹⁰³ while we investigate his father and mother, who may very well have died when he was young. It is necessary to have a method according to which we can look at a naked athlete and feel that we are not ignorant about the condition of his parents and about how it affects him. The reasoning is difficult and not at all straightforward, but it is not beyond the limits of the art. And so I shall reveal it in what follows.

¹⁰³ The Olympic victory crown was made of olive, the Pythian of laurel.

29. Ἡ μὲν οὖν γενναία σπορά καὶ νεάνις ὁποῖους ἀνῆσει δεδήλωκα, ἥ δὲ ἐκ τῶν προηκόντων ὧδε ἐλεγκτέα λεπτὸν μὲν τούτοις τὸ δέρμα, κυσθῶδεις δὲ αἱ κλεῖδες, ὑπανεστηκῦται δὲ αἱ φλέβες καθάπερ τοῖς πεπονηκόσι, καὶ ἰσχίον τούτοις ἀναρμον καὶ τὰ μνώδη⁴⁰ ἀσθενῆ. γυμναζομένων δὲ πλείους ἔλεγχον καὶ γὰρ νοῦθοι καὶ ὠμοὶ τὸ αἷμα ὑπὸ ψυχρότητος καὶ οἱ ἰδρώτες ἐπιπολάζοντες μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν κυρτῶν τε καὶ κοίλων ἀνίσχοντες καὶ οὐδὲ ἐπανθοῦσιν οὗτοι τοῖς πόνοις, εἰ μὴ διαπιδύομεν⁴¹ τοὺς ἰδρώτας, οὐδὲ ἐπιτήδειοι ἄραι οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ ἀνοχῶν δέονται ἀναλίσκονται δὲ καὶ πόνοις ὑπὲρ τὰ πονηθέντα. ἐγὼ δὲ τούτους πάντων μὲν ἀπαξίῳ τῶν ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ—τὸ γὰρ ἐς ἄνδρα οὐ βέβαιοι—παγκρατίου δὲ καὶ πυγμῆς μάλιστα εὐάλωτοι γὰρ πληγαῖς τε καὶ τραύμασιν οἱ μὴδὲ τὸ δέρμα ἔρρωμένοι. γυμναστέοι δ' ὅμως, μᾶλλον δὲ κολακευτέοι τῷ γυμνάζοντι, ἐπειδὴ δέονται τούτου καὶ πονοῦντες καὶ γυμναζόμενοι. εἰ δὲ κατὰ τὸν ἕτερον τῶν τοιούτων ἡ σπορά παρηβηκῦτα φαίνεται, τὰ μὲν ἐλαττώματα ἔσται ὅμοια, ἦττον δὲ ἐπίδηλα.

⁴⁰ μνώδη Kayser: χυμώδη P

⁴¹ διαπιδύομεν Zingerle: ἀπαντλοῖμεν Kayser, Jüthner: ἀμύητοι μὲν P

¹⁰⁴ Cf. ch. 48.

¹⁰⁵ Bodily warmth was thought to aid digestion, just as heat aids cooking, with which digestion was often compared; insufficient warmth in the body was therefore thought to lead to the absorption of imperfectly digested nutrients into the blood.

29. I have shown what kind of offspring will be produced by excellent and youthful parents. The offspring of parents of advanced age can be detected as follows. Their skin is delicate, their collarbones are hollowed out like cups,¹⁰⁴ their veins stick out like the veins of people who have exerted themselves, their hips are poorly structured and their muscles weak. There are further opportunities to scrutinize them in training. For they are sluggish and raw in their blood¹⁰⁵ because of the coldness of their bodies, and their sweat sits on the surface rather than arising from the curves and hollows of the body; and they do not color when they exercise, unless we are able to draw out their sweat; and they are not capable of picking anything up,¹⁰⁶ but they need periods to rest; and they are exhausted by their efforts out of proportion with their exertion. And I believe that they are not suitable for any kind of athletic contest—for they are not strong in terms of manliness—and especially not for *pankration* and boxing. For they succumb easily to blows and wounds, since even their skin is not strong. Despite that, they should be trained; in the process, however, they ought to be flattered by the trainer,¹⁰⁷ since they need this when they exert themselves and train. And if there are cases of this kind where the athlete's parentage seems to be elderly in relation to just one parent, the defects will be similar, but less obvious.

¹⁰⁶ Lifting of heavy weights is widely attested as a training exercise for ancient athletes, and is especially associated with the early athletes of the archaic period; e.g., see Ael. VH 12.22, on Milo of Croton.

¹⁰⁷ Presumably a reference to encouragement and lenient treatment; cf. Plutarch, *How to Tell a Flatterer from a Friend* 58f for a similar use of the word "flatter" in an educational context.

30. Τὰς δὲ νοσώδεις τῶν ἕξεων ἐξελέγξει τὸ αἷμα· θολερὸν γὰρ που ἀνάγκη αὐτὸ φαίνεσθαι καὶ βεβυθισμένον ὑπὸ τῆς χολῆς. τὸ δὲ τοιοῦτον αἷμα κὰν ἔμπιουν ποτὲ ὑπὸ γυμναστοῦ γένηται, μεθίσταται αὖ καὶ θολοῦται· χαλεπὰ γὰρ ξυμβαίνει τὰ μὴ εὖ φύντα. δηλοῦται τι καὶ προπαλῆς φάρυγξ καὶ ὤμων πτέρυγες καὶ αὐχὴν ἀνεστηκῶς καὶ ἄγαν ὑπολισθαίνων καθ' ὃ ξυμβάλλουσιν αἱ κλείδες, καὶ μὴν καὶ οἱ ξυγκεκλειμένοι τὰ πλευρὰ καὶ ἀναπεπταμένοι ὑπὲρ τὸ μέτριον πολλὰ τοῦ νοσώδους ἐπισημαίνουσι· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ πεπιέσθαι ἀνάγκη τὰ σπλάγχχνα καὶ μὴ εὔρουν τὸ πνεῦμα ἐκφέρειν μηδὲ εὐφορεῖν ἐν τοῖς πόνοις φθορᾷ τε σιτίων συνεχεῖ ἀλίσκεσθαι, τοῖς δὲ βαρέα τε [εἰσὶ]⁴² τὰ σπλάγχχνα καὶ ἀπηρητημένα ἔσται καὶ ἀμβλὺ τὸ ἀπ' αὐτῶν πνεῦμα καὶ ὀρμῆ ὕπτιοι καὶ τὰ σιτία ἤττον ἀναδοθήσεται⁴³ τούτοις ἐς γαστέρα χωροῦντα μᾶλλον ἢ τροφήν τοῦ σώματος. ταυτὶ μὲν περὶ σπορᾶς⁴⁴ τῶν ἀγωνιουμένων, τὸν δὲ ἐκάστῳ τῶν ἀγωνισμάτων πρόσφορον ὧδε χρῆ ἐξετάζειν.

31. Ἔστω ὁ μὲν τὰ πέντε ἀγωνιούμενος βαρὺς μᾶλλον ἢ κοῦφος, καὶ κοῦφος μᾶλλον ἢ βαρὺς, <ἔτι δ' >μῆκης,⁴⁵ εὐπαγῆς, ἀνεστηκῶς, ἀπέριττος τὰ μωῶδη, μὴ κεκολασμένος, ἐχέτω καὶ τοῖν σκελοῖν μακρῶς μᾶλλον ἢ ξυμμέτρως καὶ τῆς ὀσφύος ὑγρῶς τε

⁴² Del. Schenkl ⁴³ ἤττον ἀναδοθήσεται Daremberg;
ἤττονα δοθήσεται P

⁴⁴ σπορᾶς Jüthner: τροφῆς P
⁴⁵ Suppl. Jüthner: [... ..] μῆκης P

30. As for constitutions which are ill, they will be revealed by their blood. For it will necessarily appear muddy and overloaded with bile. This kind of blood, even if it is revived by the trainer, always changes back and becomes muddy again. For whatever is not good by nature causes difficulty. Another sign is a projecting windpipe and shoulder blades, and a neck that is long and sinks down too much at the place where the collar bones come together. Moreover, those who have flanks that are narrow or else unusually wide, these too show many of the signs of illness. For it must be the case that the first group have innards that are cramped, that they do not breathe fluently, that they do not profit from physical exertion and that they are afflicted by continual bad digestion of their food. The other group, by contrast, will have innards that are heavy and loose and their breathing will be dull and they themselves will be sluggish in their movement. And their food will be less well assimilated, contributing more to the expansion of their paunches than the nourishment of their bodies. That is all I have to say on the origins of those who intend to compete. In what follows next it is necessary to examine what qualities are suitable for each of the athletic disciplines.

31. The athlete who intends to compete in the pentathlon should be heavy rather than light, and light rather than heavy.¹⁰⁸ In addition he should be tall, compact and upright, not excessively muscled, but not underdeveloped either. His legs should be long rather than well proportioned and he should have supple and agile loins to help

¹⁰⁸ I.e., halfway between the two.

καὶ εὐκόλως διὰ τε τὰς ὑποστροφὰς τοῦ ἀκοντίου καὶ τοῦ δίσκου διὰ τε τὸ ἄλμα· ἀλυπότερον γὰρ πηδήσεται καὶ ῥήξει οὐδὲν τοῦ σώματος, ἢν ὑποκαθεῖς τὸ ἰσχίον κατερείσῃ τῇ βάσει. καὶ μακρόχειρα χρὴ εἶναι αὐτὸν καὶ εὐμήκη τοὺς δακτύλους· δισκεύσει τε γὰρ πολλῶ ἄμεινον, ἢν διὰ μέγεθος τῶν δακτύλων ἐκ κοιλοτέρας τῆς χειρὸς ἀναπέμπηται ἢ ἴσως τοῦ δίσκου, καὶ εὐκοπώτερον κινήσει τὸ ἀκόντιον, ἂν μὴ τοῦ μεταγκύλου ἄνω ψαύωσιν οἱ δάκτυλοι σμικροὶ ὄντες.

32. Ὁ δὲ ἄριστα δολιχοδρομήσων τοὺς μὲν ὤμους καὶ τὸν αὐχένα κεκρατύσθω παραπλησίως πεντάθλῳ, σκελῶν τε λεπτῶς ἐχέτω καὶ κούφως ὥσπερ οἱ τοῦ σταδίου δρομεῖς· ἐκείνοι μὲν γὰρ σκέλη χερσὶ κινῶσιν ἐς τὸν ὄξυν δρόμον οἷον πτερούμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν χειρῶν, δολιχοδρόμοι δὲ τουτὶ μὲν περὶ τέρμα πράττουσι, τὸν <δ> ἄλλον χρόνον σχεδὸν οἷον διαβαίνουσιν ἀνέχοντες ἐν προβολῇ τὰς χεῖρας, ὅθεν ἐρρωμενεστέρων τῶν ὤμων δέονται.

33. Ὀπλίτου δὲ καὶ σταδίου ἀγωνιστὴν καὶ διαύλου διακρίνει μὲν οὐδεὶς ἔτι ἐκ χρόνων οὓς Λεωνίδας ὁ Ῥόδιος ἐπ' ὀλυμπιάδας τέτταρας ἐνίκα τὴν τριττὴν

¹⁰⁹ In other words, an athlete with long fingers will be able to curve them over the edge of the discus in order to get a better grip.

¹¹⁰ An ancient javelin for use in athletic competition would have a leather strap wound around it in the middle; the javelin thrower would fix his index and middle finger into the strap to add more force and precision to his throw. See Miller (2004, 68–73)

with the rocking motion required for the javelin and the discus, and to help with the long jump; for he will jump more painlessly, and he will not break any part of his body, if he can bring his hips down gently so as to gain a solid stance. He should also have large hands and long fingers; for he will throw the discus much better, if the rim of the discus is thrown from a hand which is able to form more of a hollow because of the large size of the fingers,¹⁰⁹ and he will propel the javelin more easily if his fingers do not touch the sling just with their tips,¹¹⁰ through being small.

32. The athlete who will be best at the *dolichos* should have strong shoulders and a strong neck like the pentathlete, but he should have slender and light legs like *stadion* runners. For they move their legs in a sharp run with their arms, carried along by their arms as if by wings, whereas the *dolichos* runners do this at the end of the race, but for the rest of the race they run almost as though they are walking with their arms held up in a boxing stance, for which reason they need more powerful shoulders.

33. Nobody now draws distinctions between the competitors in the armor race and the *stadion* and the *diaulos*, not since the time when the Rhodian Leonidas won this triple at four Olympiads.¹¹¹ Nevertheless one should dis-

for detailed discussion, with reference to a wide range of images from ancient vases. Philostratus suggests that this process will be more effective if the fingers are long enough to get a good grip on the strap, just as long fingers allow a better grip on the discus.

¹¹¹ Leonidas won all three events at four Olympic festivals in a row (164, 160, 156, and 152 BC); cf. Paus. 6.13.4 for the claim that he was the most famous of ancient runners.

ταύτην, διακριτέοι δ' ὅμως οἱ τε καθ' ἐν ἀγωνιούμενοι ταῦτα καὶ οἱ ὁμοῦ πάντα. τὸν μὲν δὴ ὀπλιτεύοντα πλευρά τε εὐμήκη παραπεμπέτω ἄμος <τ'> εὐτραφῆς καὶ σιμὴ ἐπωμῖς,⁴⁶ ἐν' εὐ φοροῦτο ἡ ἀσπίς ἀνεχόντων αὐτὴν τούτων. σταδιοδρόμοι δέ, τὸ κουφότατον τῶν ἐν ἀγωνία, κράτιστοι μὲν καὶ οἱ ξύμμετροι, βελτίους δὲ τούτων οἱ μὴ ὑπερμήκεις, ἀλλὰ μικρὸν τῶν ξυμμέτρων εὐμηκέστεροι· τὸ γὰρ ὑπερβάλλον μῆκος ἀμαρτάνει τοῦ βεβαίου, καθάπερ τῶν φυτῶν τὰ ὑψοῦ ἀεστηκότα. ξυγκείσθων δὲ εὐπαγεῖς, ἀρχὴ γὰρ τοῦ εὐδραμεῖν τὸ εὐ στήναι. ἀρμονία δὲ αὐτῶν ἦδε· τὰ σκέλη ἰσόρροπα εἶναι τοῖς ὤμοις, τὸν θώρακα εἶναι μείω ξυμμέτρον καὶ εὐσπλαγχνον, ἐλαφρὰν ἐπιγουνίδα, κνήμην ὀρθήν, χεῖρας ὑπὲρ τὸν λόγον· ἔστω δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ μυῶδες ξύμμετρον, οἱ γὰρ περιττοὶ μύες δεσμοὶ τοῦ τάχους. διαύλου δὲ ἀγωνισταὶ κατεσκευάσθων ἐρρωμενέστεροι μὲν <ἢ>⁴⁷ οἱ τὸ στάδιον, κουφότεροι δὲ τῶν ὀπλιτεόντων. οἱ δὲ τῶν τριῶν ἀγωνισταὶ δρόμων ἀριστίνδην συντετάχθων, συγκεείμενοι ἐκ πλεονεκτημάτων, ὧν οὗτοι κατὰ ἓνα. τοῦτ' δὲ μὴ τῶν ἀπόρων ἠγείσθω τις, δρομεῖς γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν τοιοῦτοι ἐγένοντο.

34. Ὁ δὲ πυκτεύων μακρόχειρ ἔστω καὶ εὐπηχυς καὶ τὸν βραχίονα μὴ ὑποσφριγῶν⁴⁸ καὶ τοὺς ὤμους

⁴⁶ ἐπωμῖς Zingerle: ἐπιγουνίς P, Jüthner

⁴⁷ Suppl. Daremberg

⁴⁸ ὑποσφριγῶν Zingerle: *...ριγγῆς Jüthner: [...]φριγγῆς P

tinguish between those who compete in just one of those contests and those who compete in all three. The athlete who intends to compete in the armor race should be distinguished by good-sized flanks, a well developed shoulder and a rounded upper shoulder, so that the shield can be carried easily, supported by these parts of the body. Among runners in the *stadion*—which is the lightest of all the events—well proportioned athletes are very strong, but even better than these are athletes who are not oversized but who are nevertheless a little taller than the well proportioned. For excessive height leads to a lack of stability, as in the case of plants which have grown tall. Their build should be solid, for the key to good running is good standing. Their body shape should be as follows: the legs should correspond to the shoulders; the trunk should be less than regular size, and with good internal organs; the knees should be nimble, the shins straight, the hands larger than usual. Their muscles should be moderate in bulk, for excessive muscles are a hindrance to speed. As for the competitors in the *diaulos*, let them be more powerful than the *stadion* runners, but lighter than those who compete in the race in armor. Those who compete in all three races should be assembled by merit, made up of all the good qualities which these single-race competitors hold individually. Let no one think that this is something impossible, for there have been runners of that kind even in our own time.

34. The boxer should have large hands and well-built forearms, and upper arms which are not lacking in vigor

εὐλοφος καὶ ὑψαύχην. καρποὶ δὲ πῆχων οἱ μὲν πα-
 χεῖς βαρύτεροι ἐς τὸ πλήττειν, οἱ δ' ἦττον παχεῖς⁴⁹
 ὑγροὶ τέ εἰσι καὶ σὺν ῥαστώνῃ παίοντες. ἐρειδέτω δὲ
 αὐτὸν καὶ ἰσχίον εὐπαγές· ἡ γὰρ προβολὴ τῶν χει-
 ρῶν ἀποκρεμάννυσσι τὸ σῶμα εἰς⁵⁰ μὴ ἐπὶ βεβαίον
 ὀχοῖτο τοῦ ἰσχύου. παχικνήμους δὲ οὐδ' ἄλλου
 κμὲν⁵¹ οὐδενὸς τῶν ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ ἀξιῶ, πυγμαῖς δὲ ἤκι-
 στα· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ προσβῆναι ταῖς τῶν ἀντιπάλων
 κνήμαις ἀργοὶ καὶ εὐάλωτοι τῷ προσβάντι. ἐχέτω δὴ
 κνήμην μὲν ὀρθὴν καὶ ξύμμετρον⁵² μηρῶν ἀππλλαγ-
 μένων τε καὶ διεσθηκώτων· ὀρμητικώτερον γὰρ τὸ
 σχῆμα τοῦ πυκτεύοντος, ἦν μὴ ξυμβαίνωσιν οἱ μη-
 ροί. γαστήρ δὲ ἀρίστη μὲν ὑπεσταλμένη· κοῦφοί γὰρ
 δὴ οἱ τοιοῖδε⁵³ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἀγαθοί. ἔστι δ' ὅμως τι
 καὶ παρὰ τῆς γαστρὸς ὄφελος τῷ πυκτεύοντι, τὰς
 γὰρ τοῦ προσώπου πληγὰς ἢ τοιαύδε γαστήρ ἐρύκει
 προεμβάλλουσα τῇ φορᾷ τοῦ πλήττοντος.

35. Ἴωμεν ἐπὶ τοὺς παλαισοντας. ὁ παλαιστής ὁ
 κατὰ λόγον εὐμήκης μὲν ἔστω μᾶλλον ἢ ξύμμετρος,
 ἡρμόσθω δὲ ὡσπερ οἱ ξύμμετροι, μήθ' ὑψαύχην μήτε
 ὀμοῖς τὸν αὐχένα ἐπεξευγμένος· τουτὶ γὰρ δὴ προσ-

⁴⁹ παχεῖς Volckmar: βαρεῖς P

⁵⁰ τὸ σῶμα, εἰ Kayser: τ[...]ῶ[.....] P

⁵¹ Suppl. Kayser

⁵² ξύμμετρον Jüthner: ξυμέτρως P

⁵³ οἱ τοιοῖδε Cobet: οὕτω οἶδε P

and strong shoulders and a high neck. Thick wrists give a heavier punch; those that are less thick are flexible and punch with ease. Let him also be supported by well-built hips, for the forward projection of the hands drags the body downward, unless it is supported on firm hips. I think that those who have bulky calves are not well suited to any of the disciplines, but least of all to boxing. For these athletes will be slow to kick against the shins of their adversaries, and easily kicked in turn. The boxer should have calves that are straight and well proportioned, while the thighs should be well distanced and separate from each other. For the shape of the boxer is more suited to attack if his thighs do not come together. The best kind of stomach for a boxer is slim; for these athletes are light and have good breathing. Nevertheless there is some advantage in the stomach for a boxer, for a stomach of this kind can ward off blows against the face by sticking out in a way that impedes the forward motion of the punching opponent.¹¹²

35. Let us move on to those athletes who intend to compete in the wrestling. The ideal wrestler should be tall rather than well-proportioned in size, but his body shape should be the same as that of the well-proportioned athlete, having neither a high neck nor a neck which is sunk into the shoulders.¹¹³ That latter body shape is suitable, to be sure, but it looks more like someone who is de-

¹¹² Philostratus presumably thinks that a large stomach can prevent one's opponent getting close enough to land a good blow, not that the stomach itself can get in the way of the punch.

¹¹³ Cf. Philostr. *Her.* 49.3 for a free-standing neck as a sign of athletic training; *Imag.* 2.21.4 for a sunken neck linked with brute strength.

φνῆς μὲν, παραπλήσιον δὲ κεκολασμένῳ μᾶλλον ἢ γεγυμνασμένῳ τῷ γε ξυνιέντι καὶ τῶν Ἡρακλείων ἀγαλμάτων, ὅσῳ ἡδίων καὶ θεοειδέστερα τὰ ἐλευθερία τε καὶ μὴ ξυντράχηλα. ἀλλ' ἔστω αὐχὴν μὲν ἀνεστηκὼς ὡσπερ ἐν ἵππῳ καλῶ καὶ ἑαυτοῦ ξυνιέντι, καθήκουσα δὲ ἐς κλεῖν ἑκατέραν ἢ βᾶσις τῆς δέρης. συναγωγοὶ δὲ ἐπωμίδες <καὶ>⁵⁴ κεφαλαὶ ὤμων ἀνεστηκῦται μέγεθός τε ξυμβάλλονται τῷ παλαίσονται καὶ γενναύτητα εἶδους καὶ ἰσχὺν καὶ παλαίειν ἄμεινον· οἱ γὰρ τοιοῦδε ὄμοι καὶ καμπτομένου τοῦ αὐχένος καὶ στρεβλουμένου ὑπὸ τῆς πάλης ἀγαθοὶ φύλακες προσερείδοντες τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐκ τῶν βραχιόνων. βραχίονα εὖσημος ἀγαθὸν πάλης· βραχίονα δὲ καλῶ εὖσημον τὸν τοιοῦδε· εὐρέϊαι φλέβες ἀρχονται μὲν ἐξ αὐχένος καὶ δέρης μία ἑκατέρωθεν, ἐπιβάσαι δὲ τοῦ ὤμου κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ χεῖρι βραχίονα τε καὶ ὠλέναις ἐμπρέπουσαι. οἷς μὲν δὴ ἐπιπόλαιοί τε εἰσι καὶ τοῦ μετρίου ἐπιφανέστεραι, οὔτε ἰσχὺν παρ' αὐτῶν ἄρρυνται καὶ ἀηδεῖς ἰδεῖν αἶδε φλέβες ὡσπερ οἱ κίρσοι· οἷς δ' ἂν βαθεῖαι τύχωσι καὶ ὑποκυμαίνουσαι,⁵⁵ λεπτόν τε ἐκπροφαίνουσι τούτοις καὶ ἴδιον τῶν χειρῶν πνεῦμα, καὶ τὸν βραχίονα προηκόντων μὲν ὑποεάζουσι, νεα-

⁵⁴ Suppl. Jüthner

⁵⁵ ὑποκυμαίνουσαι Cobet: ἐπικυμαίνουσαι P

¹¹⁴ Presumably Philostratus has in mind here a contrast between the ideal athletic statue type of the classical period and the more "realistic," bulky athletic statues that became common from

formed than someone who has been trained, at any rate for those who perceive, also in the case of statues of Heracles, how much more pleasant and godlike are noble bodies which do not have their heads sunk into their shoulders.¹¹⁴ Rather, the neck should be erect like the neck of a beautiful and proud horse and the base of the throat should stretch down to both collar bones. Well-connected upper shoulders and elevated shoulder tips contribute bulk to the future wrestler and nobleness of appearance and strength and help him to wrestle better; for shoulders of this kind, even when the neck is being bent and twisted in the wrestling, are good defenses, by conveying support from the arms to the head. An arm which is well marked is an advantage for wrestling. And this is the kind of arm I refer to as well marked. In the human body wide veins run from the neck and the throat, one on each side, proceed to the shoulders and from there go down conspicuously to the hands along the arms and the elbows. Those who have veins that are on the surface and more conspicuous than normal do not take strength from them; not only that but these veins are unpleasant to look at, like varicose veins. But those who happen to have deep veins that swell only a little show signs, by these veins, of a delicate and distinctive *pneuma*¹¹⁵ in their hands; and veins of this type bring new life to the arms of those who

the Hellenistic period onward, most famously the "Farnese Hercules."

¹¹⁵ *Pneuma* (literally translated, "breath") is in much ancient medical thought the substance that sustains life in all animal bodies; it was thought to be distributed particularly through the arteries to all parts of the body.

ζόντων δὲ λέγουσιν ὀρμητὴν τε φαίνεσθαι καὶ ἐν ἐπαγγελίᾳ πάλης. στέρνα μὲν ἀμείνω τὰ προέχοντά⁵⁶ τε καὶ ἐκκείμενα· τὰ γὰρ σπλάγγχνα αὐτοῖς ὥσπερ ἐν οἰκίσκῳ <ἀδρ>ῶ⁵⁷ τε καὶ εὐσχήμονι ἴδρνται γενναῖα ἰσχυρὰ ἄνοσα θυμοειδῆ ξὺν καιρῶ. χαρίεντα δὲ τῶν στέρνων καὶ τὰ μετρίως μὲν ἐκκείμενα, περιεσκληκότεα δὲ σὺν γραμμαῖς· ἰσχυρὰ τε γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ εὐφορα καὶ παλαῖσαι μὲν ἤττονα, παλαιστικώτερα δὲ τῶν ἄλλων. κοῖλα δὲ στέρνα καὶ εἰσέχοντα οὔτε ἀποδύνειν ἀξιώ οὔτε γυμνάξειν· καὶ γὰρ στομάχοις ἀλίσκονται καὶ οὐκ εὐσπλαγχνοὶ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα στενοί. γαστήρ δὲ ὑπεστάλθω μὲν παρὰ τὸ ἤτρον—οὐ γὰρ χρηστὸν ἄχθος ἢ γαστήρ τῷ παλαίοντι—ἐποχείσθω δὲ μὴ κενοῖς τοῖς βουβῶσιν, ἀλλ' ἔστω τι κακείνων εὐτραφές· οἱ γὰρ τοιοῦδε βουβῶνες συνδῆσαί τε ἱκανοὶ πάν, ὅπερ ἢ πάλη παραδιδῶ καὶ ξυνδεθέντες ἀνιάσουσι μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνιάσονται. νῶτα δὲ χαρίεντα μὲν ὀρθά, γυμναστικώτερα δὲ τὰ ὑπόγυρα, ἐπειδὴ καὶ προσφυέστερα τῷ τῆς πάλης σχήματι⁵⁸ γυρῶ τε ὄντι καὶ προνεύοντι. κρινέτω δ' αὐτὰ μὴ κοίλη ράχις· ἐπι-

⁵⁶ προέχοντά Mynas: προσέχοντά P

⁵⁷ Suppl. Jüthner: [...]ῶ P

⁵⁸ σχήματι Jüthner: ὀχήματι P

¹¹⁶ Presumably especially the lungs in this case.

¹¹⁷ Literally, "with lines," and presumably meaning "well-defined"; cf. ch. 38 for a similar use of the word εὐγραμμαῖοι.

are advanced in age, while in the case of young athletes they announce that the arm seems ready for action and promises much for wrestling. The better kinds of chest are those which project forward and stick out; for the inwards¹¹⁶ are contained in them as if in a solid and shapely chamber and are kept in excellent condition and strong and free from disease and spirited, with a good sense of timing. Also graceful is the type of chest that sticks out to a moderate degree and is lean and lined,¹¹⁷ for chests of this type are strong and agile and less good for wrestling than the type just mentioned, but nevertheless more suitable for wrestling than all the others. Those who have chests that are hollow and concave should not strip or train, in my opinion; for they can suffer from ill health in their stomachs, and they do not have sound internal organs, and they are constricted in their breathing. And let the stomach be restricted in its lower parts—for the stomach is not a useful weight for a wrestler—and let it be supported by a groin which is not lacking in substance but which should rather be quite well developed. For a groin of that kind is able to crush whatever it encounters in a wrestling bout, and having been squeezed together will cause trouble for the opponent rather than undergoing injury itself.¹¹⁸ Straight backs are graceful, but the type that are slightly curved are more athletic, since they are better adapted for the shape of wrestling, which is curved and forward leaning. They should be divided in two by a spine that is not hollow, for that will mean it is lacking in

¹¹⁸ For a good example, see Philostr. *Imag.* 2.6.4, where the pankratiast Arrichion traps his opponent by squeezing him in his groin.

λείπει γὰρ μυελοῦ τοῦτο, καὶ οἱ σπόνδυλοι ἐκεῖ κάμπτοιτο καὶ προσαναγκάζονται ὑπὸ τῶν παλαισμάτων καὶ ὀλισθησαί τίποτε εἰς τὸ ἔσω· ἀλλ' ὑπονοεῖσθω καὶ δὴ μᾶλλον ἢ ἔστω. τὸ δὲ ἰσχίον οἶον ἄξονα ἐμβεβλημένον τοῖς ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω μέλεσιν ὑγρόν τε εἶναι χρὴ καὶ εὐστροφον καὶ ἐπιστρεφές· τουτὶ δ' ἐργάζεται μῆκός τε αὐτοῦ καὶ νῆ Δί' εὐσαρκία περιττώτερα τοῦ λόγου. τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τῷ ἰσχύϊ μήτε ὑπόλισφα ἔστω μήτ' αὐτὸ περιττά—τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀσθενές, τὸ δ' ἀγύμναστον—ἀλλ' ἐκκείσθω σφοδρῶς τε καὶ προσφυῶς τῷ παλαίσει. πλευρὰ δὲ εὐκαμπῆς καὶ προσγυροῦσα⁵⁹ τὸ στέρνον ἱκανοὺς ποιεῖ παλαίειν τε καὶ παλαίεσθαι καὶ γὰρ ὑποκείμενοι τοῖς ἀντιπάλοις δυσάλωτοι οἱ τοιοῦδε καὶ οὐκ εὐφοροὶ ὑποκειμένοι. γλουτοὶ δὲ οἱ μὲν στενοὶ ἀσθενεῖς, οἱ δὲ εὐρύτεροι ἀργοί, οἱ δ' εὐάγωγοι ἱκανοὶ ἐς πάντα. μηρὸς δὲ εὐπαγῆς καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔξω ἐπεστραμμένος ξὺν ὄρα ἔρρωται καὶ ἀνέχει εὖ πάντα, καὶ μᾶλλον εἰ μηδαμοῦ ἐκκλίνοῦσα κνήμη φέροιο, ἀλλ' ὀρθῆς ὁ μηρὸς ἐποχοῖτο⁶⁰ τῆς ἐπιγυωνακτιδῶς. τὰ δὲ μὲν ὀρθὰ⁶¹ τῶν σφυρῶν, ἀλλὰ λοξὰ τε καὶ εἰς τὸ εἶσω διωλισθηκότα σφάλλει τὸ σῶμα καθάπερ τοὺς ἐδραίους τῶν κίωνων μὴ ὀρθαὶ βάσεις. τοιοῦδε μὲν ὁ παλαιστής καὶ παγκρατιάσει γε ὁ τοιοῦδε τὸ κάτω παγκράτιον, ἀκροχειριεῖται δὲ

⁵⁹ προσγυροῦσα Zingerle: προσεγείρουσα P, Jüthner

⁶⁰ ἐποχοῖτο Mynas: ἐνοχοῖτο P ⁶¹ ἐπιγυωνακτιδῶς. τὰ δὲ μὲν ὀρθὰ Jüthner: ἐπιγυωνα[.ιδ[...]]δε μ[....]α P

marrow, and the vertebrae in it are likely to be twisted and wrenched by the wrestling holds and some part might even occasionally slip inward; but that last point is more a matter of conjecture than fact. The hip should be fluid and flexible and supple, like an axle positioned between the limbs above and below; this is achieved by large size and, by Zeus, exceptional fleshiness in the hip. However, the part below the hip should not be flat nor should it be excessively bulky—for the one is weak, while the other is unsuitable for training—but it should project powerfully and in a way that is suitable for the future wrestler. A flank that is curved and makes the chest rounded¹¹⁹ helps wrestlers to be good both in attack and defense; for when they are underneath their opponents, athletes of this kind are hard to defeat, and they are not an easy load to bear for those who are underneath them. Narrow buttocks are weak, buttocks that are too wide are sluggish, well-formed buttocks are suitable for everything. A thigh that is compact and turned outward is both strong and beautiful and supports the rest of the body well, and all the more so if the shin which props it up is not bent outward but instead the thigh is held up by a knee that is straight. Ankles that are not straight but instead slanting and turned inward make the body fall, just as uneven bases do even in the case of steady columns. That is what the wrestler is like. This kind of athlete will also compete in the parts of the *pankration* that take place on the ground but he will have

¹¹⁹ Cf. Philostratus Minor, *Imag.* 14.4 for a good parallel, where a rounded chest is associated with good breathing.

ἦττον. τελεώτεροι τῶν παγκρατιαστῶν οἱ ξυγκείμενοι παλαιστικώτερον μὲν ἢ οἱ πύκται, πυκτικώτερον δὲ ἢ οἱ παλαίσοντες.

36. Γενναῖοι τῶν ἀθλητῶν καὶ οἱ ἐν μικρῷ μεγάλοι. τούτους δὲ ἠγώμεθα τοὺς ὑποδεεστέρους μὲν τὸ μέγεθος ἢ τετράγωνοί τε καὶ σύμμετροι, τὸ δὲ σῶμα διηρθρωμένους μεγαλοειδῶς τε καὶ ὑπερφνεστέρως τοῦ μήκους καὶ μάλλον, ἦν μὴ κατεσκληκέναι δοκῶσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ εὐσάρκον τι ὑποφαίνωσι. κηρύττει δὲ αὐτοὺς πάλῃ μάλλον· εἷστροφοί τε γὰρ καὶ πολύτροποι καὶ σφοδροὶ καὶ κοῦφοι καὶ ταχεῖς καὶ ὁμότονοι, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἀπόρων τε καὶ δυσπαλαίστων διαφεύγουσιν ἐπιστηριζόμενοι τῇ κεφαλῇ, καθάπερ βάσει παγκρατίου δὲ καὶ πνυγμῆς οὐκ ἀγαθοὶ προστάται τῷ τε πλήττοντι ὑποκείμενοι καὶ γελοῖως ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἑαυτοὺς προσαίροντες, ὅποτε αὐτοὶ πλήττειν. παράδειγμα δὲ ποιῶμεθα τῶν ἐν μικρῷ μεγάλων τὰς εἰκόνας τοῦ παλαιστοῦ Μάρωνος, ὃν Κιλικία ποτὲ ἤνευκε. παραιτητέον δὲ τούτων καὶ τοὺς μακροθώρακας· διαφυγεῖν μὲν γὰρ <τὰ τῆς>⁶² πάλῃς ἱκανοὶ καὶ οἶδε, καταπαλαίσαι δὲ ἀχρεῖοι διὰ τὸ ἐπικαθῆσθαι τοῖς σκέλεσι.

⁶² Suppl. Jüthner

¹²⁰ Cf. n. 61, above, on the standard distinction between the two phases of wrestling ("upright" and "rolling"). This passage implies a similar distinction for the *pankration*, and cf. ch. 57.

less success in the hand-to-hand fighting.¹²⁰ The more perfect pankratiasts are those who have a more wrestler-like body type than the boxers, and a more boxer-like body type than those who wish to be wrestlers.

36. Another excellent type of athlete is those who are known as "big in small."¹²¹ We should view these as athletes who are smaller in size than those who are squarely built or well proportioned, but who nevertheless have well structured bodies that are large in appearance and more bulky than is normal for people of their size, and all the more so if they do not give an impression of being emaciated but actually reveal a certain amount of fleshiness. Wrestling shows off their skills best; for they are flexible and versatile and vigorous and light and quick and uniform, and they are able to escape from many situations that are impossible and hard to fight out of by supporting themselves on their heads as if on their feet. In *pankration* and boxing, however, they are not good fighters, since they are hit from above by their opponents and have to raise themselves up in the air in a comical fashion whenever they themselves throw punches. We can take as an example of the "big in small" athletes the images of the wrestler Maron,¹²² who once lived in Cilicia. Within that category, those with large chests should also be rejected; for these athletes too are able to escape from their opponents' wrestling holds, but they are useless at throwing their opponents because of the weight which presses on their legs.

¹²¹ In other words, as the rest of the paragraph makes clear, stocky athletes, of relatively small stature but strong and heavily built.

¹²² See Crossardt (2002) and *Her.* 14.4n54, above.

37. Λεοντώδεις δὲ καὶ ἀετώδεις καὶ σχιζίαι καὶ οὓς ἐπονομάζουσιν ἄρκτους,⁶³ τοιαύτε ἀθλητῶν εἶδη. οἱ λεοντώδεις εὔστερνοι μὲν καὶ εὐχειρες, ὑποδεέστεροι δὲ κατόπι, <οἱ δ' ἀετώδεις>⁶⁴ τὸ μὲν σχῆμα τούτοις <ὅμοιοι>,⁶⁵ διάκειναι δὲ τοὺς βουβῶνας ὡς περ τῶν ἀετῶν οἱ ὀρθοῦμενοι. ἄμφω δὲ οἶδε τολμητὰς τε ἀποφαινοῦσι καὶ σφοδροὺς καὶ ἀθρόους, ἀθνημοτέρους γὰρ μὴ τὰς διαμαρτίας· καὶ οὐ χρῆ θαναμάζειν ἐνθυμουμένου τὰ λεόντων τε καὶ ἀετῶν ἤθη.

38. Σχιζίαι τε <καὶ>⁶⁶ ἱμαντώδεις εὐμήκεις μὲν ἄμφω καὶ μακροὶ τὰ σκέλη καὶ ὑπέρχειρες, διετηνόχασι δὲ ἀλλήλων μικρά τε καὶ μείζονα· οἱ μὲν γὰρ στρυφνοὶ τε καταφαίνονται καὶ εὐγραμμοὶ καὶ πολυσχιδεῖς, ὅθεν οἶμαι καὶ ἡ ἐπωνυμία αὐτοῖς ἦκει, οἱ δὲ μανοὶ τέ εἰσι καὶ ἀνειμένοι μᾶλλον, καὶ ὑγροὶ τὸ σῶμα, ὁμοιούμενοι δι' αὐτὰ <ταῦτά>⁶⁷ τοῖς μάσθλησιν. εἰσὶ δ' αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἱταμώτεροι τὰς συμπλοκάς, οἱ δὲ ἱμαντώδεις συνεκτικώτεροί τε καὶ εἴκρων>ες.⁶⁸

⁶³ ἄρκτους Kayser: ἀκουσον P

⁶⁴ Suppl. Jüthner

⁶⁵ Suppl. Jüthner

⁶⁶ Suppl. Mynas

⁶⁷ Suppl. Jüthner: ὑγρ[.....] ταῦτά P

⁶⁸ εἴκρων>ες Mynas: εἴρωντες Daremberg, Kitrinari: εἴ[...]

es P

37. "Leonine" and "eagle-like" and "splinter-like" and those known as "bears," these are all types of athlete. Leonine athletes have well built chests and arms, but are lacking in the hind part of the body, while eagle-like athletes are similar to these in their appearance, but are thin in their groin region, like eagles when they stand up straight. Both of these categories display athletes who are daring and forceful and impetuous, but apt to lose heart when things go badly; and one should not be surprised at that, when one thinks about the nature of lions and eagles.¹²³

38. The athletes who are "splinter-like" and "strap-like" are both tall, with long legs and larger than average arms, but they differ from each other in both small and larger details. For the former look rigid, well defined and with the different parts of the body well distinguished from each other—hence, I think, the name—whereas the latter are looser and more relaxed, and flexible in their bodies, and are compared because of that to leather straps. The former are more daring in hand-to-hand wrestling, whereas the latter, the strap-like, are harder to disentangle and inclined to inactivity in their wrestling holds.¹²⁴

¹²³ Cf. Introduction on comparison between humans and animals as a common feature of ancient physiognomical reasoning.

¹²⁴ Cf. ch. 25 for Jüthner's (1909) translation of εἴρωνες as "sluggish" or "inactive" (contrasted in this case with the word ἱταμώτεροι, i.e., more daring) rather than as the more conventional "dissembling." In this case the alternative reading εἴρωντες, proposed by Daremberg (1858) and Kitrinari (1961) by analogy with ch. 40, and meaning in this context "good at intertwining," also seems plausible, although Jüthner points out that it is too long for the gap in the manuscript.

39. <Καρ>τ<ε>ρικῶν τε ἀθλητῶν εἶδη <σκληρο>λί, μυώδεις, κοῖλοι τ<ο> ἰσχίον, ἀνεσκιρτηκότες τὴν ὄψιν.⁶⁹ <ἐνιαχ>οῦ μὲν εἰκόασι καὶ ἀσνάλ<ω>κτοι,⁷⁰ ἀσφαλέστεροι δ' αὐτῶν οἱ φλεγματώδεις· οἱ γὰρ ἐπίχολοι σφῶν οἴοι [καὶ]⁷¹ διὰ τὸ ἔτοιμον τῆς φύσεως καὶ μανικῶς παραλλάξαι.

40. Οἱ δὲ ταῖς ἄρκτοις ὁμοιούμενοι στρογγύλοι τέ εἰσι καὶ ὑγροὶ καὶ εὔσαρκοι καὶ ἤττον διηρθρωμένοι καὶ περιεχέει μάλλον ἢ ὀρθοί, δυσπάλαιστοί τε καὶ διολισθαίνοντες, καρτερῶς <δ'>⁷² εἴροντες. καὶ σφαραγεί⁷³ δὲ τούτοις τὸ πνεῦμα καθάπερ ταῖς ἄρκτοις ἐν τοῖς δρόμοις.

41. Οἱ δὲ ἰσόχειρες, οὓς περιδεξίους ὀνομάζουσι, σπάνιον εὔρημα φύσεως ὄντες τὴν τε ἰσχὺν ἄρρηκτοί εἰσι⁷⁴ καὶ δυσφύλακτοι καὶ ἀκμήτες· τουτὶ γὰρ αὐτοῖς δίδωσι τὸ ἰσοδέξιον αὐτὸ τοῦ⁷⁵ σώματος πλέον ἰσχύου τῶν ἀρτίων. τουτὶ δὲ ὀπόθεν, λέγω· Μῦς ὁ Αἰγύπτιος, ἐγὼ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἤκουον, ἀνθρώπιον μὲν ἦν οὐ μέγα, ἐπάλαμει δὲ πρόσω τέχνης. τουτῷ νοσήσαντι ἐπέδωκε τὰ ἀριστερά· τοῦ δὲ ἀθλεῖν ἀπεγνωκότη ὄναρ ἐγένετο θαρρεῖν τὴν νόσον, ἰσχύσειν γὰρ πλέον τοῖς

⁶⁹ Suppl. Jüthner: [...][τ].ρικῶν τε ἀθλητῶν εἶδη [...].λί, μυώδεις, κοῖλοι τ[.....]ρεσκιρτηκότες τὴν ὄψιν P

⁷⁰ Suppl. Zingerle: [...][οῦ] μὲν εἰκόασι καὶ ἀ[.....]ωτ[...]. P, Jüthner ⁷¹ Del. Kayser ⁷² Suppl. Daremberg

⁷³ σφαραγεί Volckmar: σπαράζει P

⁷⁴ ἄρρηκτοί εἰσι Mynas: ἄρρητοί[...].σι P

⁷⁵ αὐτὸ τοῦ Jüthner: αὐτοῦ P

39. The types of athlete who endure well are those who are hard, muscular, with lean hips and animated faces; sometimes they even seem undefeatable. The more dependable of these much-enduring athletes are those who are phlegmatic; for choleric athletes in this category can even fall into madness because of the active quality of their natures.

40. Those who are similar to bears are rounded and supple and fleshy and less well structured and stooping rather than upright, and they are hard to wrestle against and good at slipping away and strong in the intertwinning that wrestling requires. And their breath splutters like bears when they are running.

41. Those athletes who are ambidextrous and are known as having "two right hands" are a rarity in nature; they have an unbreakable strength and they are hard to defend against and untiring. And it is their bodily ambidextrousness which in itself gives them these qualities, being more powerful than normal types of bodily condition. Where that information comes from, I shall explain. The Egyptian, Mys,¹²⁵ so I have heard from some older informants, was a little chap of no great size, but he wrestled beyond the normal limits of the art. At one point after he had been ill his left side grew bigger; he had decided to give up competing when a dream appeared to him telling him to have no fear of the illness, for he would be stronger in the damaged parts of his body than in those

¹²⁵ Not attested elsewhere, and to be distinguished from the boxer Mys from Tarentum, Olympic victor in 336 BC.

πεπηρωμένους ἢ τοῖς ἀκεραίοις τε καὶ ἀτρώτοις. καὶ ἀληθῆς ἢ ὄψις· τὰ γὰρ δυσφύλακτα τῶν παλαισμάτων τοῖς βεβλαμμένοις τῶν μερῶν διαπλέκων χαλεπὸς ἦν τοῖς ἀντιπάλοις καὶ ἄνητο τῆς νόσου τῷ τοῖς διεφθορόσιν ἐρρῶσθαι. τοῦτο θαυμάσιον μὲν, εἰρήσθω δὲ μὴ ὡς γιγνόμενον ἀλλ' ὡς γενόμενον καὶ θεοῦ δοκέτω μᾶλλον ἐνδεικνυμένου τι ἀνθρώποις μέγα.

42. Περὶ μὲν δὴ σώματος ἀναλογίας, καὶ εἴτε ὁ τοιοῦδε βελτίων εἴτε ὁ τοιοῦδε, εἰσὶ που καὶ λεπταὶ⁷⁶ ἀντιλογίαι⁷⁷ παρὰ τοῖς μὴ ξὺν λόγῳ διεσκεμμένοις ταῦτα, περὶ δὲ κράσεων, ὅποσαι εἰσὶν, οὔτε ἀντίρηται πω οὔτε ἀντιλεχθεῖν ἂν τὸ μὴ οὐκ ἀρίστην κράσεων τὴν θερμὴν τε καὶ ὑγρὰν εἶναι· ξύγκειται γὰρ ὥσπερ τὰ πολυτελῆ τῶν ἀγαλμάτων ἀκηράτου τε καὶ καθαρὰς ὕλης. ἐλεύθεροι μὲν πηλοῦ τε καὶ ἰλύος καὶ χυμῶν περιπτῶν, οἷς τὸ τοῦ φλέγματος καὶ τὸ τῆς χολῆς σπανίζει⁷⁸ νᾶμα, εὐκάματοι δὲ ἅ χρῆ μοχθεῖν, καὶ εὖσιτοι καὶ νοσοῦντες μὲν ὀλιγάκις, ταχὺ δ' ἐκ τῶν νόσων ἀναφέροντες, εὐαγωγοὶ τε καὶ εὐήμιοι γυμνάσαι ποικίλως δι' εὐμοίριαν κράσεως. οἱ δ' ἐπίχολοι τῶν ἀθλητῶν θερμοὶ μὲν, ξηροὶ δὲ τὴν κρᾶσιν καὶ ἄκαρποι τοῖς γυμνάζουσι καθάπερ τοῖς σπείρουσιν αἱ θερμαὶ ψάμμοι. ἐρρωνται δ' ὅμως τῷ τῆς γνώμης ἐτοίμῳ· περίεστι γὰρ αὐτοῖς τοῦτου. οἱ δὲ φλεγ-

⁷⁶ λεπταὶ Jüthner: δεκταὶ P

⁷⁷ ἀντιλογίαι Cobet: ἀναλογίαι P

⁷⁸ σπανίζει Zingerle: ἐπαντελεῖ P, M

that were unharmed and undamaged. And the dream was right; for he used the damaged parts of his body to make wrestling holds which were very hard to defend against, and that made him very difficult for his opponents to deal with, and he benefited from his disease through being strengthened in the afflicted parts of the body. This is an amazing thing, and let us take it as a one-off incident rather than as something that happens regularly, and let it be viewed more as the work of a god revealing a great sign to humans.

42. As far as the topic of bodily proportions is concerned, and the question whether one kind is best or another kind, there are some minor disagreements among those who have not examined the matter rationally. But as far as the mixture of the humors is concerned it has never been disputed, nor would it ever be disputed, that the best type of mixture of all those that exist is the warm and moist one. For it is composed, like expensive statues, from material that is unmixed and pure. For those who have a sparse supply of phlegm and bile are consequently free of impurities and dregs and excessive humors; they also endure easily whatever hard work is necessary, have good digestion, are rarely ill and recover quickly from illness, and they are submissive and easy to train in a variety of different ways, thanks to their fortunate mixture of humors. Choleric athletes are on the one hand warm in temperament but also dry in their mix of humors and fruitless to trainers, just as hot sand is to those sowing crops. Despite that, they are formidable because of their mental boldness; for they have a very abundant supply of that.

ματώδεις βραδύτεροι τῆν ξέω⁷⁹ ὑπὸ ψυχρότητος. γυμναστέοι τε οὔτοι συντόνωσ μὲν κινούμενοι, οἱ δὲ ἐπίχολοι⁸⁰ βάδην καὶ διαπνέοντες—τοῖς μὲν γὰρ δεῖ κέντρον, τοῖς δ' ἠνίας—χρῆ δὲ τοὺς μὲν ξυνάγειν τῇ κόνει, τοὺς δὲ τῷ ἐλαίῳ ἐπαιονᾶν.⁸¹

43. Ταῦτα εἰρήσθω μοι περὶ κράσεως ἐκ τῆς νῦν γυμναστικῆς, ὡς ἡ ἀρχαία γε οὐδὲ ἐγίνωσκε κράσιν, ἀλλὰ μόνην τὴν ἰσχὺν ἐγύμναζεν. γυμναστικὴν δὲ οἱ παλαιοὶ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ὀτιοῦν γυμνάζεσθαι ἐγυμνάζοντο δὲ οἱ μὲν ἄχθη φέροντες οὐκ εὐφορα, οἱ δ' ὑπὲρ τάχους ἀμιλλώμενοι πρὸς ἵππους καὶ πτόκας, οἱ δ' ὀρθοῦντές τε καὶ κάμπτοντες σίδηρον ἐλληλαμένον εἰς παχύ, οἱ δὲ βουσὶ συνέζευγμένοι καρτεροῖς τε καὶ ἀμαξέδουσι, οἱ δὲ ταύρους ἀπαυχενίζοντες,⁸² οἱ δ' αὐτοὺς λέοντας. ταῦτα δὲ δὴ Πολυμήστορες καὶ Γλαῦκοι καὶ Ἀλησίαι καὶ Πουλυδάμας ὁ Σκοτουσσαῖος. Τίσανδρον δὲ τὸν ἐκ τῆς Νάξου πύκτην περὶ

⁷⁹ Suppl. Jüthner: αὐτοῖ.]
ξέω P ⁸⁰ Suppl. Jüthner: μ.] ἐπίχολοι P

⁸¹ ἐπαιονᾶν Schmid: ἐπαιονεῖν M: ἐπαινεῖν P

⁸² ἀπαυχενίζοντες Kayser: ἐπαυχενίζοντες P, M

¹²⁶ Training was thought to heat and dry the body; Philostratus therefore suggests that it can exaggerate still further the dry and warm temperaments of choleric athletes, i.e., those oversupplied with bile, hence the requirement that they should be trained in leisurely fashion. For phlegmatic athletes, by contrast, he suggests that energetic training can compensate for the natural coldness of the body.

Phlegmatic athletes are slower in their makeup because of their coldness. These must be trained with energetic movements, whereas choleric athletes must be trained in a leisurely fashion and with breaks¹²⁶—in other words the former require a goad, the latter reins—and it is necessary to dry out the former by the application of dust, while moistening the latter with oil.¹²⁷

43. That is all I wish to say about the mixture of humors as modern *gymnastikê* describes them. For the old *gymnastikê* did not even know about the mixtures of humors but trained only strength. By *gymnastikê* the men of the past meant any exercise whatsoever.¹²⁸ Some trained themselves by carrying weights that were hard to lift, some by competing for speed with horses and hares, others by straightening or bending thick pieces of wrought iron, while some yoked themselves with powerful, wagon-drawing oxen, and others wrestled bulls and even lions by the throat. That is what training involved for men like Polymestor¹²⁹ and Glaucus¹³⁰ and Alesias¹³¹ and Poulydamas from Scotussa.¹³² Tisandrus the boxer from Naxos¹³³ used

¹²⁷ Dust was generally associated with drying properties and oil with moistening properties. ¹²⁸ Cf. Gal. *Thrasymbulus* 9 for a similarly positive portrayal of this kind of exertion in day-to-day life outside the gymnasium. ¹²⁹ Cf. ch. 13.

¹³⁰ Cf. chs. 1, esp. n. 5, and 20, esp. n. 88.

¹³¹ Possibly the same as the athlete Amesinas, victor in the Olympic wrestling in 460 BC, who is said by Julius Africanus to have taken a bull with him to Olympia as a training partner.

¹³² Cf. chs. 1, esp. n. 3, and 22, esp. n. 91.

¹³³ Cf. Paus. 6.13.8, who tells us that Tisandrus was four times victor in the boxing at Olympia and also that he came from the city of Naxos in Sicily rather than the island of Naxos as here.

τὰ ἀκρωτήρια τῆς νήσου νέοντα παρέπεμπον αἱ χεῖρες ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς θαλάσσης [παραπεμπόμεναι]⁸³ γυμναζόμεναί τε καὶ γυμνάζουσαι. ποταμοὶ τε αὐτοὺς ἔλουον καὶ πηγαὶ καὶ χαμευνίαν ἐπήσκουν, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ βυρσῶν ἐκταθέντες, οἱ δ' εὐνάς ἀμήσαντες ἐκ λειμῶνων. σιτία δὲ αὐτοῖς αἶ τε μᾶζαι καὶ τῶν ἄρτων οἱ ἄππιστοι⁸⁴ καὶ μὴ ζυμῆται καὶ τῶν κρεῶν τὰ βόειά τε καὶ ταύρεια καὶ τράγεια τούτους ἔβοσκε καὶ δόρκοι κότινου τε <καὶ>⁸⁵ φυλλίας ἔχριον αὐτοὺς λίπα· ὅθεν ἄνοσοί τε ἦσκουν καὶ ὄψε ἐγήρασκον. ἠγωνίζοντό τε οἱ μὲν ὀκτῶ Ὀλυμπιάδας, οἱ δὲ ἐννέα, καὶ ὀπλιτεύειν ἀγαθοὶ ἦσαν, ἐμάχοντό τε ὑπὲρ τειχῶν οὐδὲ ἐκεῖ πίπτοντες, ἀλλὰ ἀριστέων τε ἀξιούμενοι καὶ τροπαίων, καὶ μελέτην ποιούμενοι πολεμικὰ μὲν γυμναστικῶν, γυμναστικά δὲ πολεμικῶν ἔργα.

44. Ἐπεὶ δὲ μετέβαλε ταῦτα καὶ ἀστράτεοντο μὲν ἐκ μαχομένων, ἀργοὶ δὲ ἐξ ἐνεργῶν, ἀνειμένοι δὲ ἐκ κατεσκληκώτων ἐγένοντο Σικελικὴ τε ὀψοφαγία ἴσχυσεν, ἐξενευρίσθη τὰ στάδια, καὶ πολλῶ μᾶλλον, ἐπειδὴ κολακευτικὴ γε ἐγκατελέχθη τῇ γυμναστικῇ.

⁸³ Del. Kayser
ἀπεπτοι M

⁸⁴ ἄππιστοι Jüthner: ἄπιστ[.] P:
⁸⁵ Suppl. Mynas

¹³⁴ Cf. Hom. *Od.* 5.482. ¹³⁵ Barley was a major staple of the peasant diet in antiquity, partly because it was much easier to grow than wheat; refined wheat breads were usually associated with the wealthy. ¹³⁶ These meats are depicted in some ancient medical writing as hard to digest; pork, by contrast (see

to swim around the headlands of the island and his arms carried him great distances through the sea, training both his body and themselves. They washed in rivers and springs, and they trained themselves to lie on the ground, some of them stretched out on skins, others harvesting their beds from the meadows.¹³⁴ Their food was barley cake,¹³⁵ or unsifted, unleavened bread, and the meat that nourished them was from cows and bulls and goats and deer,¹³⁶ and they oiled themselves abundantly with oil from wild olives and oleasters. Thus they trained without falling ill and were slow to grow old. Some of them competed for eight Olympiads, some for nine,¹³⁷ and they were good also at fighting as hoplites, and they fought in defense of their city walls; nor did they fall there but were thought worthy of rewards and trophies, using warfare as training for athletics and athletics as training for warfare.

44. When the situation changed, and when athletes became inexperienced in warfare rather than combatants, sluggish rather than energetic, and soft rather than hardened, and when Sicilian gastronomy became popular, then the stadia became enfeebled, and all the more so since the art of flattery was introduced into athletic training.¹³⁸

ch. 44, below), was viewed as easily digestible and good for the humors, and so particularly suitable for athletes; e.g., see Gal. *On the Properties of Foodstuffs* K6.661-6.

¹³⁷ There are no attested examples, but a number of famous athletes from the archaic period come close, e.g., Milo and Hipposthenes, the first athletes mentioned by name in ch. 1. ¹³⁸ This passage recalls Pl. *Grg.* 464b-66a, in which Socrates describes luxurious cooking as the art that "flatters" medicine, contributing to its degeneration, and cosmetics as the art that "flatters" athletic training.

ἐκολάκευσε δὲ πρῶτα μὲν ἰατρικὴ παραστησαμένη ξύμβουλον ἀγαθὴν μὲν τέχνην, μαλακωτέραν δὲ ἢ ἀθλητῶν ἀπτεσθαι, ἔτι τε ἀργίαν ἐκδιδάσκουσα καὶ τὸν πρὸ τοῦ γυμνάζεσθαι χρόνον καθῆσθαι σεσαγμένους οἶον ἄχθη Διβυκὰ ἢ Αἰγύπτια, ὀψοποιούς τε καὶ μαγείρους ἤδοντας παραφέρουσα, ὑφ' ὧν λίχνοι τε ἀποτελοῦνται καὶ κοῖλοι τὴν γαστέρα ἄρτοις τε μηκωνίαις καὶ ἀπεπτισμένοις ἐστιῶσα, ἰχθύων παρανοματώτης βρώσεως ἐμφοροῦσα καὶ φυσιολογοῦσα τοὺς ἰχθύς ἀπὸ τῶν τῆς θαλάσσης δῆμων—ὡς παχείς μὲν οἱ ἐξ ἰλύων, ἀπαλοὶ δὲ οἱ ἐκ πετρῶν, κρεώδεις δὲ οἱ πελάγιοι, λεπτοὺς τε βόσκουσι θαλίαι, τὰ φυκία δὲ ἐξιτήλους—ἔτι τε τὰ χοίρεια τῶν κρεῶν σὺν τερατολογία ἄγουσα· μοχθηρὰ μὲν γὰρ ἠγείσθαι κελεύει τὰ ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ συμβόσια διὰ τὸ σκόροδον τὸ θαλάττιον, οὐ μεστοὶ μὲν αἰγυαλοί, μεστοὶ δὲ θῖνες, φυλάττεσθαι δὲ καὶ τὰ ἀγχοῦ ποταμῶν διὰ τὴν καρκίνων βρώσιν, μόνων δὲ ἀναγκοφαγεῖν τῶν ἐκ κρανείας τε καὶ βαλάνου.

45. Τὸ δ' οὕτω τρυφᾶν δριμύ μὲν καὶ ἐς ἀφροδισίων ὁρμήν, ἤρξε δὲ ἀθληταῖς καὶ τῆς ὑπὲρ χρημάτων παρανομίας καὶ τοῦ πωλεῖν τε καὶ ὠνεῖσθαι τὰς νίκας· οἱ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἀποδίδονται τὴν ἑαυτῶν εὐκλειαν δι' οἴμαι τὸ πολλῶν δεῖσθαι, οἱ δ' ὠνοῦνται τὸ μὴ ξὺν πόνῳ νικᾶν διὰ τὸ ἀβρῶς διαιτᾶσθαι. καὶ ἀργυροῦν

¹³⁹ For stereotypes of greedy athletes, see, among many others, Ath. *Deipnosophists* 10, 412e, and Gal. *Protrepticus* 13.

The first flattery was perpetrated by medicine in offering, in an advisory role, an art that was good to be sure, but too soft to be of use to athletes, and that moreover taught them idleness and encouraged them to spend the time before training sitting stuffed like Libyan or Egyptian grain sacks, and brought in pastry makers and pleasure-bringing cooks, who made them gluttonous and greedy¹³⁹ by feeding them with poppy seed bread made from dehusked wheat, stuffing them with an unnatural diet of fish, and pronouncing on the nature of fish from their habitat in the sea.¹⁴⁰ saying that those from swampy places are fat; the soft ones come from near cliffs, fleshy ones from the deep sea; that algae produces thin ones and seaweed tasteless ones. It even treats the meat of pigs in a similarly fantastical way, for it instructs them to believe that herds of pigs pastured by the sea are of poor quality because of the sea garlic, of which the shoreline and the beach are full, and that they should guard against pigs pastured near rivers because of their consumption of crabs, and that they should confine themselves, as part of their forced diet, to pigs fed with cornelian cherries and acorns.

45. This kind of luxury acts as an acute stimulus also for the sex drive. In addition it started the habit of rule breaking among athletes for the sake of money and the buying and selling of victories.¹⁴¹ For some athletes actually sell their own good reputation, I assume because of their great need, whereas others buy victories gained

¹⁴⁰ Cf. Hippoc. *On Diet* 2.48–49 for a classification of fish along similar lines.

¹⁴¹ Cf. Paus. 5.21.2–17 for similar examples of bribery and other kinds of wrongdoing at Olympia.

μὲν ἢ χρυσοῦν περισπῶντι ἀνάθημα ἢ διαφθείρουτι ὀργῆν οἱ νόμοι οἱ ἐς ἱεροσύλους ὄντες, στέφανον δ' Ἀπόλλωνος ἢ Ποσειδῶνος, ὑπὲρ οὗ καὶ αὐτοὶ γε οἱ θεοὶ μέγα ἤθλησαν, ἄδεια μὲν ἀποδίδοσθαι, ἄδεια δὲ ἀνεῖσθαι, πλὴν ὅσα Ἥλείοις ὁ κότινος ἄσυλος μένει κατὰ τὴν ἐκ παλαιοῦ δόξαν· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι τῶν ἀγῶνων, τὸδε⁸⁶ μὲν ἐκ πολλῶν εἰρήσθω μοι, ἐν ᾧ πάντα. παῖς ἐνίκα [κατὰ]⁸⁷ πάλην Ἴσθμια τρισχιλίας ἐνὶ τῶν ἀντιπάλων ὁμολογήσας ὑπὲρ τῆς νίκης· ἤκοντες οὖν τῆς ὑστεραίας εἰς τὸ γυμνάσιον ὁ μὲν ἀπῆτει τὰ χρήματα, ὁ δ' οὐκ ὀφείλειεν ἔφη, κεκρατηκένοι γὰρ δὴ ἄκοιτος. ὡς δ' οὐδὲν ἐπέβαινε, ὄρκω ἐπιτρέπουσι⁸⁸ καὶ παρελθόντες ἐς τὸ τοῦ Ἴσθμίου⁸⁹ ἱερὸν ὤμνυε δημοσίᾳ ὁ τὴν νίκην ἀποδόμενος πεπρακένοι μὲν τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν ἀγῶνα, τρισχιλίας δ' ὁμολογεῖσθαι οἱ· καὶ ὁμολόγει ταῦτα λαμπρᾷ τῇ φωνῇ μηδὲ τῇ εὐκφίμῳ εἶπα·⁹⁰ ὅσῳ γὰρ ἀληθέστερα, εἰ οὐδ' ἄνευ μαρτύρων, τοσῶδε ἀνερωτέρα καὶ ἐπιρρητότερα· ὤμνυε δὲ

⁸⁶ τὸδε Jüthner: ὦδε P

⁸⁷ Del. Cobet

⁸⁸ ἐπιτρέπουσι Cobet: τρέπουσι P

⁸⁹ Ἴσθμίον Daremberg: ἰσθμοῦ P

⁹⁰ Suppl. Jüthner: τῇ εὐ[.....]πας P

¹⁴² I.e., at the Pythian or Isthmian festivals, respectively.

¹⁴³ No other ancient source recounts contests between the gods at the Pythian or Isthmian festivals, but see Paus. 5.7.10 on contests between the gods at Olympia.

without exertion because of their own habits of soft living. The laws against temple robbers decree anger against those who steal or destroy a gold or silver offering, but license is given to sell or to buy the crown of Apollo or Poseidon,¹⁴² over which even the gods themselves competed vigorously,¹⁴³ with the exception that among the Eleans the olive remains inviolate according to the traditional judgment,¹⁴⁴ but as for the other contests, let me tell this one story, of many possible stories, that sums everything up. A boy won the Isthmian wrestling after agreeing with one of his opponents a price of three thousand drachmas for victory. When they came next day to the gymnasium, the defeated contestant demanded his money but the other said that he did not owe it, given that he had won the victory over an opponent who had been unwilling to lose. And since their argument remained unresolved they entrusted the matter to an oath and came to the temple of the Isthmian god,¹⁴⁵ and the one who had sold the victory swore an oath in public that he had sold the contest of the god and that three thousand drachmas had been promised to him. And he admitted to all this in a clear and unrestrained voice. And the more truthful the story is, through being not without witnesses, the more unholy and infamous it is. For he took that oath at the

¹⁴⁴ Philostratus presumably does not mean that cheating did not happen at Olympia, where the victory crown was made of olive leaves; his point is rather that there was a significant deterrent in the rule that competitors could be fined for misconduct. In these cases the money was used to pay for statues of Zeus, known as Zanes; see Paus. 5.21.2.

¹⁴⁵ I.e., Poseidon.

Ἴσθμοὶ ταῦτα καὶ κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς τῆς Ἑλλάδος, τί μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἐν Ἴωνίᾳ, τί δ' οὐκ ἂν <ἐν Ἀσίᾳ>⁹¹ γένοιτο ἐπ' αἰσχύνῃ ἀγῶνος. οὐκ ἀφίημι τοὺς γυμναστάς αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ διαφθορᾷ ταύτῃ· πακρόντες⁹² μὲν γὰρ μετὰ χρημάτων ἐπὶ τὸ γυμνάζειν καὶ δανείζοντες τοῖς ἀθληταῖς ἐπὶ τόκοις μείζουσιν ἢ ὧν ἔμποροι θαλασσεύοντες, τῆς μὲν τῶν ἀθλητῶν δόξης ἐπιστρέφονται οὐδέν, τοῦ δὲ πωλεῖν τε καὶ ὠνεῖσθαι ξύμβουλοι γίνονται σφισι προνοοῦντες τοῦ ἑαυτῶν κέρδους ἢ γὰρ δάνεσιν ὠνουμένων ἢ πεπρακότων ἀπολήψει, καὶ ταυτὶ μὲν κατὰ καπηλευόντων εἰρήσθω μοι, καπηλεύουσι γάρ που τὰς τῶν ἀθλητῶν ἀρετὰς τὸ ἑαυτῶν εὐτιθέμενοι.

46. Ἀμαρτάνουσι δὲ κάκεινο. παῖδα ἀθλητὴν ἀποδύσαντες γυμνάζουσιν ὡς ἤδη ἄνδρα τὴν τε γαστέρα προβαρύνειν κελεύοντες καὶ βαδίζειν μετὰ τοῦ γυμνάζεσθαι καὶ ἐρεύγεσθαι κοῖλον. δι' ὧν ὥσπερ οἱ κακῶς παιδεύοντες ἀφελόντες τὸν παῖδα τὸ νεοτήσιον σκίρτημα ἀργίαν γυμνάζουσιν καὶ ἀναβολὰς καὶ νωθροὺς εἶναι καὶ ἀτολμοτέρους τῆς αὐτῶν ἀκμῆς. κίνησιν ἐχρῆν γυμνάζειν ὡς ἡ παλαιστρα κίνησιν δὲ λέγω τὴν τε ἀπὸ τῶν σκελῶν ὀπόση ἐκ μαλαττόντων

⁹¹ <ἐν Ἀσίᾳ> Jüthner: [...]q P

⁹² Suppl. Jüthner: πα[.....] P

¹⁴⁶ Philostratus' point must be that if these things can happen in the old festivals of mainland Greece, they are all the more likely in other less prestigious athletic centers, where such misbehavior

Isthmus and before the eyes of the Greeks. Who knows what might not happen in Ionia and in Asia, to the disgrace of the contests.¹⁴⁶ And I do not absolve the trainers themselves from responsibility for this corruption. For they turn up at training sessions with money, and they make loans to the athletes at levels of interest higher than those normal among seagoing merchants, and they pay no attention to the reputation of the athletes but instead act as their advisers in buying and selling, out of a concern for their own profit, which they secure either by giving loans to those who want to make purchases or by taking repayments from those who have made sales. That is what I have to say against these traffickers—for they traffic, as it were, the virtue of the athletes while profiting in their own affairs.

46. They commit the following error in addition. Having stripped the boy athlete they train him as if he were already a man, and they tell him to load his stomach in advance and then during training to go for walks¹⁴⁷ and belch cavernously.¹⁴⁸ By these measures, just like bad teachers, they take away from the boy his youthful vigor and train him in laziness and procrastination and in being sluggish and more timid than he should be at his age. One should train boys in movement, as in the *palaistra*; by movement I mean the kind of passive movement produced in the legs

would be less conspicuous, and especially in Ionia, which traditionally had a reputation for luxury.

¹⁴⁷ Cf. Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 40.274d for another criticism of walking as a damaging form of training. ¹⁴⁸ Cf. Gal. *Commentary on Hippocrates' Epidemics* K17a.967-68 on belching as exercise for the stomach.

τήν τε ἀπὸ τῶν χειρῶν ὀπόση <ἐκ σκληρυνόντων>. ⁹³ καὶ παρακροτεῖται ὁ παῖς, ἐπειδὴ ἀγερωχότερα τὰ τούτων γυμνάσια. τὸν Φοίνικα Ἑλικὰ ἦδε ἰδέα ἐγύμναζεν οὐκ ἐν παισὶ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς ἀνδρας ἤκουτα, καὶ λόγου θαυμασιώτερος ἐγένετο παρὰ πάντας, οὓς οἶδα τὴν ῥαστώνην ἐκμελετώοντας ταύτην.

47. Προσεκτέα δὲ οὐδὲ ταῖς τῶν γυμναστῶν τετράδων, ὑφ' ὧν ἀπόλωλε τὰ ἐν γυμναστικῇ πάντα. ἡγοῦμεθα δὲ τὴν τετράδα κύκλον ἡμερῶν τεττάρων ἄλλο ἄλλην πράττουσαν· ἡ μὲν γὰρ παρασκευάζει τὸν ἀθλητὴν, ἡ δ' ἐπιτείνει, ἡ δὲ ἀνίσχιν, ἡ δὲ μεσεύει. ἔστι δὲ τὸ παρασκευάζον γυμνάσιον σύντομος πρὸς βραχὺ καὶ ταχεῖα κινήσεις ἐγείρουσα τὸν ἀθλητὴν καὶ [σὺν] τῷ μέλλοντι μόχθῳ ἐφιστάσα, τὸ δὲ ἐπιτεῖνον ἔλεγχος ἀπαραίτητος τῆς ἐναποκειμένης ἰσχύος τῇ ἕξει, ἡ <δ'> ἀνέσις [ὡς] ὥρα κινήσιν [καὶ] ξὺν λόγῳ ἀνακτωμένη, ἡ δὲ μεσεύουσα τῶν ἡμερῶν διαφεύγει μὲν τὸν ἀντίπαλον, διαφυγόντος δὲ μὴ ἀνιέναι. καὶ τὴν τοιάνδε ἰδέαν πᾶσαν ἀρμονικῶς γυμνάζοντες καὶ τὰς τετράδας ταύτας ὧδε ἀνακυκλοῦντες ἀφαιροῦνται τὴν ἐπιστήμην τὸ ξυνιέναι τοῦ ἀθλητοῦ τοῦ γυμνοῦ. καὶ γὰρ λυπεῖ μὲν σιτία, λυπεῖ δὲ οἶνος, κλοπαὶ τε τῶν σιτίων καὶ ἀγωνίαι καὶ κόποι καὶ πλείω ἕτερα, τὰ

⁹³ Suppl. Jüthner

¹⁴⁹ An athlete of Philostratus' own day; see p. 339 above.

by a softening massage and the kind of movement produced in the arms by a hardening massage. And the boy should keep time by clapping, since that makes these exercises more energetic. This was the type of exercise used by the Phoenician Helix,¹⁴⁹ not only when he was a boy, but also when he had come into the men's age category, and he was an indescribably wonderful athlete, more so than any of those whom I know to be practicing that kind of recreation.

47. Nor should one pay attention to the tetrads' of the trainers, a system by which the whole of athletic training has been brought to ruin.¹⁵⁰ We take the tetrad system to be a circle of four days, where the athlete does different things on different days. One of the days prepares the athlete, the next makes him exert himself, the next relaxes him, and the next keeps him on a middle path. The preparatory exercise is short and intense, consisting of a fast movement which arouses the athlete and makes him ready for the toil which is to follow; the intensive exercise is an irrefutable test of the strength of his constitution; the day of relaxation is a time for starting up his activity again in a moderate way; and the middling day teaches the athlete to flee from his opponent, and not to relax when his opponent is fleeing. And in training the athletes systematically according to this complete form of training, and in repeating these tetrads over and over again they take away from the art of training all understanding of the naked athlete. For food can damage the athlete, and wine and secret eating of food, and stress and tiredness, and many other factors, some of which are voluntary and some not.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. Gal. *Thrasymbulus* 47 for similar criticism of this system.

μὲν ἐκούσια, τὰ δὲ ἀκούσια. πῶς ἰασόμεθα τούτου
τετράζοντες καὶ κληροῦντες;

48. Τοὺς μὲν δὴ ὑπερσιτήσαντας ὀφρὺς τε δηλώσει
βαρεῖα καὶ κοῖλον ἄσθμα καὶ κύαθοι κλειδῶν ἀνεστη-
κότες καὶ οἱ πλάγιοι κενεῶνες ὄγκου τι ἐνδεικνύμενοι.
τοὺς δ' ὑποίους γαστήρ τε ἐρμηνεύσει περιττὴ καὶ
αἷμα ἰλαρώτερον καὶ ἱκμὰς ἢ μὲν κενεῶνος ἢ δὲ ἐπι-
γουνίδος. τοὺς δ' ἐξ ἀφροδισίων ἦκοντας γυμναζομέ-
νους μὲν πλείω ἐλέγξει τὴν ἰσχύν τε γὰρ ὑποδεδωκό-
τες καὶ στενοὶ τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ τὰς ὀρμὰς ἀτολμοὶ καὶ
ἀπανθοῦντες τῶν πόνων καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀλίσκεσθαι.
ἀποδύνας δὲ κλείς τε ἂν ἐνδείξαιτο κοίλη καὶ ἰσχίον
ἄναρμον καὶ πλευρὰ ὑποχαράττουσα καὶ ψυχρότης
αἵματος. οὗς, εἰ⁹⁴ ἐφαπτοίμεθα, οὐδ' ἂν στέφοι ἀγα-
νία. λεπτὰ μὲν τούτοις ὑπώπια, λεπτὴ δὲ πῆδησις
καρδίας, λεπτοὶ δ' ἰδρώτων ἄτμοι, λεπτοὶ δ' ὕπνοι
ἰθύνοντες τὰ σῖτα βολαί τε ὀφθαλμῶν πεπλανημένοι
καὶ τὸ ἐράσθαι δοκεῖν⁹⁵ ἀποσημαίνουσαι.

49. Οἱ δὲ ὄνειρώττοντες ἀποκάθαρσις μὲν τῆς ἐπι-
πολαζούσης εὐεξίας, ὀρῶνται δ' ὅμως ὑπώχροι καὶ
δρυσίζοντες καὶ ὑποδέστεροι μὲν τὴν ἰσχύν, εὐτρα-
φεῖς δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ καθέουδειν καὶ ἀνεύθυνοι⁹⁶ τὸ ἰσχίον
καὶ διαρκεῖς τὸ πνεῦμα. ἐν χώρᾳ τε τῶν ἀφροδισια-
ζόντων ὄντες <οὐ>⁹⁷ ταῦτόν εἰσιν οἱ μὲν γὰρ καθαί-

⁹⁴ οὗς εἰ Jüthner: εἰ P: ὄν εἰ M

⁹⁵ δοκεῖν Jüthner: δοκούντων P, M

⁹⁶ ἀνεύθυντοι Kitrinari ⁹⁷ Suppl. Kayser

How shall we cure an athlete in this position by following
tetrads and assigning training methods by lot?¹⁵¹

48. Those who have overeaten will be revealed by an
overhanging brow and by shortness of breath and by the
filling in of the hollows in the collar bones and by the flanks
at the side of the body, which will show signs of a certain
bulkiness. Athletes who are heavy drinkers can be de-
tected by an oversized stomach, blood that is too lively
and moistness in the flank and knee. Those who come to
the gymnasium straight after sex are exposed by a greater
number of indicators when they train, for their strength is
diminished and they are short of breath and lack daring in
their attacks, they fade in color in response to exertion,
and they can be detected by signs of that sort; and when
they strip their hollow collarbones give them away, their
loose hips, the conspicuous outline of their ribs, and the
coldness of their blood. These athletes, even if we dedi-
cated ourselves to them, would have no chance of being
crowned in any contest. The part beneath the eyes is weak,
the beating of their hearts is weak, their perspiration is
weak, their sleep, which controls digestion, is weak, and
their eyes glance around in a wandering fashion and indi-
cate their awareness of being loved.

49. Those who have wet dreams are actually being
cleansed of an excess of good condition. Nevertheless they
are pale in appearance and sweaty and lacking in strength,
although well nourished by sleep and with irreproachable
hips and ample breath. Athletes who have wet dreams are
close to those who indulge in sex but not identical, for the

¹⁵¹ Cf. ch. 54 for an example of the dangers of that kind of
approach.

ρονται τὴν ἕξι, οἱ δὲ τήκονται. κόπων δὲ ἀγαθὴ μάρ-
τυς ἢ τε ἕξωθεν περιβολὴ τοῦ σώματος λεπτοτέρα
ἑαυτῆς δοκοῦσα καὶ ἀνοιδούσα φλέψ καὶ κατηφῆς
βραχίων καὶ τὰ μῦῶδη κατεσκληρότα.

50. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ὑπερσιτήσαντες, ἦν τε κούφοι τύχω-
σι ἦν τε τῶν βαρυτέρων ἀγωνισταί, μεταχειριστέοι
ταῖς ἐς τὸ κάτω τρίψεσιν, ἵνα τῶν κυριωτέρων τὰ
περιττὰ ἀπάγοιτο. γυμναστέοι δὲ πένταθλοι μὲν τι
ἀπὸ τῶν κούφων, δρομεῖς δὲ μὴ ξυντείνοντες, ἀλλὰ
σχολαῖοι καὶ μείζον τι διαβαίνοντες, πύκται δὲ ἀκρο-
χειριζέσθων ἑλαφροὶ καὶ ἀερίζοντες. πάλη δὲ καὶ
παγκράτιον ὀρθοὶ μὲν καὶ οἶδε, ἀλλὰ ἀνάγκη κυλίε-
σθαι. κυλιέσθων μὲν, ἀλλ' ἐπικείμενοι μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπο-
κείμενοι καὶ μηδαμῇ περικυβιστώντες, ὡς μὴ ἀνωτό-
τινι ἔλκει τὸ σῶμα. μαλκλατέσθων⁹⁸ τε γυμναστῆ
κούφοι τε ὁμοίως καὶ βαρεῖς <διὰ> τῶν διὰ μεκτρίου
τ>ρίψεων⁹⁹ τῶν <ἄνω> μάλιστα,¹⁰⁰ καὶ τοῦτ' ἀπομάτ-
τειν δεήσει¹⁰¹ λιπαίνοντα.

51. Οἶνος δὲ περιπεύσας ἀθλητῶν σώμασιν, ἰδρῶ-
τος ἀνα<χοῆν> τὰ μεσεύοντα¹⁰² τῶν γυμνασίων ἐκκα-
λεῖται οὔτε γὰρ ἐπιγυμνάζειν χρὴ τοὺς τοιοῦτους

⁹⁸ Suppl. Jüthner: μαλ[.....]θων P

⁹⁹ Suppl. Jüthner: με[.....]ρίψεων P

¹⁰⁰ Suppl. Jüthner: τῶν [...] μάλιστα P

¹⁰¹ Suppl. Jüthner: δι[.....]ι P

¹⁰² ἀνα<χοῆν> τὰ μεσεύοντα Jüthner: ἀνα[...]τὰ μεστοῦ
ῶντα P

former have their condition cleansed, whereas in the latter it is diminished. A good indication of exhaustion¹⁵² is when the outer surface of the body appears more delicate than usual and when the veins are swollen and the arms flabby and the muscles withered.

50. Athletes who have overeaten, whether they happen to be light athletes or competitors in the heavier events, are to be treated by massage of the kind that moves downward, so that the excess in the most important parts of the body can be eliminated. Pentathletes in this situation must be trained in one of the light events; runners in a way that does not strain them, but in a leisurely fashion and lengthening their stride just a little; whereas boxers should exercise with outstretched arms, lightly punching the air. As for wrestling and *pankration*, these too are upright events, but it is necessary also to roll on the floor; they must train by rolling, but keeping on top of the opponent rather than under him and certainly not somersaulting over, in case the body should be injured. Both light and heavy athletes should be softened by the trainer in the same way, with massages that use a moderate amount of oil, especially on the upper body; and when he applies the oil he must wipe it off.

51. When wine is absorbed in excessive quantities by the bodies of athletes, the medium-strength exercises cause an outpouring of sweat. Athletes suffering from that kind of excess should neither be exercised excessively nor

¹⁵² There was an extensive ancient medical literature on the identification and treatment of different kinds of exhaustion (κόπος); e.g., see Gal. *De sanitate tuenda* Book 4; also 3.5 (K6.190), where he mentions a whole book on the subject by Theophrastus.

περιτεύσαντας οὔτε ἀνίεναι· τὸ γὰρ διεφθορὸς ὑγρὸν ἀποχετεύειν ἄμεινον, ὡς μὴ τὸ αἷμα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ κακουργοῖτο. ἀποματτέτω δὴ ὁ γυμναστῆς καὶ ἀποστλεγγιζέτω ξυμμέτρῳ χρώμενος, ὡς μὴ ἀποφράττοντο αἱ ἐκβολαὶ τοῦ ιδρώτος.

52. Εἰ δ' ἔξ ἀφροδισίων, ἀμείνους μὲν μὴ γυμνάζειν· οἱ γὰρ στεφάνων καὶ κηρυγμάτων αἰσχρὰν ἡδονὴν ἀλλαξάμενοι ποῦ ἄνδρες; εἰ δ' ἄρα γυμνάζοντο, ὑπὲρ νουθεσίας γυμναζέσθων ἐλεγχόμενοι τὴν ἰσχὺν καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα· ταυτὶ γὰρ μάλιστα αἱ τῶν ἀφροδισίων ἡδοναὶ ἐπικόπτουσιν. ἢ δὲ τῶν ὄνειρωττόντων ξῆσι ἀφροδίσια μὲν καὶ ταῦτα, ἀκούσια δ' ὡς ἔφην· γυμναστέοι δὴ ξὺν ἐπιμελείᾳ καὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν ὑποθρεπτέοι¹⁰³ μᾶλλον, ἐπειδὴ ἐπιλείπει σφᾶς, κάξικμαστέοι τοὺς ιδρώτας, ἐπειδὴ περιττοὶ τούτοις. ἔστω δὲ ἐνδοσιμώτερα μὲν τὰ γυμνάσια, προηγμένα δὲ ἐς μῆκος, ἵνα τὸ πνεῦμα ἐγγυμνάζοιτο. δεῖ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐλαίου ξυμμέτρου καὶ πεπαχυσμένου τῆ κόνει· τουτὶ γὰρ τὸ φάρμακον καὶ ξυνέχει τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἀνίησιν.

53. Ἀγωνιῶντες δὲ ἀθληταὶ θεραπεύεσθων μὲν καὶ τὰς γνώμας λόγῳ παραθρασύνοντί τε αὐτοὺς καὶ παριστάντι, γυμναζέσθων δ' ἐν χώρᾳ¹⁰⁴ τῶν ἀπνούντων τε καὶ μὴ εὐσίτων. εὖ τούτοις ἔχει τὸ ἀρμονικὸν γυμνάσιον· αἱ γὰρ περιδεεῖς γνώμαι προθυμότεραι

¹⁰³ ὑποθρεπτέοι Jüthner: ἀποθρεπτέοι P, M

¹⁰⁴ γυμναζέσθων δ' ἐν χώρᾳ Volckmar: γυμναζέσθω δὲ ἢ χώρα P

allowed to relax; for it is better to draw off the corrupted moisture, so that the blood is not harmed by it. The trainer should wipe and scrape them down with only a moderate amount of oil, so that the outflowing of sweat is not blocked.

52. If an athlete has just had sex, it is better for him not to exercise. In what sense are they men, those who exchange crowns and victory announcements for disgraceful pleasures? But if they must undergo training, let them be trained as a warning, in a way that tests their strength and their breathing; for these are the areas most damaged by the pleasures of sex. The condition of those who have wet dreams is also sexual in character, but involuntarily so, as I have said. These athletes should be exercised with care, and their strength needs to be built up all the more because it is lacking, and their sweat needs to be driven out of them, since they have an excessive supply of it. Their exercises should be easier but spread out over a long period, so that their breathing is exercised. They should use a moderate amount of oil thickened with dust, for that is a remedy that maintains the body and refreshes it.

53. Athletes who are anxious should also be cared for mentally, through words of encouragement and support; and they should be trained together with those who suffer from insomnia and bad digestion. These athletes benefit from the systematic method of training.¹⁵³ For timid minds are more eager to learn what one needs to guard

¹⁵³ Philostratus seems to be referring to a more intelligent version of the system of regular training denounced in ch. 47.

εἰσι μανθάνειν ἃ προσήκει φυλάττεσθαι. κόποι δὲ οἱ μὲν αὐτόματοι νόσων ἀρχαί, καὶ ἀπόχρη τοὺς μὲν πηλῷ καὶ παλαιίστρα πονήσαντας ἀνιέναι [χρῆ]¹⁰⁵ μαλακῶς τε καὶ ὡς εἶπον, τοὺς δὲ ἐν κόνει πεπονηκότας ἐπιγυμνάζειν τῆς ὑστεραίας ἐν πηλῷ ξὺν μικρᾷ ἐπιτάσει· ἢ γὰρ ἀθρόα μετὰ τὴν κόνην ἀνεσις ἰατρὸς πονηρὸς κόπων,¹⁰⁶ οὐ γὰρ θεραπεύει τὴν ἰσχὺν, ἀλλ' ἀποκρεμάννυσιν. ἢ μὲν δὴ σοφωτέρα γυμναστικὴ καὶ ξυντείνουσα εἰς τὸν ἀθλητὴν τοιάδε εἶη ἂν.

54. Ἐλεγχος δὲ τῶν τετράδων, ἃς παρητησάμην, καὶ ἢ ἐπὶ Γερῆνῳ τῷ παλαιστῇ διαμαρτία, οὐ τὸ σῆμα Ἀθήνησιν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς Ἐλευσίνάδε ὁδοῦ. Ναυκρατίτης μὲν γὰρ ἦν οὗτος καὶ τῶν ἀριστα παλαισάντων, <ὡς αἱ νῖκαι> δηλοῦσιν, ἃς ἐνίκησεν¹⁰⁷ ἀγωνισάμενος. ἐτύγχανε μὲν ἐν Ὀλύμπια νενικηκώς, τρίτη δ' ἀπ' ἐκείνης ἡμέρα ἀποιων¹⁰⁸ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ νίκην καὶ τινὰς τῶν γνωρίμων ἐστῶν ὀψοφαγία ἀήθει χρυσάμενος ἀπηνέχθη τοῦ ὕπνου. ἤκων οὖν τῆς ὑστεραίας ἐς τὸ γυμνάσιον ὠμολόγει πρὸς τὸν γυμναστὴν ὠμός

¹⁰⁵ Del. Mynas

¹⁰⁶ πονηρὸς κόπων Daremberg; πονηρίας κόπων P

¹⁰⁷ Suppl. Jüthner: [.....]δηλοῦ[.....] P

¹⁰⁸ ἀποιων Zingerle; πίνων P, Jüthner

¹⁵⁴ Cf. Hippoc. *Aphorism* 2.5.

¹⁵⁵ Presumably a reference back to ch. 47.

¹⁵⁶ The central (usually open-air) space of the *palaestra* in an ancient gymnasium was usually covered with dust or sand, but

against. Tiredness that arises spontaneously is the beginning of illness,¹⁵⁴ and in these cases it is enough for those who have toiled in mud in the *palaestra* to relax, in a gentle fashion, in the way I have indicated,¹⁵⁵ while those who have toiled in dust should be trained again on the next day in mud, and with a small increase of intensity.¹⁵⁶ For complete rest after exercising in dust is a poor doctor for tiredness, since it slackens one's strength rather than maintaining it. The wisest kind of training, and the kind that gives attention to each individual athlete, would be like that.

54. Evidence against the tetrad system, which I have already rejected, also comes from the great error made in the case of the wrestler Gerenus,¹⁵⁷ whose tomb lies in Athens on the right of the road to Eleusis. For this man was from Naucratis and was one of the best wrestlers, as demonstrated by the victories he won in competition. He happened to win at Olympia, and on the third day after that¹⁵⁸ he celebrated his victory and gave a feast for some of his friends, eating more luxuriously than he was used to, and was deprived of sleep. When he came to the gymnasium the next day he admitted to his trainer that he was

there is also evidence for separate rooms with floors covered with mud or earth for practicing the parts of wrestling that took place on the ground.

¹⁵⁷ Not attested elsewhere.

¹⁵⁸ In other words, two days after his victory. The combat events took place on the last day of competition, and the day after that was reserved for the official celebrations, including a banquet for victors; the day following was therefore the first one on which a victorious athlete was free to hold his own victory celebrations.

τε εἶναι πονηρῶς τε ἔχειν πη. ὁ δ' ἡγρίαινέ τε καὶ ξὺν ὀργῇ ἤκουε καὶ χαλεπὸς ἦν ὡς ἀνιέντι καὶ τὰς τετράδας διασπῶντι, ἔσπε ἀπέκτεινε τὸν ἀθλητὴν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ γυμνάζειν ἀγνωσία, οὐ προειπὼν¹⁰⁹ ἂ γυμνάζειν ἔδει καὶ σιωπῶντος. τοιῶνδε μὲν δὴ τετράδων οὐσῶν¹¹⁰ καὶ ὧδε ἀγυμνάστου καὶ ἀπαιδευτοῦ γυμναστοῦ¹¹¹ οὐ μέτρια πάθη¹¹². τὸ γὰρ τοιοῦδε ἀθλητοῦ ἀμαρτεῖν τὰ στάδια πῶς οὐ βαρὺ; οἱ δὲ ἀσπαζόμενοι τὰς τετράδας τί χρήσονται αὐταῖς ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ἤκοντες,¹¹³ παρ' οἷς κόνις μὲν ὁποῖαν εἴρηκα, γυμνάσια δὲ προστεταγμένα, γυμνάζει δὲ ὁ ἑλληνοδικῆς οὐδ' ἐκ προρρήσεως, ἀλλ' ἐπεσχεδιασμένα πάντα τῷ καιρῷ, μάλιστα καὶ τῷ γυμναστῇ ἐπηρητημένης, εἴ τι παρ' ἂ κελεύουσι πράττειτο. κελεύουσι δὲ ἀπαραίτητα, ὡς παραιτουμένοις ταῦτα ἔτοιμον Ὀλυμπίων εἶργεσθαι. περὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν τετράδων¹¹⁴ τοσαῦτα, οἷς ἐπόμενοι σοφίαν τε γυμναστικὴν ἐνδειξόμεθα καὶ τοὺς ἀθλητὰς ἐπιρρώσομεν καὶ ἀνηβήσει τὰ στάδια ὑπὸ τοῦ εἶ γυμνάζειν.

¹⁰⁹ οὐ προειπὼν Jüthner: οὐ προειπόντος M: προειπόντος P

¹¹⁰ οὐσῶν Kayser: τούτων P

¹¹¹ ἀγυμνάστου καὶ ἀπαιδευτοῦ γυμναστοῦ Volckmar: ἀγυμνάσταῖς καὶ ἀπαιδευτοῦ γυμνοῦ P

¹¹² οὐ μέτρια πάθη Daremberg: μετρίω πάθει P

¹¹³ ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ἤκοντες Cobet: ἐς Ὀλύμπια νικῶντες P

¹¹⁴ τετράδων Mynas: τετραπόδων P

¹⁵⁹ In other words, the trainer should have been perceptive

suffering from indigestion and that he was unwell in some way. The trainer became angry and listened furiously and was irritable with him on the grounds that he was relaxing his training and interrupting the tetrads, until he actually killed the athlete through his training, out of ignorance, by not prescribing the exercises he should have chosen even if the athlete had said nothing about his condition.¹⁵⁹ The damage caused by this kind of tetrad system, and by a trainer who is so untrained and uneducated, is not inconsiderable. How can it not be a bad thing that the stadia should lose an athlete of that caliber? And as for those who welcome the tetrad system, how will they make use of it when they come to Olympia, where the dust is of the kind I have already mentioned,¹⁶⁰ and the training is fixed, and the *hellanodikês* is in charge of training not in a premeditated fashion but improvising everything to fit the occasion, and where the whip is raised against the trainer¹⁶¹ if he does anything contrary to what the *hellanodikai* order? They give orders that cannot be ignored, so that anyone who rejects them faces the prospect of being excluded from the Olympic festival. That is all I have to say concerning the tetrad system; and if we follow the advice I have given, we will demonstrate that athletic training is a variety of wisdom, and we shall give strength to the athletes, and the stadia will regain their youth thanks to good training practices.

enough to work out Gerenus' condition from his outward bodily appearance. ¹⁶⁰ Cf. chs. 11 and 18.

¹⁶¹ Several ancient sources mention officials who acted as festival police and carried switches or whips in order to keep order: e.g., see Lucian *Hermot.* 40.

55. Ἀλτήρ δὲ πεντάθλων μὲν εὐρημα, εὐρηται δὲ ἐς τὸ ἄλμα, ἀφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ ὠνόμασται· οἱ γὰρ νόμοι τὸ πῆδημα χαλεπώτερον ἠγοούμενοι τῶν ἐν ἀγῶνι τῷ τε αὐτῷ προσεγείρουσι τὸν πηδῶντα καὶ τῷ ἀλτήρι προσελαφρύνουσι· πομπός τε γὰρ τῶν χειρῶν ἀσφαλῆς καὶ τὸ βῆμα ἐδραϊόν τε καὶ εὐσημον εἰς τὴν γῆν ἄγει. τοῦτι δὲ ὅπόσον ἄξιον οἱ νόμοι δηλοῦσιν· οὐ γὰρ ξυγχωροῦσι διαμετρέιν τὸ πῆδημα, ἦν μὴ ἀρτίως ἔχη τοῦ ἵχνους. γυμνάζουσι δὲ οἱ μὲν μακροὶ τῶν ἀλτήρων ὤμους τε καὶ χεῖρας, οἱ δὲ σφαιροειδεῖς καὶ δακτύλους. παραληπτέοι δὲ καὶ κούφοις ὁμοίως καὶ βαρέσιν ἐς πάντα γυμνάσια πλὴν τοῦ ἀναπαύοντος.

56. Κόνις δὲ ἢ μὲν πηλώδης ἱκανὴ ἀπορρῦναι καὶ ζυμμετρίαν δοῦναι τοῖς περιττοῖς, ἢ δὲ ὀστρακώδης ἀνοῖξαι τε ἐπιτηδεία καὶ ἐς ἰδρώτα ἀγαγεῖν τὰ μεμυκότα, ἢ δὲ ἀσφαλτώδης ὑποθάλλειν τὰ ἐπεφυγμένα μέλαινα δὲ καὶ ξανθὴ κόνις γεώδεις μὲν ἄμφω καὶ ἀγαθαὶ μαλάξαι τε καὶ υποθρέψαι, ἢ δὲ ξανθὴ κόνις καὶ στιλπνοῦς ἐργάζεται καὶ ἡδίων ἰδεῖν ὡς περὶ γενναίῳ τε καὶ ἡσκημένῳ σώματι. ἐπισκεδανῦναι δὲ χρῆ τὴν κόνιν ὑγρῷ τῷ καρπῷ καὶ διεστώσι τοῖς δακτύλοις διαρραίνοντα μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπιπάττοντα, ἵν' ἐς τὸν ἀθλητὴν ἢ ἄχνη πίπτει.

¹⁶² *Haltères* were weights made from stone or lead, usually around 2 kilograms each, one for each hand: see Miller (2004, 63-68) for more detailed discussion of jumping technique, with images.

¹⁶³ Flute accompaniment was associated especially with the

55. The jumping weight (*haltër*) is an invention of the pentathletes, and it was invented for jumping (*halma*), from which it takes its name.¹⁶² For the rules regard jumping as one of the more difficult of the contests, and therefore stimulate the jumper with flute playing,¹⁶³ and lighten him further by the use of the jumping weight; for it is a reliable guide for the hands and it produces a stable and precise landing on the ground. The laws make clear how valuable that is; for they refuse to measure the jump unless the footprint is perfect. Long jumping weights are used to exercise the shoulders and the hands, whereas round ones are used to exercise the fingers in addition.¹⁶⁴ They should be used by light and heavy athletes alike in all their exercises, except for those exercises that are used during a period of relaxation.

56. As far as types of dust are concerned, the type made from clay is suitable for cleansing and for restoring a harmonious balance in cases of excess; the kind made from brick dust is good for opening closed pores and bringing out sweat; and the type that is full of asphalt is useful for warming chilled parts of the body. Black and yellow dust are both like earth and are good for softening and nourishing the body; yellow dust also makes the body gleam and is more pleasant to look at when it is on a noble and well trained body. It is necessary to sprinkle the dust with a supple wrist and with the fingers spread, sprinkling rather than spreading it, so that the light dust falls over the athlete.

long jump (cf. Paus. 5.7.10 and 6.14.10) but is attested for a wide range of other events too.

¹⁶⁴ Here Philostratus moves on from jumping with *haltères* to discuss the use of the *haltër* for weight training.

57. Κώρυκος δὲ ἀνήφθω μὲν καὶ πύκταις, πολλὰ δὲ μάλλον τοῖς ἐπὶ τὸ παγκράτιον φοιτῶσιν. ἔστω δὲ κούφος μὲν ὁ πυκτικός, ἐπειδὴ καιροῦ γυμνάζονται μόνου¹¹⁵ αἱ τῶν πυκτῶν χεῖρες, ὁ δὲ τῶν παγκρατιστῶν ἐμβριθέστερος καὶ μείζων, ἵνα γυμνάζονται μὲν τὴν βᾶσιν ἀνθιστάμενοι τῇ τοῦ κωρύκου ἐπιφορᾷ, γυμνάζονται δὲ ὤμους τε καὶ δακτύλους ἐς ἀντίπαλόν τι παίοντες. ἡ κεφαλὴ ἐναραπτέτω καὶ πάντα ὁ ἀθλητῆς ὑποκείσθω τοῦ παγκρατίου τὰ ὀρθὰ εἶδη.

58. Εἰληθεροῦσι¹¹⁶ δὲ οἱ μὲν ἀμαθῶς αὐτὸ πράττοντες ἐν ἅπαντι τῷ ἡλίῳ καὶ πάντες, οἱ δὲ ξὺν ἐπιστήμῃ καὶ λόγῳ οὔτε αἰεὶ καὶ ὀπόσοις λῶον· οἱ μὲν γὰρ βόρειοι τῶν ἡλίων καὶ οἱ νήγεμοι καθαροὶ τέ εἰσι καὶ εὖειλοι ἅτε δὴ λευκοῦ ἐκβάλλοντες τοῦ αἰθέρος, οἱ δὲ νότιοί τε καὶ ἐκνεφίαὶ ὑγροὶ τέ εἰσι καὶ ὑπερκάοντες, οἷοι ἐπιθρύψαι¹¹⁷ μάλλον τοὺς γυμναζομένους ἢ θάλψαι. τὰς μὲν δὴ εὐηλίους τῶν ἡμερῶν εἶρηκα, ἡλιωτέοι δὲ οἱ φλεγματώδεις μάλλον, ἵνα τοῦ περιτοῦ ἐξικμάζονται, ἐπιχόλους δὲ ἀπάγειν χρῆ δὴ τούτου, ὡς μὴ πυρὶ πῦρ ἐπαντλοῖτο. καὶ ἡλιούσθων οἱ μὲν

¹¹⁵ μόνου Jüthner: μόνους P: μόναί F

¹¹⁶ εἶδη. Εἰληθεροῦσι Cobet: εἶδη: θέρους F

¹¹⁷ ἐπιθρύψαι P: ἐπιψύξαι F, M

¹⁶⁵ Exposure to the sun was thought to have an effect on the humoral balance of the body, most obviously because it had a warming effect; it also had a drying effect, through the process of sweating, which Philostratus mentions later in the chapter. It is

57. A punching bag should be hung up also for boxers, but all the more so for those who compete in the *pankration*. The punching bag for the boxers should be light, since the hands of boxers are to be trained only for opportune punching, but the punching bag for pankratiasts should be heavier and bigger, so that they might be trained to keep their footing by standing up to the impact of the bag, and so that they might train their shoulders and their fingers in striking against an opposing weight. The athlete should also dash his head against the bag and submit to all the upright procedures of the *pankration*.

58. Some athletes take sunbaths in an ignorant fashion, in every kind of sun and all in the same way;¹⁶⁵ others, by contrast, sunbathe with understanding and rationally, not in all circumstances, but rather waiting for the most beneficial types of sunshine. The kinds of sunshine that accompany the north wind and come on windless days are clean and healthily sunny because they come from a clear sky, but those that accompany the south wind or come on overcast days are moist and burn excessively, and are liable to enfeeble those in training rather than warming them. The days with good types of sunshine I have described. But phlegmatic athletes should be exposed to the sun more often, so as to sweat out excessive secretions, whereas choleric athletes should be kept away from the sun so that fire is not poured over fire. Those who are

therefore represented by Philostratus as appropriate for phlegmatic athletes, who have a wet and cold temperament, but not advisable for choleric athletes, whose temperament is dry and warm.

προήκοντες ἀργοὶ κείμενοι καὶ πρόσκειλοι κατὰ ταῦτα ὀπτωμένοι, οἱ δὲ σφριγῶντες ἐνεργοὶ καὶ γυμναζόμενοι πάντα καθάπερ Ἡλείοι νομίζουσι. τὸ δὲ πυριᾶσθαι καὶ ξηραλοιφεῖν, ἐπειδὴ τῆς ἀγροικότερας γυμναστικῆς ἔχεται, Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀφῶμεν, ὧν τὰ γυμνάσια οὔτε παγκρατίῳ οὔτε πυγμῇ εἴκασται. φασὶ δὲ αὐτοὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μηδὲ ἀγωνίας ἐνεκεν γυμνάζεσθαι τὴν ἰδέαν ταύτην, ἀλλὰ καρτερίας μόνης, ὅπερ δὴ μαστιγουμένων ἐστίν, ἐπειδὴ νόμος αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ ξαίνεισθαι.

¹⁶⁶ In other words, in the thirty days of preliminary training before the contests: see ch. 11, esp. n. 55.

¹⁶⁷ Effectively, saunas: many baths and gymnasia had small heated rooms for heating the body and encouraging sweat. The invention of this practice was ascribed to the Spartans in a number of ancient texts.

advanced in age should sunbathe while lying idle, exposed to the sun as if they are being roasted, whereas those who are in their prime should be active while they sunbathe and should be trained in all types of exercise, following the custom of the Eleans.¹⁶⁶ The practice of taking vapor baths¹⁶⁷ and dry-anointing,¹⁶⁸ since they belong to the more uncultivated style of training, let us leave them to the Spartans, whose exercises resemble neither the *pankration* nor boxing.¹⁶⁹ But the Spartans themselves say that they exercise in that way not for the sake of contest but solely for the sake of strength, and that is certainly the case for their practice of being whipped, since their law prescribes that they should be lacerated at the altar.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁸ This expression usually refers to precisely the kind of oiling in the gymnasium that Philostratus seems to take for granted as an essential part of athletic training elsewhere in this work, as opposed to oiling of the body in the course of taking a bath. In this passage, however, Philostratus seems to be using it more specifically to refer to the oiling that took place in the sauna room, again by contrast with oiling of the body in the baths.

¹⁶⁹ In other words, their contests are fought as free-for-alls, without reference to the rules of competition used in the rest of the Greek world; cf. Philostr. *Imag.* 2.6.3, on the Spartan acceptance of biting and gouging in the *pankration*.

¹⁷⁰ A reference to the annual contest in which boys were whipped at the altar of Artemis Orthia in Sparta as a test of endurance.

DISCOURSES

INTRODUCTION

The *dialexis*—a brief discourse usually on a philosophical or rhetorical topic and pitched somewhere between a strict investigation and a “ramble” (λαλιά)—was a form of rhetorical display popular in Philostratus’ era, sometimes composed as a prologue to a more formal exercise (cf. *Men. Rhet. Treatise II* [388.16–394.31]; it had been in the sophistic repertory during the fifth century and further developed by Plato and other Socratics in the fourth.¹

Two such discourses are preserved under the name of Philostratus. *Discourse 1* treats epistolary style,² with comments on notable practitioners;³ it may be by Philostratus’ homonymous nephew if it is the same work referred to in *VS* 628 as a letter meant to instruct Aspasius, newly appointed as imperial secretary, on the niceties of

¹ The term derives from the verb διαλέγεσθαι (*dialegesthai*), “to converse,” “to discuss,” “to discourse (on)”: see M. B. Trapp, *Maximus of Tyre, The Philosophical Orations* (Oxford, 1997), xl.

² For this topic, see Abraham J. Malherbe, *Ancient Epistolary Theorists* (Atlanta, GA, 1988). He gives his own translation on p. 43.

³ The collection of love letters ascribed to Philostratus himself is edited and translated in A. R. Benmer and F. H. Fobes, *Alciphron, Aelian and Philostratus: The Letters*, Loeb Classical Library 383 (Cambridge, MA, 1949).

epistolary style. *Discourse 2* suggests reasons for thinking that Nature and Culture are not, as is customarily thought, polar opposites, but rather “closely akin” and interpermeable.⁴

The text is Kayser’s, repunctuated and translated by Jeffrey Rusten.

⁴ *Discourse 2* is translated and discussed also in S. Swain, “Culture and Nature in Philostratus,” in *Philostratus*, ed. Ewen Bowie and Jaś Elsner (Cambridge, 2009), 33–46.

ΔΙΑΛΕΞΕΙΣ

I.

Τὸν ἐπιστολικὸν χαρακτήρα τοῦ λόγου μετὰ τοὺς παλαιοὺς ἄριστα μοι δοκοῦσι διασκέφθαι φιλοσόφων μὲν ὁ Τυανεύς καὶ Δίων, στρατηγῶν δὲ Βρούτος ἢ ὄψω Βρούτος ἐς τὸ ἐπιστέλλειν ἐχρήτο, βασιλέων δὲ ὁ θεσπέσιος Μάρκος ἐν οἷς ἐπέστελλεν αὐτός, πρὸς γὰρ τῷ κεκριμένῳ τοῦ λόγου καὶ τὸ ἐδραῖον τοῦ ἥθους ἐντετύπωτο τοῖς γράμμασι, ῥητόρων δὲ ἄριστα μὲν Ἡρώδης ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐπέστελλεν, ὑπεραττικίζων δὲ καὶ ὑπερλαλῶν ἐκπίπτει πολλαχοῦ τοῦ πρέποντος ἐπιστολῆ χαρακτήρος. δεῖ γὰρ φαίνεσθαι τῶν ἐπιστολῶν τὴν ἰδέαν ἀττικωτέραν μὲν συνηθείας, συνηθεστέραν δὲ ἀττικίσεως καὶ συγκείσθαι μὲν πολιτικῶς, τοῦ δὲ ἀβροῦ μὴ ἀπάδειν. ἐχέτω δὲ τὸ εὐσχημον ἐν

¹ For the preserved letters of Apollonius of Tyana, see the introduction, text, and translation of C. P. Jones, *Philostratus, the Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, Loeb Classical Library 458 (Cambridge, MA, 2006), 2–79.

² Five letters ascribed to Dio of Prusa are translated in *Dio Chrysostom*, vol. 5, tr. H. Lamar Crosby, Loeb Classical Library 385 (Cambridge, MA, 1951), 354–59.

DISCOURSES

I.

It seems to me that, after the ancients, those who have engaged best in the epistolary style of discourse are the man of Tyana¹ and Dio² among philosophers, Brutus among generals (or whoever Brutus employed to write letters),³ among emperors the divine Marcus⁴ in the letters he wrote himself, since in addition to his exquisite style he also left an impression in his writing of the stability of his character; among rhetoricians Herodes of Athens wrote letters best, but in his hyperatticism and chattiness he often lapses from the style that suits a letter. For the form of letters must be more attic than the everyday style, but more everyday than the attic style, and be composed seriously, yet not depart from delicacy. Let its elegance

³ Thirty-five short letters of the tyrannicide are preserved in multiple manuscripts and known to Plutarch (*Brutus* 22–23, 29). Christopher P. Jones, “The Greek Letters Ascribed to Brutus,” *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* (forthcoming), argues for their genuineness and gives a translation and historical commentary on the letters from 43–42 BC.

⁴ See G. Cortassa, “Fozio, Filostrato di Lemno e le lettere greche di Marco Aurelio,” *Sileno* 20 (1994): 193–200.

τῷ μὴ ἐσχηματίσθαι, εἰ γὰρ σχηματιοῦμεν, φιλοτιμείσθαι δόξομεν, φιλοτιμία δὲ ἐν ἐπιστολῇ μεираκιῶδες. κύκλον δὲ ἀποτορνένειν ἐν μὲν ταῖς βραχυτέραις τῶν ἐπιστολῶν ξυγχωρῶ, ἵνα τούτῳ γούν ἢ βραχυλογία ὠραίζουτο ἐς ἄλλην ἢ ἡὼ πάσα στενή οὐσα, τῶν δὲ ἐς μῆκος προηγμένων ἐπιστολῶν ἐξαιρεῖν χρὴ κύκλους, ἀγωνιστικώτερον γὰρ ἢ κατὰ ἐπιστολήν τούτο, πλὴν εἰ μὴ πον ἐπὶ τελευτῆς τῶν ἐπεσταλμένων ἢ ξυλλαβεῖν δέοι τὰ προειρημένα ἢ ξυγκλείσαι τὸ ἐπὶ πᾶσι νόημα. σαφήνεια δὲ ἀγαθὴ μὲν ἡγεμῶν ἅπαντος λόγου, μάλιστα δὲ ἐπιστολῆς· καὶ γὰρ διδόντες καὶ δέομενοι καὶ ξυγχωροῦντες καὶ μὴ καὶ καθαπτόμενοι καὶ ἀπολογοῦμενοι καὶ ἐρώντες ῥᾶον πείσομεν, ἦν σαφῶς ἐρμηνεύσωμεν σαφῶς δὲ ἐρμηνεύσομεν καὶ ἕξω εὐτελείας, ἦν τῶν νοηθέντων τὰ μὲν κοινὰ καινῶς φράσωμεν, τὰ δὲ καινὰ κοινῶς.

II.

Οἱ τὸν νόμον τῇ φύσει ἀνθομοιοῦντες ἀντικείμενοι μὲν ταῦτά φασι ἀλλήλοις, καθάπερ τὸ λευκὸν τῷ μέλανι καὶ τὸ μανθὸν τῷ πυκνῷ καὶ τὸ μελιχρὸν τῷ πικρῷ καὶ τὸ ψυχρὸν τῷ θάλποντι, εἶναι δὲ φύσεως μὲν ἔργα ζῶα καὶ ἄστρα καὶ ποταμούς καὶ ἴδας καὶ πεδία καὶ ἰσθμούς καὶ πορθμούς καὶ καθάπαξ τὸ ὑπὲρ τέχνην, νόμου δὲ ἔργα τείχη καὶ νεώσοικοι καὶ ναῦς καὶ ἀσπίς καὶ λήια καὶ πᾶν τὸ ὑπὸ χεῖρα.

καὶ τὰ μὲν τῆς φύσεως ἀφθάρτα εἶναι τὸν ἀεὶ

consist in not being encoded, since if we encode we seem vain, and vanity in a letter is juvenile. As for rounding off a period, I concede it in shorter letters, so that at least in this its concision may seem beautiful, whereas in other sound effects it remains entirely narrow; but from letters that reach some length one must remove periods, since that style is too aggressive for a letter, unless of course at the end of one's missive one has either to summarize the preceding, or set on it all a concluding observation. A good guide to every style is clarity, and especially for a letter; whether we are granting or petitioning, or yielding or not, or finding fault or defending ourselves, or in love, we will persuade more easily if our expression is clear; and our expression will be clear and avoid parsimony if we set forth common thoughts with novelty, and novel ones with a common touch.

II.

Those who contrast Custom with Nature state that these are opposed to each other just as white to black or sparse to dense or sweet to bitter or cold to warm; and that the works of Nature are animals, stars, rivers, trees, plains, isthmuses, straits and whatever cannot be fabricated, while those of Custom are walls, ship sheds, a ship, a spear, crops and everything produced by hand.

And (they say) that the things of Nature are eternally

χρόνον, τὴν τε θάλατταν μένειν, ὁπόση ἐγένετο, καὶ τὴν γῆν, ὁπόση ὠρίσθη, καὶ τὸν αἰθέρα, ὡς ἔφην, ἄστρα τε καὶ ὥρας, ὡς ἐκείνων κύκλος, καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ ζῶα δὲ αὐτῆς ἦκον φθείρεσθαι μὲν αὐτὰ τὰ τικτόμενα, τὸ δὲ αἰεὶ τίκτον παρέχειν τῇ φύσει τὸν τοῦ ἀκηράτου λόγον,

τὰ δὲ τοῦ νόμου φθαρτά τε εἶναι καὶ (χρόνω) ἀλωτά, τείχη τε γὰρ καὶ ἱερά τὰ μὲν ἀλίσκεσθαι, τὰ δὲ φθείρεσθαι σὺν χρόνω, οἰκίαν δὲ τὴν εἰς κατεσκευασμένην δῆλον εἶναι, ὅτι οὐκ αἰεὶ ἐστήξει καὶ τὸ ναυπηγηθὲν οὐκ εἶναι βέβαιον ὅτι μηδ' ἡ θάλαττα βεβαία ἀνθρώποις, τεκτονικὴν τε καὶ χαλκευτικὴν πᾶσαν φθαρτὰ ἐργάζεσθαι τῷ νόμῳ, καὶ τὸν μὲν νόμον οὐκ ἂν δημιουργῆσαι ζῶον ἔμφυχον οὐδέν, οὐδ' ἄστρον, οὐδ' αἰθέρα, οὐδ' ἄλλο τι τῶν ὄδε θεσπεσίων καὶ μεγάλων, τὴν φύσιν δὲ ὁμοιοῦσθαι πολλαχοῦ τοῖς τοῦ νόμου εἶδεσι, χωρία τε γὰρ ὀχυροῦν τείχεσιν ἀσφαλεστέροις τῶν ποιηθέντων ἄντρα τε κισσηρεφῆ κατανογύνναι ἠδῖω οἴκων καὶ που καὶ ἀγαλμα διδόναι πέτρα συμφνὲς σατυρικόν τι ἢ Πανὶ ὅμοιον, ὄρη τε καὶ σκοπιὰς ὁμοιοῦν ζώους, οἶον [τῆς] αὐτῆς ὁ ἐν Λήμνῳ δράκων καὶ ὁ ἐν Κρήτῃ λέων καὶ ἡ βούκρανος ἢ πρὸς Χίῳ, ἀγαλματοποιούσης τε κατὰ τὸν νόμον καὶ τὰς νεφέλας ἐς εἶδη ζῶων ἀγούσης· βλέφαντι γοῦν ἐς αὐτὰς λύκοις τε ὁμοιοῦνται καὶ παρδάλεσι καὶ κενταύροις καὶ ἄρμασι, καὶ οὐδὲ ὁ κύκλος τῆς σελήνης ἄσημος, ἀλλὰ κακείνω τι ἐντετύπεται πρόσωπον οἶον γραφῆς ἀρρήτου·

imperishable—the sea endures as it came into being, the land as it was ordained, the heaven as it was born, and the stars and the cycle of the seasons, and as to the part of Nature relating to animals, those that are born themselves die, but what eternally gives birth provides to Nature its unmixed essence.

Whereas (they say) the things of Custom are perishable and subject to time, for walls and temples may be captured, or crumble with age, and it is clear that even a well-constructed house will not stand forever, and that a well-built ship is not secure because for men the sea is not secure either, and that all architecture and bronze-working produce things that are perishable by Custom. And they say that whereas Custom could not manufacture any living animal, or star, or the sky, or any other things so divine and great, nevertheless Nature is everywhere assimilated to the appearance of Custom: for she fortifies territories with walls that are more secure than those made by hand, and opens up ivy-covered caves that are sweeter than houses, and produces a statue growing upon a rock, something like a satyr or resembling Pan, and she likens mountains and rock towers to animals, for example the Dragon on Lemnos, and the lion on Crete, and the Ox skull on Chios, since she is a maker of statues to match Custom and brings on clouds in the shapes of animals—at least, when you look at them they resemble wolves and leopards and centaurs and chariots; the circular moon is not unrecognizable either, a face like an ineffable painting has been carved on it.

ἐμοὶ δὲ νόμος καὶ φύσις οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἐναντίω φαίνεσθον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ξυγγενεστάτω καὶ ὁμοίω καὶ διήκοντε ἀλλήλων· νόμος τε γὰρ παριτητέος ἐς φύσιν καὶ φύσις ἐς νόμον καὶ καλοῦμεν αὐτοῖν τὸ μὲν ἀρχήν, τὸ δ' ἐπόμενον, κεκληρώσθω δὲ ἀρχὴν μὲν φύσις, νόμος δὲ τὸ ἔπεισθαι, οὔτε γὰρ ἂν νόμος ἐτειχοποίησεν ἢ ὑπὲρ τείχους ὤπλισεν, εἰ μὴ φύσις ἔδωκεν ἀνθρώπῳ χεῖρας, οὔτ' ἂν ἡ φύσις (τι) τῶν ἐνεργούντων ἔδειξεν, εἰ μὴ τέχναι ἐνομίσθησαν, ἔδωκε τε φύσις μὲν νόμῳ θάλατταν αἰθέρα ἄστρα, νόμος δὲ αὐτῷ φύσει γεωργίαν ναυτιλίαν ἀστρονομίαν καὶ ὀνόματα κείσθαι ταῖς ὥραις, ἄργυρόν τε καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ ἀδάμαντα καὶ μάργαρον καὶ τὰ ὄδε σπανιστὰ φύσις μὲν εἴρε, νόμος δ' ἐτίμησε. περιωπήσας δ' ἂν καὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπου ὁμοίως ἔχοντα· φύσις μὲν ἐννοῦν δημιουργεῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ λογικὸν καὶ εὐφῶν πάντα, νόμος δὲ παιδεύει καὶ ὀπλιζει καὶ ὑποδεῖ καὶ ἀμφιένυσιν, ἐπειδὴ γυμνὸς αὐτῷ παρὰ τῆς φύσεως πέμπεται, προτίθησι δὲ ὁ νόμος καὶ ἀρετῆς ἄθλα ἀνθρώποις, οἷον τιμῶν τὴν φύσιν.

καὶ μὴ τὸν νόμον ἀφαιρώμεθα τὸν τοῦ ἀθανάτου λόγον, καὶ γὰρ εἰ καὶ φθαρτὰ ἐργάζεται, ἀλλ' ἀθάνατά γε αὐτὰ ποιεῖ, ὄνομα δὲ αὐτῷ τέχνη. ἠπείρου δὲ ἀπορραγείσα νῆσος καὶ νήσῳ ξυμβαλοῦσα ἠπειρος καὶ Πηνεὶδς Ὀλύμπου διεκπεσῶν οὐ φύσεως ταῦτα οὐδὲ νόμον ἔργα· ἔστι τι ἀμφοῖν μέσον, ὃ καλεῖται συμβεβηκός, ὑφ' οὗ ὁ νόμος ὁμοιοῦται φύσει καὶ φύσις μεταβάλλει ἐς νόμον.

But to me Custom and Nature not only do not seem opposed, but actually most closely akin and similar and permeating each other. For the road to Nature leads through Custom and vice versa, and we call one of them the starting point and the other the consequence—let the start be allotted to Nature, the follow up to Custom. For neither would Custom have built a wall or armed men to breach it unless Nature had given men hands, nor would Nature have revealed anything that was effective, if their crafts had not existed by Custom. Nature gave to Custom the sea, the sky and the stars, whereas Custom in turn gave to Nature farming, seafaring and astronomy and the naming of the seasons; it was Nature that discovered gold and silver and adamant and pearls and substances so rare, but it took Custom to prize them. You could behold human behavior in the same way: Nature makes a man conscious and rational and talented in everything; Custom educates him and arms him and give him shoes and clothing (since he is naked when sent to him by Nature). Custom institutes prizes for human superiority, as if to pay Nature a compliment.

And let us not deprive Custom of its immortal essence, for even if its products are perishable, nevertheless this makes them immortal; its name is Art. When an island breaks away from the coast or the coast crashes into an island or Peneius falls from Olympus, these are the deeds of neither Nature nor Custom; there is something between the two which is called coincidence by which Custom is made similar to Nature, and Nature changes into Custom.

INDEX TO *HEROICUS*

References to the Introduction (*Introd.*) are by page number; references to the translation and notes of the *Heroicus* (*Her.*) are by chapter and section number.

- Abderos, *Her.* 26.4; 45.6
 Abiol, *Her.* 23.10, 10n73
 Abydos, *Her.* 33.23, 23n133
 Acarnania, *Her.* 54.5
 Achates, *Introd.* 46n124
 Achelous, *Her.* 15.5; 54.5
 Acherousian lake, *Her.* 58.3
 Achilles, *Introd.* 9, 10, 23n75, 26, 28–32, 34, 36–37, 39, 50–51, 54–55, 59–68; *Her.* 9.2n45; 11.2n50; 12.2; 13.3, 3n53, 4; 19.5; 21.9; 23.4, 20, 24, 25; 24.2; 25.12n84, 16; 26.7, 10, 15, 18, 18n95; 27.8, 12; 32.2; 33.3n125; 35.5–14; 37.1n155; 45.1–51.3; 53.8–56.11, 57.12–16; cult by Thessalians, *Introd.* 62; *Her.* 53.8–23; death in ambush, *Introd.* 55; *Her.* 47.3–4; 51.1–6; education, temperament *Her.* 33.22; 45.4–8; 48.4; and Palamedes, *Her.* 33.19–23, 34–37; physical appearance, *Her.* 48.2–4; and Polyxena, *Introd.* 10, 30, 59, 67; *Her.* 51.2–6; shield, *Introd.* 60–61; *Her.* 47.1n174, 1–5; as songwriter, *Her.* 33.35; 45.6–7; 54.12–55.3; statue, *Her.* 54.3; tomb and mound, *Introd.* 9, 29, 34n109; *Her.* 21.3; 51.2, 6; 52.3; 53.10n194, 11–13, 16
 Actaeus, *Her.* 23.13
 Adeimantus, *Her.* 1.5n6
 Admetus, *Her.* 11.8
 Adonis, *Her.* 45.6
 Adrastus, *Introd.* 20
 Aeacidae, *Introd.* 22n67; *Her.* 12.2; 23.13; 33.30; 39.3; 53.15, 15n197
 Aeacus, *Her.* 58.3
 Aegean Sea, *Introd.* 34; *Her.* 1.2
 Aegina, *Introd.* 22n67
 Aelius Aristides, *Introd.* 7, 36, 58, 67
 Aeneas, *Introd.* 46n124; *Her.*

INDEX TO HEROICUS

- 27.1n96, 5; 33.28n135;
38.1-2
Aeolia/Aeolians, *Her.* 8.6; 28.10;
33.48
Aepyros, *Her.* 8.12n40
Aeschylus, *Introd.* 52, 56; *Her.*
6.5n23; 27.2n98; 28.1n102;
51.7n183
Aetolians, *Introd.* 68
Agamemnon, *Introd.* 17, 49, 52,
54n137; *Her.* 23.30, 30n80;
26.9; 27.6, 10, 10n101;
29.1, 2n110, 3; 31.2, 2-3, 7;
33.12n129; and Achilles,
Her. 48.6-9; and Palamedes,
Her. 33.13, 24-33
Agathion, *Introd.* 32, 59
agora (Athens), *Introd.* 22
Aiaia, *Her.* 34.5
Aianteion, *Her.* 20.2
Aidoneus, *Her.* 25.9
Aithiops, *Introd.* 64; *Her.*
26.16n91, 18n95;
56.11n212
Ajax (son of Telamon [the
greater]), *Introd.* 23n75,
34, 58, 58n148, 61; *Her.*
8.1, 1n30; 12.1; 18.3-5;
19.8-20.2; 23.18-19,
21-22; 27.8; 30.3; 31.6;
33.3n125, 30n136, 33-34,
39; 35.1-15, 15n154; 37.2;
48.20n179, 20-22; 49.2;
55.3; and Achilles, *Her.*
35.5; 48.22; madness of,
Her. 18.3, 3n65; 35.12; and
Palamedes, *Her.* 33.33;
statue, *Introd.* 34n108;
Her. 35.7; tomb, *Introd.* 34;
Her. 8.1, 1n30; 18.4; 19.9.
See also Aianteion
Ajax Locrian (lesser), *Her.* 12.1;
23.20; 31.1n115, 1-6;
33.30; 35.1; 43.7; 49.2;
funerary ship burning,
Introd. 61-62; *Her.* 31.8-9
Akesa, *Her.* 28.6
Alcaeus, *Introd.* 64
Alcestis, *Her.* 11.8
Alcidamas, *Introd.* 53n136; *Her.*
43.7n165
Alcmaeon, *Introd.* 44; *Her.* 54.5
Alcmene, *Introd.* 20; *Her.* 7.5
Aldus Manutius, *Introd.* 68
Alexander, *Her.* 40.1, 1n160. *See*
also Paris
Alexander Severus, *Introd.* 10,
41n117; *Her.* 53.22n201
Alexander the Great, *Introd.* 9,
24n76, 29, 34, 49, 55; *Her.*
10.5n49; 53.16
Alkyoneus, *Her.* 8.15
Aloadae, *Her.* 8.14
Amaltheia, *Her.* 7.7
Amazons, *Introd.* 23n75, 55, 67;
Her. 23.26; 29n79;
54.2n204; 56.11-57.17;
57.3n216
Amphiaraus, *Introd.* 44; *Her.*
16.5n61; 17.1, 1n62
Amphilochus, *Introd.* 24, 28,
44; *Her.* 17.1, 1n62
Amphion, *Introd.* 18
Amphipolis, *Introd.* 23n73; *Her.*
17.5n64
Anagyros, *Introd.* 47n126
Anaxilas, *Her.* 37.3n156
Anchises, *Her.* 45.3

INDEX TO HEROICUS

- Andros, *Her.* 31.6
Antenor, *Her.* 29.6n113
Anthesteria (Athenian festival),
Introd. 37; *Her.* 35.9,
9n150
Anthesterion (Athenian month),
Her. 39.9
Antigonos, *Introd.* 27, 32n98;
Her. 3.6n11
Antilocheus, *Her.* 22.3; 26.6, 12,
15, 18, 18n94; 33.39; 48.19,
19n178
Antinous, *Introd.* 26, 66n158
Antipater (epigrammatist), *Her.*
8.1n30
Antipater of Hierapolis (soph-
ist), *Introd.* 7
Antiphilus of Byzantium, *Introd.*
47n126
Antiphon, *Introd.* 16n36
Antisara, *Introd.* 18
Antissa, *Her.* 28.8n108
Antony, *Introd.* 34n108
Antron, *Introd.* 46
Aphrodite, *Her.* 27.1n96
Apollo, *Introd.* 19, 37, 44, 57,
59, 60, 64, 68; *Her.* 1.4n4;
8.5n33, 6n35; 25.9;
27.7n100; 28.8n108; 33.14,
14n130; 35.12; 39.2; 42.3;
43.4, 6; 51.1
"Apollodoros," *Bibliotheca*,
Introd. 20n56, 59; *Her.*
4.1n12
Apollodoros of Athens, *Her.*
33.36n139
Apollonius of Tyana. *See* Philostratus: *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*
Apuleius, *Introd.* 40
Arcadia/Arcadians, *Introd.* 27,
58; *Her.* 23.15; 26.15
Archemoros/Opheltes (child
hero), *Introd.* 18
Archemoros of Euboea, *Her.*
29.5n112
Ares, *Introd.* 58; *Her.* 23.20;
25.9; 27.1n96; 57.3
Argo, *Introd.* 12
Argolid, *Introd.* 12
Argonauts, *Her.* 26.4n89
Argos and Argives, *Introd.* 44;
Her. 29.4; 42.1n164
Ariadne, *Introd.* 37; *Her.* 11.8
Ariades, *Her.* 8.4
Aristaenetus, *Introd.* 3.4n10
Aristarchus, *Introd.* 12n24; *Her.*
51.7n184
Aristides. *See* Aelius Aristides
Aristodemus of Thebes, *Her.*
37.1n155
Aristophanes, *Introd.* 25n84,
47n126, 64; *Her.* 4.1n12;
40.6n163
Aristotle, *Introd.* 12n26, 43
Arrian, *Introd.* 34n110, 49, 65
Artakyles, *Introd.* 47, 47n127,
48, 49
Artemidorus, *Her.* 6.5n22
Asbolus, *Her.* 55.5, 5n209
Ascalaphus, *Introd.* 58
Asclepius, *Introd.* 28, 36; *Her.*
28.2; 33.2
Asia, *Introd.* 33
Assyria/Assyrians, *Her.* 8.4; 19.9
Asteropaëus, *Her.* 48.14n177,
14-16
Astrampsyclus, *Her.* 6.5n22

INDEX TO HEROICUS

- Astydamas, *Her.* 18.3n65
 Atalante (island), *Her.* 53.21, 21n200
 Athena, *Introd.* 20, 34n105, 52, 68; *Her.* 3.1; 6.2; 10.2; 25.9, 13; 27.1n96; 31.4, 4n117; 33.8n126; 34.2; 45.7; 46.2
 Athens/Athenians, *Introd.* 7, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 68; *Her.* 23.19; 27.2; 29.4; 35.9, 9n149, 13; 53.15n197
 Atreidae, *Her.* 23.20
 Atreus, *Her.* 33.20n122
 Attalus II, *Introd.* 57
 Attica, *Introd.* 12, 23; *Her.* 5.4; 17.1n62
 Auge, *Introd.* 56
 Augustine, *Introd.* 19, 34n108
 Augustus, *Her.* 8.15n42
 Aulis, *Introd.* 37; *Her.* 7.2; 13.3; 23.3, 11n74, 19; 24.1n77; 26.7; 30.1; 33.3, 3n125; 46.5-6
 Aurelius Helix. *See* Helix
 Autoonoo, *Introd.* 23n75, 67
 Axius, *Her.* 48.14
 Babrius, *Introd.* 25
 Babylon, *Her.* 28.10
 Balius, *Her.* 50.1n180; 53.16
 Battos, *Introd.* 23n73
 Black Sea, *Introd.* 28, 35, 64, 65; *Her.* 22.1; 53.10n194, 18; 54.1-9, 2n204; 55.6; 56.4; 57.2-3, 2n215, 8
 Boeotia, *Introd.* 12, 24; *Her.* 17.1n62; 28.8
 Borysthenes (river), *Her.* 53.7
 Boura, *Her.* 53.21, 21n200
 Brasidas, *Introd.* 23n73
 Brennus, *Introd.* 23n75, 68; *Her.* 56.11n214
 Briseis, *Her.* 33.28n135
 Calchas, *Her.* 23.5; 35.15; 41.1
 Calcydon, *Her.* 4.1n12
 Callimachus, *Introd.* 26, 68n160; *Her.* 1.3n3; 33.14n131
 Calliope, *Her.* 43.6; 45.7; 54.12
 Calydonian boar, *Her.* 46.2
 Capaneus, *Her.* 11.8; 27.1; 33.30
 Caphareus, Cape, *Her.* 31.6n119
 Capitoline games, *Introd.* 10; *Her.* 15.10n60
 Cappadocia, *Introd.* 8
 Caracalla, *Introd.* 8, 9, 29, 34, 55
 Carians, *Her.* 28.6
 Carthaginians, *Introd.* 41n117
 Cassandra, *Her.* 31.5n117
 catalog of ships, *Her.* 28.1n102
 Chalcis, *Her.* 43.7-9
 Cheops, pyramid of, *Introd.* 62
 Chersonnese, *Introd.* 44, 47, 48; *Her.* 4.2; 9.1; 33.34; 51.8n188
 Chios, *Her.* 56.5
 Chiron, *Her.* 32.1, 1n122; 33.2, 2n124; 45.4-6; 48.5
 Chrysis, *Her.* 25.16
 Cicero, *Introd.* 42, 43; *Her.* 8.13n41
 Cicones, *Her.* 34.3, 3n144
 Cilicia/Cilicians, *Introd.* 24, 44; *Her.* 14.4; 17.1, 1n62

INDEX TO HEROICUS

- Cimon, *Introd.* 23n75
 Circe, *Her.* 25.13
 Citium, *Introd.* 23n75
 Clazomenae, *Her.* 23.30n80
 Cleisthenes, *Introd.* 23
 Cleomedes of Astypalaea, *Introd.* 19-20
 Cnidus, *Introd.* 32n98; *Her.* 3.6n11
 Cocytus, *Her.* 58.3
 Commodus, *Her.* 9.6n47
 Corinth/Corinthians, *Introd.* 18, 22; *Her.* 52.4
 Cos, *Introd.* 34
 Creon, *Introd.* 22n67
 Cretan amphoras, *Her.* 8.11n39
 Crete/Cretans, *Introd.* 29; *Her.* 30.1
 Cyclopes, *Her.* 1.5, 5n5; 25.13
 Cynus, *Her.* 25.7
 Cypria, *Introd.* 49; *Her.* 28.1n102; 33.20n132, 28n135; 45.8n173
 Cyrene, *Introd.* 23n73
 Cyrus the great, *Her.* 28.12n109
 Damis, *Introd.* 8
 Danube, *Introd.* 57-58; *Her.* 23.21; 28.12; 54.7
 Danube, sons of, *Introd.* 58
 Dardanos/Dardanians, *Introd.* 46n124; *Her.* 59.4; 56.7
 Dares of Phrygia, *Introd.* 30, 36, 54n137, 57n147
 Dawn (divinity), *Her.* 45.3
 Death (divinity), *Her.* 39.4n159
 Deianeira, *Her.* 28.1n103
 Deidameia, *Introd.* 55; *Her.* 45.8n173
 Deiphobus, *Introd.* 59; *Her.* 26.18; 41.1; 43.3
 Delos, *Introd.* 64; *Her.* 53.5
 Delphi/Delphians/Delphic oracle, *Introd.* 20, 22, 23, 23n75, 24, 67, 68; *Her.* 15.2; 28.8; 56.11n214
 Demeter, *Introd.* 46; *Her.* 1.5
 Demodocus, *Her.* 25.13
 Demosthenes, *Her.* 4.4n14
 Deucalion, *Her.* 7.6
 Dictys of Crete, *Introd.* 29, 30, 36, 54n137, 55n140, 57n147, 59; *Her.* 30.1n114; 31.6n118; 33.20n132; 37.1n155; 51.6n182
 Dio Cassius, *Her.* 15.9n59
 Dio of Prusa, *Introd.* 7, 31, 32, 36n112, 57; *Her.* 7.3n25
 Diodorus Siculus, *Introd.* 20n56; *Her.* 53.15n197, 21n200
 Diogenes Laertius, *Introd.* 16n37, 24n82; *Her.* 29.2n110
 Diomedes (owner of man-eating horses), *Her.* 45.6
 Diomedes, *Introd.* 52, 54n137; *Her.* 4.1n12; 12.1; 17.3, 5n64, 6; 23.20, 23; 27.1n96, 2, 8, 10, 10n101, 11-12; 28.7; 31.1; 33.12n129, 38
 Dionysius of Miletus, *Introd.* 7
 Dionysius Scytobrachion, *Introd.* 29
 Dionysus, *Introd.* 28, 29, 50n131; *Her.* 1.4n4, 5
 Dioscuri, *Introd.* 28
 Dirce, *Introd.* 20n57

INDEX TO HEROICUS

- Dodona, *Her.* 28.8; 53.8
 Doloneia, *Introd.* 54n137
 Draco, *Introd.* 23
- Echinades islands, *Her.* 54.5
 Echo (divinity), *Her.* 45.6n172; 55.3
 Eetion, *Introd.* 47n126
 Egeria, *Introd.* 32
 Egypt/Egyptians, *Introd.* 31; *Her.* 6.3; 25.10; 26.16; 54.4
 ekphrasis. See *Heroicus*: ekphrasis and physiognomy
 Elaious, *Introd.* 5, 33, 35, 46, 47, 48, 48, 49; *Her.* 17.1n62; 26.19
 Eleans, *Her.* 15.9
 Eleusis, *Introd.* 18; *Her.* 27.2n98
 Empedocles, *Introd.* 15n35, 24n82
 Enceladus, *Her.* 8.7
 Endymion, *Her.* 45.3
 Epeius, *Her.* 25.13; 34.2
 epic cycle, 18.3n65. See also *Aithiopsis*; *Cypria*; *Epigonoi*; *Little Iliad*; *Sack of Troy*; *Telegony*
Epigonoi, *Her.* 27.2n99
Epigonus, *Introd.* 27
Epizelos, *Her.* 4.2n13
Erechtheus, *Introd.* 11n18
Eriphyle, *Introd.* 44
Erythia, *Her.* 8.17
 Ethiopia/Ethiopians, *Her.* 26.16
 Euanthes, *Her.* 17.2
 Euboea, *Her.* 29.5; 31.6n119
 Eudaimon of Egypt, *Her.* 15.7
 Euenus, *Her.* 28.6
- Euhemerus, *Introd.* 29
 Euphorbos, *Introd.* 46n124, 60; *Her.* 26.17; 33.39, 41; 42.1n164, 1-2; 43.2
 Euripides, *Introd.* 15n44, 19, 20, 20n56, 49, 52, 54, 56, 64; *Her.* 1.4n4; 2.10n9; 4.1n12; 5.3n18; 12.3n53; 25.12n84; 27.2n98; 28.1n102; 29.4n111; 33.42n140; 34.7; 45.8n173; 47.1n174; 54.2n204
 Euripus (river), *Her.* 43.9
 Europe, *Introd.* 33; *Her.* 28.11; 31.1n115, 2
 Euryppylos, *Her.* 23.7n71
 Eurysakes, *Her.* 35.9
 Eurystheus, *Introd.* 20
 Eustathius, *Her.* 33.3n125
 Evadne, *Introd.* 37; *Her.* 11.8n52 (confused with Ariadne)
- Fates, *Her.* 2.11; 33.2
 Favorinus of Arelate, *Introd.* 7
 Festus, *Introd.* 9
 Fulvius Plautianus, *Introd.* 8
- Galen, *Introd.* 6n5
 Callipoli, *Introd.* 5, 33, 46, 63n154
 Gauls, *Introd.* 68; *Her.* 56.11n214
 Geryon, *Her.* 8.17; 26.3
 Giants, *Her.* 8.6n34
 Glaucus, *Her.* 39.1
 Glauke, *Her.* 53.4
 Golden age, *Introd.* 13
 Gordian, *Introd.* 10n17

INDEX TO HEROICUS

- Gorgias, *Introd.* 53-4
 Gorgon, *Her.* 25.7
 Graces, *Her.* 29.2
 Gyges, *Her.* 8.3
Gymnasticus. See Philostratus
 Gyrai, *Her.* 31.6
- Hades, *Her.* 34.4
 Hadrian, *Introd.* 7, 26, 26, 31, 34, 65; *Her.* 8.1, 1n30; 35.15n154
 Haemus (son of Ares), *Introd.* 58; *Her.* 23.20, 23
 Hecataeus, *Introd.* 31
 Hector, *Introd.* 26, 28, 30, 31, 34n106, 44, 46n124, 55, 60; *Her.* 18.6; 19.3n66, 5, 7; 23.22; 25.11, 13; 26.16, 18n95; 33.12n129; 37.1-5; 42.2; 48.10, 20n179, 22; 51.4; 56.7; statue, *Introd.* 34; *Her.* 19.3-7; 37.5
 Helen, *Introd.* 10, 31, 45n123, 67; *Her.* 2.9; 4.2n13; 23.28; 24.2; 25.11; 31.2; 40.3; 54.3-8; 56.8
 Helenus, *Her.* 41.1; 43.3
 Helice, *Her.* 53.21, 21n200
 Heliodoros, *Introd.* 63
 Helios, *Her.* 21.3
 Helix (athlete), *Introd.* 10, 60; *Her.* 15.8, 10n60
 Hellespont, *Introd.* 33, 46; *Her.* 8.6; 22.4; 33.16; 57.13, 18
 Hephaestus, *Introd.* 30, 61, 62; *Her.* 25.3; 28.5; 47.2n174, 5
 Hera, *Introd.* 12
 Heracles, *Introd.* 20, 28, 34n107, 36n112, 56; *Her.* 7.5; 8.14, 17; 23.9, 11n74; 26.3-5, 4n88; 28.1-3; 32.1; 35.1, 6; 39.3; 53.1; 55.5, 6
 Heracles, baths of, *Her.* 23.30n80
 Heracles, cults of, *Introd.* 63
 Heraclides of Pontus, *Introd.* 24n82
 Heraclitus, *Introd.* 15
 herm, *Her.* 10.5, 5n48
 Hermeias of Egypt, *Her.* 15.6
 Hermes, *Introd.* 27; *Her.* 6.1; 25.9; 33.36, 36n139
 Herodes Atticus, *Introd.* 7, 32, 36n112, 59
 Herodotus, *Introd.* 16n36, 20, 21, 21n62, 21n64, 23n73, 23nn75-76, 31, 33, 34n109, 47, 61, 63, 67; *Her.* 4.2n13; 8.3n31, 11n39; 25.12n84; 28.12n109; 53.15n197; 56.5n210; 57.3n216
 heroes/hero cults, *Introd.* 11-29; archaeological evidence, *Introd.* 11-17; as *daimones*, *Introd.* 28; in Hellenistic and Roman Greece, *Introd.* 26-29; in Homer and Hesiod, *Introd.* 13; patterns of myth and cult, *Introd.* 17-22; personal heroes, *Introd.* 24-26
Heroicus: amazing stories and Lucian, *Introd.* 64-68; battle narratives, *Introd.* 57-58; "biographies" of heroes, *Introd.* 51-55; as "conversion" dialogue, *Introd.* 40-45; ekphrasis and physiog-

- nomy, *Introd.* 59–61; and *Gymnasticus*, *Introd.* 6, 39, 60; *Her.* 15.10n60; and *Imagines*, *Introd.* 5n1, 6, 59; *Her.* 26.16n93; 45.4n171; and *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, *Introd.* 9–10, 39, 42, 54, 61, 62n153; and *Lives of the Sophists*, *Introd.* 6, 51, 59–60; manuscripts and editions, *Introd.* 68–69; place among the works of Philostratus, *Introd.* 5–11; rituals described, *Introd.* 61–64; setting, *Introd.* 32–35; speakers, *Introd.* 35–45
 Hesiod, *Introd.* 12, 13–14, 15, 19, 20, 27, 56, 64; *Her.* 1.4n4; 2.1n7, 2n8; 25.7; 43.7n168, 9; 55.5n209
 Hesione, *Her.* 28.2n104
 Hiera, *Introd.* 57, 58; *Her.* 23.26–30
 Hierapolis (Mysian), *Introd.* 58
 Himerius, *Her.* 5.4n19
 Hippolytus, *Introd.* 19
 Homer, *Introd.* 9n14, 11n18, 12, 20, 29–32, 36, 37, 40, 45, 50, 51, 58, 61, 66, 67; *Her.* 1.4n4; 4.2n13; 6.1n21, 3; 7.4–6, 9n27; 11.5; 12.3; 18.3n65; 23.1, 5, 29, 29n78; 24.1–25.14; 26.10n90, 16n91; 27.3, 6, 7, 7n100, 12; bargain with the ghost of Odysseus, *Her.* 43.12–16; contest with Hesiod, *Her.* 43.7–9, 7–9nn166–69; correction of his implausible myths, *Introd.* 31, 51; *Her.* 23.7; 25.12n83; 39.4n159; 45.8n173; 56.11n213; date, *Her.* 43.7, 7n165; life, *Her.* 43.6–54.2; stories expurgated by, *Introd.* 56–59; *Her.* 23.10, 29; 43.15–16. See also *Iliad*; *Nekyia*; *Odyssey*; *Psychostasia*
 Homeric *Hymn to Hermes*, *Her.* 33.37n139
 Horse milkers, *Her.* 23.10n73
 Hyacinthus, *Her.* 45.6
 Hyginus, *Introd.* 18n45, 56n143; *Her.* 4.1n12
 Hylas, *Her.* 26.4n89
 Hyllas, *Her.* 26.4; 45.6
 Hyllus, *Her.* 8.14
 Hymnaeoi of Peparethos, *Her.* 8.9
 Ida, Mount, *Her.* 26.15; 31.9; 33.14, 14n130, 41
 Idomeneus, *Introd.* 29, 30; *Her.* 30.1, 1n114
 Ikos, 8.9
Iliad, direct quotations:
 ll. 2.695–702, *Introd.* 45;
 l. 2.701, *Introd.* 46; ll. 9.698–99, *Her.* 27.12; l. 10.535, *Her.* 25.18; ll. 20.61–65, *Her.* 25.9; l. 21.197, *Her.* 11.5; l. 21.388, *Her.* 25.9
 Ilion, *Introd.* 9, 34; *Her.* 9.1; 18.2; 19.3, 9; 22.4; 23.7, 15; 33.3n125, 16; 35.1; 37.5;

- 51.7n187; 56.7. See also Troy/Trojans
 Ilissos River, *Her.* 35.9
 Ilos, *Introd.* 11n18
 Imbros, *Her.* 8.11, 12
 India, *Introd.* 54; Orontes of, *Her.* 8.5n33
 Ionia, *Her.* 8.6; 23.30
 Iphiklos, *Introd.* 47
 Iphis, *Her.* 33.43, 43n141
 Isis, cult of, *Introd.* 62
 Isles of the Blessed, *Introd.* 13, 64, 67
 Ismaros, *Her.* 17.2; 34.4
 Isocrates, *Her.* 26.3n88
 Issedones, *Her.* 28.12
 Ister, mouth of, *Introd.* 65
 Isthmus, *Introd.* 18
 Italy, *Her.* 8.14
 Ithaca/Ithacans, *Introd.* 17; *Her.* 25.15; 33.4, 8, 8n126, 31; 34.3
 Iton, *Introd.* 46
 Itys, *Her.* 5.4n19
 Jason, *Her.* 28.6
 Jena, *Her.* 33.36n139
 Julia Domna, *Introd.* 8, 10
 Julian, *Introd.* 34
 Julius Caesar, *Introd.* 34
 Justin Trogus, *Introd.* 23n75, 42n120, 68
 Kaikos river, *Her.* 23.25, 27
 Laestrygonians, *Her.* 25.13
 Laodameia, *Introd.* 49, 50; *Her.* 2.7, 9; 11.1, 8
 Laomedon, *Her.* 28.2n104; 35.1
 Lebadeia, *Her.* 17.1n62
 Lemnos, *Introd.* 5, 35, 63; *Her.* 8.11, 11n38; 28.1n102, 2, 5n106, 6; ritual of New Fire, *Introd.* 62; *Her.* 53.5–7
 Lenaian vases, *Introd.* 50n131
 Leonidas of Rhodes, *Her.* 56.11, 11n214
 Lepetymnos, *Her.* 33.49
 Lesbos/Lesbians, *Introd.* 35, 54; *Her.* 28.7, 8, 8n108, 9, 10, 13; 33.28, 49
 Leto, *Her.* 25.9
 Leuke (island of Achilles; Modern Zmeinyi), *Introd.* 35, 37, 54n139, 64, 66, 67, 68; *Her.* 9.2n45; 53.10n194; 54.1, 6, 9n207
 Libanius, *Her.* 45.8n173
 Libya, *Introd.* 29; *Her.* 33.11
Life of Apollonius. See Philostratus
Little Iliad, *Her.* 28.1n102; 35.15n154; 45.8n173
 Linus, *Introd.* 29
 Livy, *Introd.* 20n56, 21n62, 32
 Locris and Locrians, *Her.* 31.1; 33.30
 Lollianus of Ephesus, *Introd.* 7
 Longinus, *Her.* 25.10n83
 Lucan, *Introd.* 34
 Lucian, *Introd.* 9n14, 30, 36, 43, 44, 45, 47n125, 50, 61, 67; *Her.* 17.1n62; 35.15n154; 37.1n155
 Lycia/Lycians, *Introd.* 30n92; *Her.* 35.3; 39.1, 4

INDEX TO HEROICUS

- Lycomedes, *Her.* 45.8n173;
46.2-3
- Lycophron, *Her.* 13.3n53
- Lycurgus, *Introd.* 20
- Lydia, *Her.* 8.3
- Lyrnessus, *Her.* 33.28, 28n135
- Madytus, *Introd.* 49
- Maeotis, Lake, *Her.* 54.3, 8
- Mallos, *Her.* 17.1n62
- Marathon, *Her.* 4.2n13
- Marmara, Sea of, *Her.* 54.2n205
- Maron, *Her.* 1.4n4; 17.2
- Maroneia, *Her.* 1.4n4
- Martial, *Her.* 5.4n19
- Massagetai, *Her.* 28.12, 12n109
- Maximus of Tyre, *Introd.* 28,
65; *Her.* 6.3n24
- Mede, *Her.* 9.5. *See also* Xerxes
- Medea, *Introd.* 18-19; *Her.* 53.4
- Melanippus, *Her.* 27.1n97
- Melas, gulf of, *Her.* 51.8
- Meliboea, *Her.* 28.4
- Melicertes, *Her.* 53.4. *See also*
Palaimon
- Memnon and Memnoneion,
Her. 26.16, 16n93, 17-28,
18n95; 48.19n178
- Memphis, *Her.* 26.16
- Menander, *Introd.* 25; *Her.*
4.10n16
- Menander rhetor, *Introd.* 6
- Menecrates of Steiria, *Introd.*
35; *Her.* 8.11, 11n38
- Menelaus, *Her.* 23.7, 28; 25.11-
12; 29.1, 3-5, 4n111; 40.3;
42.1
- Menestheus of Athens, *Introd.*
58; *Her.* 23.18
- Meroe, *Her.* 26.16
- Meropes of Cos, *Her.* 8.14
- Messene, *Her.* 26.3
- Messenia, *Introd.* 12
- Methymna, *Introd.* 54; *Her.*
33.49, 49n142
- Minos, *Introd.* 28; *Her.* 30.2
- Minucius, *Introd.* 42
- Momus, *Introd.* 44
- Mucianus, *Introd.* 30n92
- Musaeus, *Her.* 25.8
- Muses, *Introd.* 9, 27; *Her.*
29.2n110; 33.11; 34.7; 43.6;
44.2; 51.7, 7n186
- Mycenae, *Introd.* 12, 13, 17, 18
- Mygdon, *Her.* 56.11
- Mykonos, *Her.* 31.6n119
- Myrmidons, *Her.* 33.22
- Mysia/Mysians, *Introd.* 45n123,
56-57; *Her.* 13.4; 23.4-5, 8,
10, 10n73, 11-30; 24.2;
35.3
- myth, rationalistic correction of.
See Homer: correction of
his implausible myths
- Narcissus, *Her.* 45.6
- Naulochos, *Her.* 8.12
- Nauplius, *Her.* 33.47
- Nausicaa, *Her.* 25.13
- Neapolitans, *Her.* 8.15
- "Nekyia, second," *Her.*
51.7n183
- Neleus, *Her.* 26.1, 3
- Nemea, *Introd.* 18, 37; *Her.*
8.3n31 (error for Tegea)
- Neoptolemus, *Introd.* 19, 64;
Her. 28.7; 45.8n173; 46.4;
51.13

INDEX TO HEROICUS

- Nereids, *Introd.* 9; *Her.* 51.7,
7n187, 10; 54.8
- Nero, *Introd.* 29; *Her.* 53.22n201
- Nestor, *Introd.* 30, 60; *Her.*
26.1, 3, 5, 9-10, 13, 18;
33.38; 48.5, 9; statue, *Her.*
26.13-14
- Nicolaus of Damascus, *Introd.*
62
- Nile, *Her.* 26.16
- Nireus, *Her.* 23.27, 27n78
- Nunna, *Introd.* 32
- Odrysians, *Her.* 28.11
- Odysseus, *Introd.* 18, 31, 32, 36,
52, 53, 54n137; *Her.* 1.4n4;
6.1; 8.13; 14.2; 20.2n67;
21.3; 23.6-7; 24.2, 2n82;
25.13-15, 15n85; 33.4,
7-10, 12-14, 12n129, 19,
24, 26n134, 27, 31, 46;
34.1, 1n143; 35.8, 10, 14;
43.12-16; 48.8; 56.5n210
- Odyssey*, direct quotations:
I. 11.547, *Her.* 35.11;
II. 11.548-49, *Her.* 35.10;
I. 12.159, *Introd.* 33;
I. 18.359, *Her.* 11.5
- Oedipus, *Introd.* 19
- Oeniadae, *Her.* 54.5
- Ogygia, *Her.* 33.5
- Oiax, *Her.* 33.42
- Oineus, *Her.* 4.1n12
- Oita, Mount, *Her.* 28.1, 3
- Olympia, *Introd.* 18, 44; *Her.*
8.17; 13.2; 15.5-6, 6n56
- Olympic Games, *Her.* 56.11
- Opheltes/Archemoros, *Introd.*
18
- Orchomenos, *Introd.* 19-20
- Orestes, *Introd.* 20, 24; *Her.*
8.3; 29.4
- Orontes (river and giant), *Her.*
8.4, 5n33
- Oropus, *Her.* 17.1n62
- Orpheus, *Introd.* 35; *Her.* 23.2;
25.2, 8; 28.5n106, 8, 8n108,
11-12, 12n109; 33.28,
28n135
- Ostia, *Introd.* 42
- Ovid, *Introd.* 50
- Paeonia/Paeonians, *Her.* 35.3;
48.14
- Palaimon/Melicertes, *Introd.*
18, 22
- Palamedes, *Introd.* 6, 10, 32,
50, 52-55, 60-61; *Her.*
14.3; 20.2-21.8; 20.2n67;
21.2n68; 23.20, 23; 24.2;
25.15-16; 31.1, 6;
32.1n122, 2; 33.1-39;
death, *Her.* 33.31-33;
envied by Odysseus, *Her.*
33.9, 19, 46; inventions,
Her. 33.1-3, 10-11; physical
appearance, *Her.*
33.39-41; plot and unjust
conviction, *Introd.* 52-53;
as sophist, *Introd.* 52; *Her.*
33.24-33; tomb and statue,
Introd. 54; *Her.* 33.48-9,
49n142
- Pallene (Phlegra), *Her.* 8.16
- Pamphos, *Her.* 25.8
- Pan, *Introd.* 27, 32
- Panathenaea, *Her.* 35.9n151
- pancratation, *Her.* 15.9

INDEX TO HEROICUS

- Pandarus, *Her.* 27.1n96, 5; 39.1; 40.2
 Pandion, *Her.* 5.4n19
 Panedes/Panides, *Her.* 43.9, 9n169
 Panthous, *Her.* 42.1
 Paris, *Introd.* 54n137, 59; *Her.* 19.2; 25.10; 28.2; 37.3; 40.2-6; 51.1. *See also* Alexander
 Patroclus, *Introd.* 12n27, 34, 55, 57, 61; *Her.* 11.2n50; 12.1; 19.5; 22.3, 3n69; 23.20; 26.15, 18n95, 19; 33.30, 43n141; 42.2; 47.2n174, 3; 48.10, 10n175, 18-19; 51.12; 53.12; 55.3
 Pausanias, *Introd.* 18n41, 18n43, 18n45-46, 19, 21n61, 23n75, 26, 33, 34n105, 37, 40n115, 47n125, 49, 57, 58, 61, 63, 63n156, 67, 68; *Her.* 8.1nn29-30, 5n33, 8n37; 17.1n62; 20.2n67; 23.30n80; 27.2n98
 Peleus, *Her.* 32.1; 45.2, 8; 46.5
 Pelion, Mount, *Her.* 32.1; 33.2n124; 45.2, 3; 53.9
 Peloponnese/Peloponnesians, *Her.* 33.31; 40.2; 52.3
 Pelops, *Introd.* 18
 Penthesileia, *Introd.* 58; *Her.* 23.29n79
 Peperethos, *Her.* 8.9
 Pergamon, *Introd.* 7; frieze, *Introd.* 57, 58; *Her.* 23.13n75, 29n79
Peripus of the Black Sea (Arian), *Introd.* 65
 Persephone, *Introd.* 16
 Perses, *Her.* 43.7
 Persia/Persians, *Introd.* 67; *Her.* 38.12; 53.15
 Persian Wars, *Introd.* 22n
 Phaeacians, *Her.* 25.14
 Phaethon, *Her.* 7.6
 Phasis River, *Her.* 57.3
 Phemius, *Her.* 25.13
 Pheneus, *Introd.* 27
 Philinnion of Amphipolis, *Introd.* 50n131
 Philip of Thessalonica, *Introd.* 47n126
 Philiscus, *Introd.* 8n9
 Philoctetes, *Introd.* 20n67, 35; *Her.* 28.1, 1n103, 3-4, 6, 14
 Philomela, *Her.* 5.4n19
 Philostratus: confusion among homonymous authors, *Introd.* 5, 6; *Gymnasticus*, *Introd.* 6, 10n17, 39, 60; *Her.* 15.10n60; 56.11n214; *Imagines*, *Introd.* 6, 59; *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, *Introd.* 6-10, 36, 42, 54, 61, 63; *Her.* 21.2n68; 33.49n142; *Lives of the Sophists*, *Introd.* 5n1, 6, 10, 59. *See also* *Heroicus*
 Phlegraean fields, *Her.* 8.15n42
 Phocians, *Introd.* 68
 Phocis, *Introd.* 12; *Her.* 28.8; 29.4
 Phoenicia/Phoenicians, *Her.* 1.1-3, 1n1, 3n2; 6.3

INDEX TO HEROICUS

- Phoenician interlocutor in *Heroicus*, *Introd.* 40-45
 Phoenix, *Her.* 46.2
 Phrygia/Phrygians, *Her.* 8.14; 56.11
 Phthia, *Her.* 2.9; 11.7; 16.5; 46.5; 53.16
 Phylake, *Introd.* 46, 47n125; *Her.* 16.5; 33.22
 Phylakos (hero), *Introd.* 22, 23n75, 67
 Physiognomy. *See Heroicus*: ekphrasis and physiognomy
 Pindar, *Introd.* 15, 16, 23n73, 47n125, 64; *Her.* 8.6n35; 15.3n55; 23.11n74; 26.18n94; 33.2n124
 Plato, *Introd.* 12n26, 16n36, 27, 32, 36n112, 53; *Her.* 1.3n3, 5n6; 8.3n32; 29.2n110
 Plautus, *Her.* 5.4n19
 Pliny, *Introd.* 30n92, 54n138; *Her.* 8.1n30; 53.9n193
 Plutarch, *Introd.* 20n59, 21n62, 22n66, 28, 29, 59, 61; *Her.* 27.2n98; 29.2n110; 40.1n160; 53.15n197
 Plutarch (boxer) *Her.* 15.4-6
 Poias, *Her.* 28.1
 Polemon (sophist), *Introd.* 59
 Polemon of Laodicea, *Introd.* 7
 Polemon the Periegete, *Her.* 33.2n125
 Polyaeus, *Her.* 17.5n64
 Polybius, *Her.* 33.23n133
 Polydamas, *Introd.* 44, 41.1
 Polydora, *Introd.* 49
 Polyphemus, *Her.* 1.4n4; 25.15; 34.4; 35.8
 Polyxena, *Introd.* 10, 30, 55, 55, 59, 67; *Her.* 51.1-6
 Pontus, *Her.* 33.16; 53.10; 55.3
 Porphyron, *Her.* 8.6n35
 Porphyry, *Introd.* 21n62, 23n71
 Poseidon, *Introd.* 45; *Her.* 25.9, 15; 27.7n100; 33.47; 35.12; 54.5; 58.6
 Posidonius, *Her.* 173n73
 Priam, *Introd.* 59; *Her.* 7.5; 23.5; 25.11; 40.5; 51.4; 56.7, 11; house of, *Introd.* 67
 Procne, *Her.* 5.4n19
 Procopius, *Introd.* 33
 Protesilaus, *Introd.* 26, 31, 33, 36n112, 37, 38, 40, 41, 44-51, 54, 56, 57, 60, 67, 68; *Her.* 2.6-11; 7.1-2, 3n24, 3n26; 8.18-13.5; 9.6n47; 13.3n53; 15.2; 16.6; 23.7n71; 25.8, 17-18; 26.5, 12-13, 19; 27.4, 8, 12-13; 28.3, 7, 13; 29.5n12; 30.1; 32.1; in Homer, *Introd.* 45-46; ideal local hero, *Introd.* 50-51; prize for valor in the battle against Telephus, *Introd.* 57, *Her.* 23.25; relationship with wife (Laodameia), *Introd.* 49-50; *Her.* 2.7-11; 11.4, 8; shrine and tomb, *Introd.* 46-47, 49; *Her.* 9.1-2, 1nn44-45; statue and physical appearance, *Introd.* 33, 47n125, 60; *Her.* 9.6n47; 10.1-5

INDEX TO HEROICUS

- Psychostasia*, *Her.* 51.7n183
Pteleos, *Introd.* 46
Pylos, *Her.* 25.15
Pyrasos, *Introd.* 46
Pyrgilion, *Introd.* 18
Pyrrhlegethon, *Her.* 58.3
Pythagoras, *Introd.* 16n37; *Her.* 42.1, 1n164

Quintilian, *Introd.* 29
Quintus of Smyrna, *Introd.* 47n126

Rhesus, *Her.* 17.5n64
Rhesus (the Thracian), *Her.* 17.3-4
Rhodes, *Her.* 23.11n74
Rhodope, *Her.* 17.3, 5-6
Rhoetaeum, *Introd.* 34n108; *Her.* 51.8, 8n188
River Scamander, *Her.* 22.3
Rome, *Introd.* 7, 41n117

Sack of Troy, *Her.* 31.5n117
Salamis, *Introd.* 22n67; *Her.* 35.9, 9n149; 53.15, 15n197
Samos, *Her.* 42.1
Saros, gulf of, *Her.* 51.8n188.
See also Melas, gulf of
Sarpedon, *Introd.* 30n92; *Her.* 33.12; 39.1-4
Scaean gates, *Introd.* 59
Scamander, *Her.* 22.3; 48.11n176, 12; 57.15
Scione, *Introd.* 47n127
Scopelian of Smyrna, *Introd.* 7
Scyld (Beowulf), *Introd.* 62
Scylla, *Her.* 34.4

Scyros, *Introd.* 21, 24, 55; *Her.* 45.8, 8n173; 46.2
Scythians, *Her.* 8.11n39; 28.12
Second Sophistic, *Introd.* 6
Selene, *Her.* 45.3
Septimius Severus, *Introd.* 6, 7, 8; *Her.* 26.16n93
Servius, *Introd.* 20n56
Sestos, *Introd.* 48
Seven Against Thebes, *Introd.* 18-19
Sicyon, *Introd.* 20
Sidon, *Her.* 1.1
Sigeium, *Introd.* 34; *Her.* 8.6
Silver age, *Introd.* 14
Sirens, *Her.* 34.4
Sisyphus, *Her.* 52.3
Smyrna/Smyrnaeans, *Introd.* 7; *Her.* 23.30
Socrates, *Her.* 1.5n6; 5.5n20
Solon, *Introd.* 23
Sophocles, *Introd.* 20, 46n124, 52, 56; *Her.* 17.1n62; 18.3n65; 28.1nn102-3; 29.4n111; 33.3n125
Sparta/Spartans, *Introd.* 20, 24; *Her.* 8.3, 29.5
Spercheius, *Her.* 53.9
statues, *Introd.* 34, 38, 44, 50, 60; *Her.* 7.3; 10.5; 15.1; ; 42.3; 51.2. *See also* Achilles; Ajax (son of Telamon); Hector; Nestor; Palamedes; Protesilaus
Steiria, *Introd.* 35; *Her.* 8.11
Stesichorus, *Her.* 4.2n13; 25.12n84
Sthenelus, *Her.* 14.3; 23.20, 23;

INDEX TO HEROICUS

- 27.1-13, 1n96, 10n101; 31.1; 33.38
Stoics, *Her.* 6.1n21
Strabo, *Introd.* 34n107, 47n126, 67; *Her.* 8.1n30, 15n42; 23.10n73; 24.2n82; 26.16n93; 29.5n112; 37.1n155; 53.21n200
Strattis, *Her.* 33.36n139
Suda, *Introd.* 5
Suetonius, *Introd.* 21n62, 59; *Her.* 53.22n201
Sutton Hoo burial, *Introd.* 62
Sybaris, *Her.* 1.1, 1n1
Syrians, *Introd.* 41n117

Tantalus, *Her.* 39.3
Taurians, *Her.* 54.2n204
Taurus Mountains, *Her.* 57.3
Tecmessa, *Her.* 33.43, 43n141
Tegea, *Introd.* 20, 24, 37; *Her.* 8.3n31
Telamon, *Introd.* 23n75; *Her.* 23.18; 30.3; 31.1n115; 32.1; 35.1; 45.8; 52.2
Telegony, *Her.* 25.15n85
Telemachus, *Her.* 33.4
Telephus, *Introd.* 32, 37, 45n123, 54, 56, 57, 58; *Her.* 23.4, 4n70, 8n72, 10n73, 13n74, 17, 24, 25-26. *See also* Homer: stories expurgated by
Temesa, hero of, *Introd.* 26, 67
Tenos, *Her.* 31.6, 6n119
Tereus, *Her.* 5.4n19
Tertullian, *Her.* 45.8n173
Teucer, *Her.* 35.14; 36.1

Teuthras, *Introd.* 56-57
Thales, *Her.* 1.3n2
Thasos, *Introd.* 44
Theagenes, *Introd.* 44; *Her.* 43.7n165
Thebans, *Her.* 27.1
Thebes, *Introd.* 12, 13; *Her.* 17.1n62; 26.16n93; 27.6; 37.1n155
Theocritus, *Her.* 8.12n40, 16n43
Theophrastus, *Introd.* 21n62; *Her.* 53.20n199
Thermodon River, *Her.* 54.7; 57.3, 13
Theseus, *Introd.* 20, 21, 24, 37; *Her.* 32.2, 35.9, 9n151; 46.1, 2
Thessaly/Thessalians, *Introd.* 45, 47n125, 62; *Her.* 2.7; 8.14; 10.5; 16.5; 33.22; 50.2; 52.3; 53.8-10, 14-17, 19, 21-22, 22n201; ritual for Achilles in Troy, *Introd.* 62-64; *Her.* 53.8-23
Thetis, *Introd.* 46n124, 55, 61, 62, 65; *Her.* 46.5-6; 47.2n174; 51.11; 53.10, 19; 54.5; hymn to, *Introd.* 63
Thrace/Thracians, *Her.* 3.2; 17.6; 23.10n73; 28.8n108; 51.8n188
Thrasymedes, *Introd.* 30; *Her.* 26.10
Thucydides, *Introd.* 16n36, 23n73, 33, 61, 63; *Her.* 35.13n153; 53.21n200; 54.5n206

INDEX TO HEROICUS

- Thymbraeus Apollo, *Introd.* 59
 Thymoitas, *Introd.* 29
 Tithonus, *Her.* 45.3
 Titus, *Introd.* 7
 Tlepolemos, *Introd.* 57n147;
 Her. 23.11, 11n74
 Tomyris, *Her.* 28.12n109
 Trajan, *Introd.* 7
 Troad, *Introd.* 33
 Trojan War, *Introd.* 11, 28, 29,
 34, 38, 51, 57; *Her.* 14.1;
 25.10n83; 26.16
 Trophonius, *Introd.* 24, 44; *Her.*
 17.1n62
 Troy/Trojans, *Introd.* 10, 13,
 23n76, 28, 30, 31, 37, 44,
 45, 49, 52, 57, 58, 59; *Her.*
 2.9, 11; 7.1, 2, 5, 6, 12; 8.1,
 1n30, 6n35; 9.1; 10.2; 11.7;
 12.1, 4; 13.3, 3n53; 17.3;
 18.4, 5; 19.2, 6, 9; 23.2, 4,
 6-8, 8n72, 24, 27n78, 28,
 29n79; 24.2; 25.3, 5, 10, 11,
 12, 13; 26.1, 5, 10, 17, 19;
 27.4, 6, 7, 10; 28.2, 2n104,
 3; 33.3n125, 4, 5, 6,
 20n132, 24, 27, 30, 39, 42,
 48; 34.3, 3n144; 35.2, 3, 9,
 11, 12, 13; 36.2, 3; 37.1,
 1n155, 3, 5; 38.2; 39.1, 3;
 40.2; 42.1, 4; 43.13, 15;
 44.5; 45.8, 47.1n174, 3;
 48.13, 15; 51.3, 6, 7n188,
 13; 53.8, 9, 10n194, 16, 17;
 54.4, 12; 56.11; 57.15
 Tychiades, *Introd.* 43, 44
 Tydeus, *Her.* 27.1, 1n97; 33.30
 Tyre, *Her.* 1.1
 Tzetzes, *Introd.* 62
 Ursa Major and Minor, *Her.*
 1.3n2
 Vesuvius, Mount, *Her.* 8.15
 Virgil, *Introd.* 21nn61-62; *Her.*
 2.2n8
 Xanthippus, *Introd.* 49
 Xanthus, *Her.* 50.1n180; 53.16
 Xeinis, *Her.* 4.2, 2n13
 Xenocrates, *Her.* 29.2n110
 Xenophon, *Introd.* 16n36, 53,
 58; *Her.* 6.5n23; 32.1n122
 Xerxes, *Introd.* 23n76, 47, 48;
 Her. 7.6; 9.5; 53.15
 Zeus, *Introd.* 13, 14, 44; *Her.*
 7.8; 8.6n34, 14; 9.6; 25.8;
 26.1; 33.2, 2n124, 7; 35.6;
 39.3, 4n159; 48.22; 55.4;
 58.3
 Zmeinij (modern Leuke island),
 Introd. 66
 Zoilus of Amphipolis, *Her.*
 33.14n130

INDEX TO GYMNASTICUS

References to the Introduction (*Introd.*) are by page number; refer-
 ences to the translation and notes of the *Gymnasticus* (*Gym.*) are by
 paragraph number.

- Acanthus, *Gym.* 12
 Achilles, *Introd.* 376-77
 Aelian, *Gym.* 29n106
 age categories, *Introd.* 364;
 Gym. 25
 agonothetes, *Introd.* 336
aleiptês, *Introd.* 337-39
 Alesias, *Gym.* 43
 Amesinas, *Gym.* 43n131
amphiktyones, *Gym.* 25
 Amycus, *Gym.* 9n43
 animals, *Introd.* 374, 375; *Gym.*
 2, 10, 13, 26, 37, 40, 43, 44
 Apollo, *Gym.* 45
 Apollonius of Rhodes, *Gym.*
 9n43
 Ares, *Gym.* 7
 Argos, *Gym.* 7
 Aristotle, *Introd.* 340n23, 358,
 374n86
 Aristotelian *Physiognomy*,
 Introd. 374n85, 375n88
 armor race. *See* hoplite race
 Arrichion, *Introd.* 362; *Gym.*
 21, 35n118
 Artemidorus, *Introd.* 366n72
 Artemis Orthia, *Gym.* 58n170
 Asia, *Gym.* 45
 Athenaes, *Gym.* 19n87,
 44n139
 Athens, *Gym.* 11, 19n87, 54
 Bacchylides, *Introd.* 338,
 362n65
 Bebrycians, *Gym.* 9
 blood, *Gym.* 14, 28, 29, 30, 48,
 51
 boxing, *Gym.* 3, 9-10, 11, 12,
 16, 20, 29, 32, 34, 35, 36,
 50, 57, 58; boys', *Gym.* 13;
 gloves, *Gym.* 10
 boy athletes, *Gym.* 46
 Calais, *Gym.* 3
 Capitoline festival, *Introd.* 334
 Ceos, *Gym.* 13
 Cilicia, *Gym.* 36
 Cleonae, *Gym.* 12
 Columella, *Introd.* 355n48
 cookery, *Introd.* 354; *Gym.* 44

INDEX TO GYMNASITICUS

- Corinth, *Gym.* 7, 12
 corruption, *Gym.* 45
- Damaretus, *Gym.* 13
 dancing, *Gym.* 19
 decline, *Introd.* 359n61
 Delphi, *Gym.* 7. *See also* Pythian festival
- Diagoras, *Gym.* 17
diakulos, *Gym.* 3, 5, 11, 12, 33
 diet, *Introd.* 341, 346, 371;
Gym. 43, 44, 46, 47, 48, 50
 dietetics, *Introd.* 340
 Dieuches, *Introd.* 341
 digestion, *Gym.* 30, 42, 44, 48,
 53, 54
- Diocles of Carystus, *Introd.* 341
 Diotimus, *Introd.* 372n84
 discus, *Gym.* 3, 31
dolichos, *Gym.* 3, 4, 11, 12, 32
 dust, *Gym.* 11, 18, 42, 52, 53,
 54, 56
- Dyme, *Gym.* 7, 12
- Egypt, *Gym.* 13, 24
 Eleusis, *Gym.* 54
 Elis, Eleans, *Introd.* 360, 364,
 366; *Gym.* 2, 4n22, 5, 6, 7,
 11, 11n53, 11n55, 12, 13,
 17, 45, 58
ephebeia, *Introd.* 336; *Gym.* 28
epistatês, *Introd.* 337, 339
 Erasistratus of Ceos, *Introd.*
 341
 Eryxias, *Gym.* 21
 Euboea, *Gym.* 20
 Euripides, *Introd.* 342n29
 Eurybatus, *Gym.* 12
- Eusebius, *Gym.* 11n59
 Eutelidas, *Gym.* 13
- festivals, *Introd.* 336, 357,
 359n61. *See also* under
names of individual festi-
vals
- Galen, *Introd.* 341, 343-49,
 365n71, 369n76, 371-72,
 380n98; *Gym.* 25n98,
 43n136, 46n148; *De sani-*
tate tuenda, *Introd.* 345-
 46, 353, 367-68, 372, 374;
 Philostratus' relationship
 with, *Introd.* 347-54; *Pro-*
trepticus, *Introd.* 343-44,
 347-48, 351n44, 354,
 369n76; *Gym.* 44n139;
Thrasymbulus, *Introd.* 344-
 45, 352; *Gym.* 15n77,
 43n128, 47n150
- Gerenu, *Introd.* 362, 371;
Gym. 54
- Glaucus of Carystus, *Introd.*
 362; *Gym.* 1, 20, 43
- Gorgias, *Introd.* 363
 guilds, *Introd.* 336
 gymnasiarchs, *Introd.* 336
 gymnasium, *Introd.* 336-37,
 345, 362
gymnastês, *Introd.* 340-49;
Gym. 14 (and *passim*)
Gymnasticus: authorship,
Introd. 334-35; date,
Introd. 334
gymnastikê, *Introd.* 335, 340-
 49, 352-53, 356, 360-61,

INDEX TO GYMNASITICUS

- 365, 380; *Gym.* 1, 13, 14-
 16, 43, 54
- haltêres*, *Gym.* 55
 Helix, *Introd.* 334; *Gym.* 46
hellanodikai, *Introd.* 364-65;
Gym. 11n53, 18, 25, 54
 Hellespont, *Gym.* 12
 Heracles, *Introd.* 375; *Gym.* 1,
 7n29, 26, 35
 Heraia, *Gym.* 13
 Hermes, *Gym.* 16
 Herodes Atticus, *Introd.* 363
 Herodicus of Selymbria, *Introd.*
 341, 342
 Herodotus, 6n25, 11nn48-49
 heroes, *Introd.* 359, 376-78;
Gym. 43
 Hippias, *Introd.* 358
 Hippocratic writings, *Introd.*
 341, 342-43, 344, 365n71,
 372; *Gym.* 44n140
 Hippodromus, *Introd.* 363n67
 Hipposthenes; *Gym.* 1, 43n137
 Homer, *Introd.* 356; *Gym.*
 9n43, 11n50, 43n134
 hoplite race, *Introd.* 358; *Gym.*
 3, 7-8, 13, 33
 Horace, *Introd.* 356n49
 humors, *Introd.* 366-67; *Gym.*
 14, 26, 28, 30, 39, 42, 58
 Hypenus, *Gym.* 12
- Iccus of Tarentum, *Introd.* 341
 Ionia, *Gym.* 12, 45
 Isocrates, *Introd.* 342n29, 363
 Isthmian festival; *Gym.* 1n7, 17,
 45
- Jason, *Gym.* 3
 javelin, *Gym.* 3, 31
 Julius Africanus, *Gym.* 43n131
 jumping, *Gym.* 3, 31, 55
 Jüthner, Julius, *Introd.* 384-85
- kicking, *Gym.* 11, 34
- Lampis, *Gym.* 12
 Lemnos, *Gym.* 3
 Leocreon, *Gym.* 13
 Leonidas, *Gym.* 33
 Lousoi, *Gym.* 12
 Lucian, *Hermotimus*, *Gym.*
 54n161; *On Dance*, *Introd.*
 355-56; *Parasite*, *Introd.*
 356
- Lycurgus, *Gym.* 9n45, 27
 Lydia, *Gym.* 12
 Lygdamis, *Gym.* 12
 Lynceus, *Gym.* 3
- Magnes, *Gym.* 23
 Mandrogenus, *Gym.* 23
 Marathon, Battle of, *Gym.* 11
 Maron, *Gym.* 36
 massage, *Introd.* 334, 367-68;
Gym. 46, 50
 medicine, *Introd.* 340-48, 352-
 53, 365-82; *Gym.* 14-15
 Messene, *Gym.* 12
 Miletus, *Gym.* 13
 military training, *Introd.* 337;
Gym. 7, 9, 11, 19, 43
 Milo, *Gym.* 1, 29n106, 43n137
 Mnesitheus of Athens, *Introd.*
 341
 mud, *Gym.* 18, 53

INDEX TO GYMNAS TICUS

INDEX TO GYMNAS TICUS

- music, *Gym.* 1, 55
 Mynas, Minoides, *Introd.* 382
 Mys, *Gym.* 41
- nature, *Introd.* 355n48, 359n61;
Gym. 2
- Naucratis, *Gym.* 13, 54
 Naxos (Sicily), *Gym.* 43
 Nemean festival, *Gym.* 7, 8n40
nomophylakes, 11n53
- Ochus, *Gym.* 22
- oil, *Gym.* 7, 17, 18, 42, 50, 51,
 52, 58
- Olympic festival, *Introd.* 375;
Gym. 26; altar of Kairos,
Gym. 14n76; envoys, *Gym.*
 6; herald, *Gym.* 7; laws,
Gym. 11, 12, 17, 25, 55;
 program, *Introd.* 333, 360-
 61; *Gym.* 12-13, 54n158;
 training period, *Gym.* 11,
 18, 54; truce, *Gym.* 4n22,
 7; victory crown, *Gym.* 11,
 12, 21, 28, 45; victory lists,
Introd. 358
- Onomastus, *Gym.* 12
 Optatus(?), *Gym.* 24
- paidotribēs*, *Introd.* 337-40,
 346, 352, 380; *Gym.* 14
- painting, *Introd.* 348, 350-51;
Gym. 1
- palaestra*, *Introd.* 337; *Gym.* 16,
 18, 46, 53
- Palamedes, *Introd.* 376, 377
- Panathenaic festival, *Gym.* 1n7,
 19n87
- Panhellenism, *Introd.* 363-64;
Gym. 6n25
- pankratton*, *Introd.* 334; *Gym.*
 1n8, 3, 9, 11, 12, 14, 15, 21,
 23, 29, 35, 36, 50, 57, 58;
 boys', *Gym.* 13
- parents, influence on the physi-
 cal condition of athletes,
Gym. 28-29
- Pausanias, *Introd.* 338n14,
 341n24, 357-58, 362,
 364n69, 378; *Gym.* 2n11,
 3n12, 4n22, 7n36, 8n41,
 10n46, 11nn52-53, 11n55,
 11n58, 11n60, 13n71,
 14n76, 17nn82-83, 20n88,
 21n89, 22n90, 33n111,
 45n141, 45n144, 55n163
- Peisidorus, *Gym.* 17
- Peleus, *Gym.* 1, 3
- Pellene, *Gym.* 22
- pentathlon, *Introd.* 376; *Gym.*
 3, 11, 12, 31, 32, 50; boys',
Gym. 13
- periodos*, *Gym.* 7n29
- Persian Wars, *Introd.* 358; *Gym.*
 8, 11
- Phaidimus, *Gym.* 13
- Pherenice, *Gym.* 17
- Phigalia, *Gym.* 21n89
- Philostratus: *Heroicus*, *Introd.*
 335, 356n53, 359n59, 375-
 78, 382-83; *Gym.* 35n113;
Imagines, *Introd.* 350-51,
 375-78, 383; *Gym.* 16n79,
 21n89, 35n113, 35n118,
 58n169; *Life of Apollonius*,
Introd. 335, 350n43, 357,
 363; *Gym.* 6n25; *Lives of
 the Sophists*, *Introd.* 335,
 359n59, 363; *Gym.* 6n25;
Nero, *Introd.* 335; relation-
 ship with other authors of
 the same name, *Introd.*
 334-35; narrating persona
 in the *Gymnasticus*, *In-
 trod.* 378-82
- Philostratus Minor, *Imagines*,
Gym. 35n119
- Philytas, *Gym.* 13
- Phocis, *Gym.* 7
- Phoenicia, *Gym.* 46
- Phrygia, *Gym.* 12
- physiognomy, 369-82; *Gym.* 25
- Pindar, *Introd.* 338, 362n65;
Gym. 3n18, 3n20, 16n79,
 17n81
- Plataea, *Introd.* 358; *Gym.*
 3n15, 8, 24
- Plato, *Introd.* 341-42, 344, 349,
 350n43, 355n48, 369n70,
 372, 382n101, 383; *Gym.*
 44n138
- Pliny the Elder, *Gym.* 25n98
- Plutarch, *Introd.* 339, 346n36;
Gym. 7n36, 9n45, 27n101,
 29n107, 46n147
- Polemo, *Introd.* 370
- Pollux, *Onomasticon*, *Introd.*
 348
- Polycletus, *Introd.* 380nn98-99;
Gym. 25n98
- Polydeuces, *Gym.* 9
- Polymestor, *Gym.* 13, 43
- Poseidon, *Gym.* 45
- Poulydamas, *Gym.* 1, 22, 43
- Praxagoras of Cos, *Introd.* 341
- Promachus, *Gym.* 1, 22
- Prometheus, *Gym.* 16
- Protesilaus, *Introd.* 377-78
- punching bag, *Gym.* 57
- pyrrhichē*, *Gym.* 19n87
- Pythian festival, *Introd.* 363,
 375; *Gym.* 17, 26; victory
 crown, *Gym.* 28
- regimen, *Introd.* 340, 345-47
- rhetoric, *Introd.* 337, 339, 348,
 361, 364; *Gym.* 1, 25
- Rhodes, *Gym.* 17, 33
- sacred contests, *Introd.* 338
- Scotoussa, *Gym.* 22, 43
- sculpture, *Introd.* 348, 351n44,
 379-80; *Gym.* 1, 25, 35, 42
- Seneca, *Introd.* 350n43, 351n44
- Severan emperors, *Introd.*
 359n61
- sex, *Introd.* 378n92; *Gym.* 45,
 48, 49, 51
- sleep, *Gym.* 43, 48, 49, 53, 54
- Smyrna, *Introd.* 338; *Gym.* 12
- sophia*, *Introd.* 335, 347-48,
 351-52; *Gym.* 1, 14, 54
- Soranus, *Introd.* 342n30
- Sparta, *Gym.* 7, 9, 11, 12, 13,
 19, 27, 58
- stadion* race, *Gym.* 3, 5, 11, 12,
 32, 33; boys', *Gym.* 13
- strigil, *Gym.* 18
- subdivision in ancient scientific
 writing, *Introd.* 365-68
- sunbathing, *Introd.* 366-67;
Gym. 58

INDEX TO GYMNASTICUS

- supernatural happenings,
Introd. 378; *Gym.* 41
- sweat, *Introd.* 372; *Gym.* 29, 48,
 49, 51, 52, 56
- swimming, *Gym.* 43
- Sybaris, *Gym.* 13
- symmetry, bodily, *Introd.* 379-
 81; *Gym.* 16
- Syracuse, *Gym.* 12
- technai*, *Introd.* 335, 347-49,
 351, 355-56; *Gym.* 1
- Telamon, *Gym.* 3
- tetrad system, *Introd.* 371;
Gym. 47, 54
- Theagenes, *Introd.* 378n94
- Theocritus, *Gym.* 9n43
- Theon, *Introd.* 341, 368
- Theophrastus, *Introd.* 372n84
- Thermopylae, *Gym.* 11
- Theseus, *Gym.* 1
- tiredness, *Introd.* 372; *Gym.* 29,
 47, 49, 53
- Tisandrus, *Gym.* 43
- Tisias, *Gym.* 20
- Tydeus, *Gym.* 7
- vapor baths, *Gym.* 58
- victory inscriptions, *Introd.* 338
- walking, *Gym.* 46
- weight training, *Gym.* 29, 43, 55
- wine, *Gym.* 47, 51
- women, involvement in athlet-
 ics, *Gym.* 17, 27
- wrestling, *Introd.* 373; *Gym.*
 1nn7-8, 3, 11, 12, 14, 15,
 16, 35, 36, 38, 40, 50, 54;
 treatise on (*P Oxy.* 3.466),
Introd. 340
- Xenophanes, *Introd.* 342n29
- Xenophon, *Introd.* 350n43, 374;
Gym. 27n101
- Zanes (statues of Zeus at Olym-
 pia), *Gym.* 45n144
- Zetes, *Gym.* 3