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Hades (Ἅδης). Son of Cronus and Rhea; the ruler of the Underworld. He was swallowed at birth by his father and later disgorged, as were all the children of Cronus except for Zeus, and he assisted Zeus in his war against the Titans. According to Apollodorus, the Cyclopes armed him for the *Titanomachy by providing him with a leather cap (later used by Perseus) which conferred invisibility on its wearer. When the war was successfully concluded, the three sons of Cronus drew lots to divide the universe among themselves, and the heavens were assigned to Zeus, the seas to Poseidon and the Underworld to Hades. Since Hades remained in his underground domain from that time onwards, his role in myth was necessarily limited and distinctive.

He once ascended to the upper world in his golden chariot to abduct *Persephone as his bride. Although Zeus had granted his consent, *Demeter was so distressed by the loss of her daughter that she brought famine to the earth for a full year, threatening the existence of the human race. Fearing that the gods would be deprived of their sacrifices, Zeus finally sent Hermes to the Underworld to demand the return of Persephone. Before allowing her to depart with Hermes, Hades gave her a pomegranate seed (or seeds) to eat and thus ensured that she remained bound to his realm forever. When Persephone told her mother that she had eaten food in the Underworld (or when the fact was betrayed by *Ascalaphus), Demeter had to agree to a compromise and it was decided that Persephone should spend a third of the year below as the consort of Hades and the rest of the year in the upper world with her mother and the other gods (or in some late sources, that she should spend half the year below and half above).

In a passing reference to another excursion by Hades, the *Iliad* reports that he was wounded by Heracles in Pylos among the dead, and that he suffered such pain in his shoulder that he travelled up to Olympus, where Paean spread potions over the wound to heal him. It would seem that so many men were killed during Heracles' attack on Neleus at Pylos that Hades emerged to assemble the dead, as is explicitly stated in one of Pindar's odes. (*See Heracles*). Since this was normally a duty of Hermes, ancient commentators on the *Iliad* suggested that Hades suffered the wound at the gate (*pylos*) of the Underworld when Heracles was abducting Cerberus, an interpretation still favoured by some modern scholars. According to a tale of much later origin, Hades emerged on another occasion to abduct the nymph *Leuce, who became his mistress in the Underworld; when the time came for her to die, he caused a white poplar (*leuke*) to grow up in place of her in the Elysian Fields (here regarded as part of the Underworld). Another mistress of Hades, *Menthe, is also mentioned in connection with a transformation story.

Two passages in the *Iliad* indicate that in the beginning Hades and Persephone were thought to respond to human curses through the agency of the Erinyes (Fates). When *Amyntor learned that his son Phoenix had seduced his concubine, he cursed him to the Erinyes, asking that he should remain childless, and his curse was fulfilled by Hades and Persephone; and when *Althaea learned that her son Meleager had killed her brothers, she beat on the earth with her hands calling on Hades and Persephone to bring death to her son, and the Erinyes heard her prayer. There is no suggestion, however, in later sources that Hades ever intervened in the affairs of mortals in the world above. He became involved in tales from heroic mythology in two circumstances alone, when living heroes made incursions into his realm and when he granted the dead special leave to return to the upper world. Both of these are involved in the story of *Orpheus and Eurydice, since Orpheus descended alive to the Underworld to recover his dead wife and Hades allowed her to follow her husband back to the upper world (provided that he never looked back, as he inevitably did). Although Eurydice gained no benefit from Hades' concession, *Protesilaus was granted three days leave of

absence to console his widow Laodamia; and when Hades granted similar leave to *Sisyphus to allow him to reproach his widow for neglecting the proper funeral rites, the unscrupulous hero took advantage of his generosity to remain above beyond the term of his allotted life. Few heroes dared to venture into the kingdom of Hades while they were still alive. As his final and most daunting *labour, Heracles was told to fetch Cerberus from the Underworld. Hades allowed him to remove the monstrous dog for a short time provided that he overpowered it without the use of weapons (or in some accounts and depictions, Heracles forced the concession by threatening or even wounding Hades). When *Theseus and Pirithous descended into his realm in the hope of abducting Persephone, Hades detained them below on the chair of *Lethe; but even in the face of this provocation, he later allowed Heracles to release one or both of them. All the early epic accounts having such descents (*katabaseis*) have been lost. Although we still have Odysseus' magnificent account of the Underworld in the *Odyssey*, Odysseus never crossed over into the Underworld nor did he have any dealings with Hades himself. *Aeneas imitated the descent to Hades of the Greek heroes when he went through the different regions under the guidance of the Sibyl, as narrated in the sixth book of the *Aeneid*.

As the ruler of a dark and dank realm where the dead could expect to live a shadowy half-life, Hades was regarded as a grim and forbidding figure. He acted, furthermore, in the manner of a jailer, ensuring that those who entered his realm never escaped back to the upper world. But although he was viewed with awe and described as a hateful, implacable and inexorable deity, he was never considered to be malign or an enemy to human beings. Precisely because the dead were generally pictured as insubstantial shades, there could be little occasion for Hades to intervene in their affairs; he neither concerned himself with their behaviour below nor judged them for their faults in their previous life. At the most, he was ultimately responsible for supervising the posthumous punishments inflicted on miscreants like *Tantalus or *Tityus who had offended the gods. According to the mythographer Pherecydes, Hades forced *Sisyphus to roll his stone forever to prevent him from making another escape attempt; but this seems to be the only case in which it was ever suggested that Hades was directly responsible for imposing such a punishment. Even where it was believed that the dead would be judged for their past lives, this task was assigned to departed heroes like Minos rather than to Hades himself.

Hades was represented in works of art as a majestic figure seated on a throne with a sceptre as a symbol of his authority. He was sometimes referred to as 'the other Zeus' or 'Zeus beneath the earth (Zeus Katachthonios)'. Because of the agricultural wealth of the earth and its richness in minerals, Hades was regarded as a wealthy deity, and the Greeks often preferred to refer to him by the euphemistic title of Pluto ('rich'). In this connection, he was often depicted with a cornucopia. Other euphemistic titles included Poldectes or Poldegmon ('hospitable') and Eubouleus ('good counsellor'). Aidoneus was an extended form of his customary name.

Haemon (*Ἅϊμων*). **1.** Son of Pelasgus and the father of Thessalus; the eponym of Haemonia, as Thessaly was previously known. [schol Apollonius 3.109] **2.** Son of Creon, king of Thebes. In early epic, he was one of the Thebans who were killed by the Sphinx, and his death finally impelled Creon to offer the throne and Jocasta to anyone who could rid the city of the Sphinx. In tragedy, however, he appears as the future husband of Antigone after the Theban War, and so was born at a later stage in mythical history. In Sophocles' *Antigone*, Haemon argued on Antigone's behalf after her arrest, and warned Creon that the people of Thebes sympathised with her; later, when he discovered that she had hanged herself after being entombed alive, he stabbed himself beside her dead body, but in another version, he saved Antigone and secretly married her. According to a tragic plot preserved by Hyginus, Creon handed her over to Haemon to be put to death, but he placed her in the care of some shepherds

and merely pretended that he had killed her. She bore him a son, and later, when their son went to Thebes as a young man to compete in some games, Creon recognised his parentage from a birth-mark. Even Heracles was unable to allay Creon's anger, and Haemon took his own life after first killing Antigone. According to the *Iliad*, Maeon was a son of Haemon, and some later commentators claimed that he was Haemon's son by this liaison with Antigone. [Apollodorus 3.5.8; schol Euripides *Phoenissae* 1750; Homer *Il* 4.394; Hyginus 72; Sophocles *Antigone* 627-769; 1175-1243]

Haemus (Αἴμος). Son of Boreas and Oreithyia; a Thracian king. Because they called one another Zeus and Hera, he and his wife Rhodope were transformed into the Thracian mountains that bore their names. In other versions they were a father and daughter or brother and sister, and their relationship was incestuous. [Ovid *Met* 6.87-8; ps.Plutarch *Fluv* 11; Servius on *Aeneid* 1.317]

Halirhothius (Ἁλιρρόθιος). Son of Poseidon and Euryte, daughter of Bathycleia. When he raped Alcippe, daughter of Ares, by a spring in the sanctuary of Asclepius on the Athenian Acropolis, Ares caught him in the act and killed him. This was an important incident because it led to the first trial at the *Areopagus. According to another tradition, he tried to cut down Athena's sacred olive-tree because her introduction of the olive had caused Athens to be awarded to her rather than to his father; but the goddess caused the head of his axe to slip from its handle and kill him. [Apollodorus 3.14.2; Pausanias 1.21.7; Servius on *Georg* 1.18]

Hamadryads (Ἰαμαδρυάδες). Tree-nymphs, especially of the oak, who were born with, cared for, and died with their trees. They were not confined within them, however, but could leave them to take part in the activities that nymphs enjoyed, such as dancing or consorting with the local nature-spirits. Callimachus tells how the tree-nymphs would rejoice when the rain-fall caused their trees to grow or weep when their trees lost their leaves. Like other nymphs, they sometimes took care of human children, such as the young Aeneas, and there were stories which told how they punished or rewarded human beings who threatened or saved their trees. A grateful Hamadryad adopted *Rhoecus as her lover after he had rescued her tree (but later blinded him when he was unfaithful to her). In a tale from Apollonius, a Thracian was severely punished when he felled an oak-stump, ignoring the tears and pleas of its nymph; she cursed both him and his offspring, and he was condemned to a life of unremitting toil. And Ovid tells how *Erysichthon was cursed by a tree-nymph and suffered a terrible punishment after he felled her oak in a grove of Demeter. [Apollonius 2.475-86 with schol 477; Callimachus *Hymn* 4.79-85; *Homeric Hymn* 5 to *Aphrodite* 257-75; Ovid *Met* 8.738-878]

Harmonia (Ἄρμονία). Daughter of Ares and Aphrodite. Zeus offered her in marriage to *Cadmus, the founder of Thebes, and the gods came down from heaven to attend their wedding on the Theban acropolis, the Cadmeia. Apollo and the Muses provided the music and sang the wedding songs, the Graces danced, and the gods presented magnificent gifts to the bride, including the famous robe and *necklace of Harmonia which would cause such misfortune to her descendants. In some accounts, she was given the robe and necklace by her husband, who had acquired the necklace from its maker Hephaestus or from Europa (who had received it as a present from Zeus). In contrast to Thetis, the other goddess who was married to a mortal at a wedding attended by the gods, Harmonia was not ashamed to be the wife of a mortal, and she and Cadmus lived happily together into old age.

During their earlier life at Thebes, she bore a son Polydorus to Cadmus, and four daughters – Ino, Semele, Agave and Autonoe; later, when they went into exile in Illyria after

the death of *Pentheus, a further son, *Illyrius, was born. She and Cadmus were finally turned into snakes and transferred by Zeus (or Ares) to the Elysian Fields.

According to the Samothracian tradition, Harmonia was a daughter of Zeus by Electra, daughter of Atlas, and she originally lived on Samothrace with her brothers Iasion and Dardanus. Cadmus met her when he called in at Samothrace during his search for Europa, and he either married her on the island before departing to found Thebes or he abducted her from Samothrace with the aid of Athena. [Apollodorus 3.4.2, 3.5.4; Apollonius 4.517-8; Diodorus 5.49; Euripides *Bacchae* 1320-9; Hesiod *Theog* 937, 975-8; Ovid *Met* 4.562-603; Pindar *Pyth* 3.86-96; Theognis 15-18]

Harpalyce (Ἄρπαλύκη). **1.** Daughter of Harpalycus, a Thracian king; she was apparently the model for Vergil's *Camilla. Harpalycus suckled her on cows and mares after the death of her mother, and he trained her in the arts of war because he wanted her to succeed him as ruler. She showed her worth as a warrior when Neoptolemus attacked the land during his return from Troy and gravely wounded Harpalycus, for she saved her father by launching a counter-attack and putting the enemy to flight. But Harpalycus was later killed by his subjects in a revolt and Harpalyce withdrew to the woods, where she lived until some herdsmen attacked and killed her because she had been plundering their cattle. [Hyginus 193; Vergil *Aeneid* 314-7] **2.** The daughter of Clymenus, son of Teleus, an Argive. Clymenus committed incest with the young Harpalyce, and then married her to Alastor, son of Neleus. But after the couple had departed, he had second thoughts, rushed after them, and brought Harpalyce back to Argos where he lived with her openly as if she were his wife. Harpalyce was so distressed by his treatment of her that she killed and dismembered her younger brother and served his flesh to Clymenus at a public banquet. She then prayed to the gods to be removed from human company, and they turned her into a bird of the night called the *chalchis*; her father committed suicide. In another version, she bore a son to her father (here described as a son of Schoineus, and thus an Arcadian), and fed this son to him; and he killed her when he realised what she had done. [Hyginus 206; Parthenius 13]

Harpies (Ἄρπυιαι). Winged female beings who snatched people away. They were depicted as bird-women with human heads resembling the Sirens (or simply as winged women). The Harpies are mentioned in two passages in the *Odyssey*. Laertes and Eumaeus remarked that Odysseus had vanished from human knowledge as if they had swept him away, and Penelope referred to a tale in which the daughters of Pandarus were said to have been snatched away by them and delivered to the Erinyes. It is significant that Penelope first said that storm-winds (*thyellai*) had snatched the girls away, as if that meant much the same, for it seems that the Harpies were originally personifications of storm-winds.

According to Hesiod's *Theogony*, there were two Harpies, Aello ('squall') and Ocypete ('fast-flyer'), who could keep pace with birds or the winds on their swift wings. They were daughters of Thaumatas and Electra, and the sisters of Iris, a swift-flying messenger of the gods. Homer mentions only a single Harpy by name, Podarges (Swift-foot), who gave birth to Xanthus and Balius, the horses of Achilles, after mating with Zephyr (the West Wind). In later sources a third Harpy, Celaeno, was sometimes added to Hesiod's two, but there is some variation in their names. Thus we find the forms Aellopus ('storm-feet'), Ocypode ('fast-feet') and Ocyrrhoe ('fast-mover').

They appear in only a single important tale, that of their persecution of Phineus and subsequent flight from the *Boreads. Zeus or the gods sent the Harpies against Phineus, king of Salmydessus in Thrace. (*See* Phineus.) Whenever he sat down to eat, they would sweep down and snatch away most of his food, and they imparted an evil smell even to the food that they left behind. Phineus possessed prophetic powers, and when the Argonauts called in at his

city, he promised to tell them how to reach Colchis in safety if they would first rid him of the Harpies. It happened that the Argonauts had two winged persons among them, Zetes and Calais, the sons of Boreas ('North Wind'), and the pair set off in pursuit of the Harpies. While they were over the *Strophades, Iris (or Hermes) intervened and warned the Boreads not to kill the Harpies, who had merely been performing their function as servants of Zeus, and she promised that they would return to their den in Crete and never trouble Phineus again. There are variants to the story: in some accounts, the Harpies were killed by the Boreads; according to Apollodorus, the Harpies were fated to die at the hands of the Boreads and the Boreads themselves were fated to die if they failed to catch them, and, because the Harpies succumbed to exhaustion before they were caught, one falling into the Tigris, a river in the Peloponnese, and the other at the Strophades, both the pursuers and the pursued seem to have been killed; according to the *Aeneid*, the Harpies settled in the Strophades, and, when Aeneas and his comrades called in at the islands after the fall of Troy, the Harpies, who were invulnerable to their weapons, pillaged and tainted their food as they had done with that of Phineus. Their leader, Celaeno, expressed their anger at the visitors' attempt to drive them off and prophesied that a terrible danger awaited Aeneas and his men in Italy. [Apollodorus 1.9.21; Apollonius 2. 178-300 with schol 296, 299; Hesiod *Theog* 265-9, fr 150-7; Homer *Il* 16.149-51, *Od* 1.241-3, 14.371, 20.66-78; Vergil *Aen* 3.209-66]

Hebe (Ἥβη). Daughter of Zeus and Hera, she was the personification of Youth. She acted as cup-bearer to the gods (although *Ganymede largely displaced her in that function) and was available to perform other minor services for them, for example, in the *Iliad*, she bathed the wounded Ares and helped Hera to prepare her chariot. She became the wife of Heracles after his ascent to Olympus; this marriage sealed his reconciliation with Hera, who now accepted him into her family, and, since his deification absolved him from the effects of age, it was appropriate that his wife should be the goddess who represented youth. According to Apollodorus, she bore him two sons, Alexiades and Anicetus (whose names were derived from cult titles of Heracles). In Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, she is said to have rejuvenated Iolus at the request of Heracles; but there is no indication that she ever performed rejuvenations in early myth. [Apollodorus 2.7.7; Hesiod *Theog* 921-3, 950-5; Homer *Il* 4.1-4, 5.720-3, 905, *Od* 11.601-4; Ovid *Met* 9.400; Pindar *Nem* 1.69-72]

Hecabe (Ἑκάβη). *See* Hecuba.

Hecale (Ἑκάλη). An old woman of north-eastern Attica who welcomed the young *Theseus to her home before he confronted the bull of Marathon. As he set out for the encounter, she vowed to offer a sacrifice to Zeus if he should return safely; but when he returned to find that she had died during his absence, he founded a local feast of Zeus in her name, the Hecalesia, and ordered that heroic honours should be paid to her. There was an Attic deme (parish) of Hecale located between Athens and Marathon. [Callimachus fr 40; Plutarch *Thes* 14]

Hecate (Ἑκάτη). This article is under revision. *See* instead "Hecate" in P. Grimal, *The Dictionary of Classical Mythology*, Oxford (Blackwell) 1996.

Hecatoncheires (Ἑκατόγχιρες). *See* Hundred-handers.

Hector (Ἑκτωρ). Son of Priam, king of Troy, and Hecuba. In the *Iliad* Hector is presented as the foremost warrior on the Trojan side, holding a position comparable to that of Achilles on the Greek side. Although Homer never states that he was Priam's eldest son, this is assumed in later sources. Since he meets his death in *Iliad*, he appeared in only one other epic in the

Trojan cycle, the *Cypria* (which covered the earlier part of the war). In that poem, *Protesilaus, the first Greek warrior to step ashore at Troy, was said to have been killed by him (rather than by a nameless Dardanian as stated in the *Iliad*), but there is no indication that he played a significant role otherwise. It is quite possible that he was not a major figure at all in the prehomeric traditions about the Trojan War. His status in the *Iliad* can be measured against that of Achilles. We are told that Hector had never ventured far from the city as long as Achilles was taking part in the fighting, but only as far as the Scaean gates and the oak tree, where he once had to Achilles and barely escaped with his life. He was nevertheless respected by Achilles, who shuddered to encounter him, and he could expect to dominate in battle if Achilles were absent. A pivotal role is reserved for him in the plot of the *Iliad*, which turns on just such a withdrawal by *Achilles, who retired to his hut for some days as the result of a quarrel with *Agamemnon. While he was away, Hector led the Trojans to the brink of victory, taking the battle right up to the Greek ships; and although Achilles' favourite Patroclus drove the Trojans away from the ships and back to the city when he entered the fighting in Achilles' armour, Hector finally killed him with the aid of Apollo. But this triumph proved fatal both to Hector himself and the hopes of the Trojans, for it provoked Achilles to return to the battlefield to seek revenge.

We first encounter Hector in the third book of the *Iliad* as he chides his brother Paris for shrinking back at the approach of Menelaus. When Paris then agreed to try to settle the dispute between the Greeks and Trojans by single combat between himself and Menelaus, Hector arranged a halt in the fighting, and he and Odysseus measured out the ground for the duel and he shook the lots to determine which of the two opponents should be the first to hurl his spear. But the duel proved to be inconclusive, and when the truce was subsequently broken, Hector and the other Trojans were unable to withstand the onset of *Diomedes and were pushed back towards the city. Finally, at the urging of his brother Helenus, Hector rallied the troops and then visited the city to ask the women to pray to Athena for help. While he was there, he fetched Paris from his home where he was dallying with Helen, and he had a moving encounter with his wife Andromache and infant son Astyanax on the battlements; *see* Andromache. He and Paris, who were refreshed after their absence from the battlefield, fought with some success on their return until *Helenus, at the will of the gods, advised Hector to call another halt in the fighting and to challenge the best of the Greeks to single combat. Several of the warriors on the Greek side put themselves forward to fight with him, and the formidable *Ajax was chosen in the ballot. Although Ajax managed to knock Hector to the ground with a huge stone, Apollo soon raised him up again, and the two heroes were separated at nightfall by the heralds before either had established his supremacy. After a pause of two days in which both sides buried their dead and the Greeks constructed a protective wall and ditch around their huts and ships, the Trojans gained the upper hand and established themselves on the plain outside the city. Hector played a leading part in their advance, disabling *Teucer with a stone, almost killing Nestor and forcing the Greeks to take refuge behind their defences.

After making an unsuccessful attempt to persuade Achilles to return to the fighting, *Agamemnon rallied the Greeks and managed to drive the Trojans back. As the situation seemed to grow ever more desperate, Iris visited Hector with a message from Zeus, advising him to stand aside from the fighting until Agamemnon was wounded, and telling him that Zeus would then grant him mastery in battle until he reached the Greek ships at sunset. When Agamemnon was duly wounded and had to withdraw, the Trojans forced the Greeks on to the defensive under the leadership of Hector and confined them behind their wall. Hector finally smashed through the gate of the wall with a huge stone and led the Trojans towards the Greek ships. Although their final breakthrough was delayed for a time by the divine supporters of the Greeks, and Hector himself was stunned by Ajax (he was subsequently revived by

Apollo), he and the Trojans eventually fought their way through to the ships and threatened the Greeks with disaster. At the high point of their triumph, when Hector was calling for fire to set light to the ships and only Ajax was standing up to him, Patroclus appealed to Achilles to be allowed to borrow his armour and to lead the Myrmidons to the rescue. Patroclus soon turned the tide of the battle and Hector fled from the field in his chariot in the course of the rout. As he was considering when to do after halting his horses by the Scaean gates, Apollo appeared to him in the guise of his uncle Asius and urged him to confront Patroclus. The fate of Patroclus was settled soon afterwards by Apollo himself, who knocked the armour from his body, allowing him to be wounded by a Trojan called Euphorbus and then killed by a spear-thrust from Hector. Although the Trojans gained possession of Patroclus' corpse for a while, allowing Hector to remove Achilles' armour and don it in place of his own, Menelaus and Meriones seized it back and removed it to the ships while the two Ajaxes kept Hector and the Trojans at bay.

On hearing of the death of Patroclus, Achilles decided to return to the fighting on the next day to exact revenge. The Trojan realised his intent on that same evening when they heard him shouting from the Greek ditch, and Poulydamas, son of Panthous, an eloquent friend of Hector who had been born on the same night as him, argued at a hastily convened assembly that the Trojans should withdraw immediately to safety of their city; but Hector scorned his prudent advice and ordered the army to remain vigilant until battle was resumed on the following morning. Although Apollo advised Hector not to confront Achilles alone but to stay within the main body of the troops, he was so enraged when the Greek hero killed his brother Polydorus that he rushed forward and hurled his spear at him. But Athena blew it back, causing it to drop harmlessly at Hector's feet, and the Trojan was only saved from the fury of Achilles by a swift intervention from Apollo, who snatched him away and wrapped him in a thick mist. The final confrontation between the two heroes was thus postponed as Achilles pressed ever forward and forced the Greeks to seek refuge within their walls. Hector alone remained outside by the Scaean gates. Although his father pleaded with him and Hecuba bared her breast as she begged him to take pity on a mother's anguish, Hector was ashamed at having caused the death of so many Trojans through his hasty rejection of Poulydamas' advice on the previous night and he was thus determined either to kill Achilles or to meet a glorious death in the attempt. At the sight of Achilles' approach, however, his nerve snapped and he fled round the city walls three times with Achilles in close pursuit until Apollo appeared to him in the guise of his brother Deiphobus and urged him to make a stand. Achilles was the first to hurl his spear, but Hector crouched to avoid it and then hurled his own, which rebounded from his opponent's shield without effect. When he called to Deiphobus for a new spear and discovered that his supposed ally was nowhere to be seen, he realised that he had been tricked by Athena and drew his sword to make a last desperate rush at Achilles; but Athena had returned Achilles' spear to him, and the Greek hero thrust it into Hector's neck, inflicting a fatal wound. As his life was draining away, Hector begged that his body should be returned to his parents unmutilated, and, when his request was greeted with scorn, he predicted that Achilles would meet his own death near the Scaean gates at the hand of Paris and Apollo.

Hector's body was shamefully mistreated by Achilles, who dragged it behind his chariot in full sight of the Trojans and then back to the Greek ships, where he hurled it face-downwards into the dust beside the bier of Patroclus to serve as food for the dogs. But the gods pitied the fate of the fallen hero: Aphrodite kept the dogs at bay and anointed the body with an ambrosial oil while Apollo enveloped it in a cloud to protect it from the rays of the sun. After the funeral of Patroclus, Achilles dragged the body around the burial-mound of Patroclus three times a day for nine days until the gods intervened, ordering him to desist and to accept a ransom for the body. So when Priam visited his hut by night with the ransom,

Achilles surrendered Hector's body to him and allowed him to take it back to Troy, where Andromache, Hecuba and Helen lamented over it and it finally received an honourable burial.

Hecuba (Ἑκάβη). The wife of *Priam, king of Troy. In the *Iliad*, she was a daughter of Dymas, a Phrygian king who lived by the river Sangarius, but, in later sources, she is sometimes said to have been a daughter of Cisseus, a Thracian king, or of the river-god Sangarius. Homer never mentions the name of Hecuba's mother, and the mythographers suggested so many different names for her that the Emperor Tiberius liked to tease scholars by asking them who she was. Some said that Hecuba was Priam's second wife after Arisbe, daughter of Merops. According to Homer, she and Priam had nineteen sons and many daughters; the most notable of their many children were Hector, Paris, Helenus, Deiphobus, Troilus, Cassandra, Polyxena and Laodice.

Hecuba makes few appearances in the *Iliad*. When Troy was under threat from the Greeks, she offered the goddess Athena a richly embroidered robe which Paris had brought for her from Sidon. Later, she led the Trojan women in the mourning for her dead son Hector. Although she tried to persuade Priam not to go to the Greek camp to seek the return of Hector's body, he persisted in his intention, and she brought him some wine for a libation before his departure; when he returned with the body, she lamented his death in succession to Andromache.

Her premonition before the birth of *Paris is first recorded in a fragment by Pindar, which states that she had a dream or vision in which she thought that she gave birth to a fire-bearing hundred-handed Fury who threw the city of Troy to the ground. In later versions, the dream was that she gave birth to a flaming torch which burned down the city (and sometimes the forests of Ida too), or that she gave birth to a torch, and a crowd of snakes then issued from it. The seers advised her that the child should be killed or exposed because he would bring destruction on the city; but although Paris was exposed, he survived and Hecuba lived to see the truth of her vision. Hecuba's husband and remaining sons (except Helenus) were killed during the sack of Troy, and she and her daughters were captured. The surviving reports on early epic reveal nothing about the circumstances of her capture and her fate during the distribution of the spoils. The most remarkable feature in the later tradition, the story of her transformation into a dog, is first mentioned in a lyric fragment of uncertain origin, which states that she was transformed into a dog with flashing eyes whose howls could be heard on Mount Ida and as far away as Tenedos and Samothrace.

The earliest full account of the final period of her life can be found in Euripides' *Hecuba*; this links her story to that of her late-born son *Polydorus, who had been entrusted along with a quantity of treasure to *Polymestor, a king of the Bisaltians on the Chersonese (Dardanelles). After her capture, Hecuba was allotted to Odysseus and taken to the Chersonese, where she saw her daughter *Polyxena led off to be sacrificed. When her maid went down to the shore to fetch water to be used at Polyxena's funeral, she discovered that the body of Polydorus had been cast ashore there. Realising that he must have been killed by Polymestor, Hecuba sent a servant-woman to invite him and his two sons to a meeting, enticing him with the promise that she would reveal the location of a hoard of gold; when he and his sons arrived at her tent, Hecuba tore his eyes out and the Trojan women killed his sons. He prophesied to her that she would take the form of a fiery-eyed dog and run up the mast of the ship that was conveying her to Greece, that she would then plunge into the sea and that her tomb, which would be known as Cynossema ('Dog's Tomb'), would serve as a landmark for sailors.

In alluding to Hecuba's transformation, Euripides was clearly referring to a story which would have been familiar to most of his audience, and it was generally accepted in the later tradition that she met this extraordinary end. Cynossema, which was taken to be her

monument, could be seen on the European side of the entrance to the Hellespont. According to the Hellenistic poet Nicander, she suffered this transformation when she leapt into the sea (presumably at Troy) after seeing her home in flames and her husband breathing his last. It was often said that she was stoned, either by the Greeks at the instigation of Odysseus, or by the Thracians after she had killed Polymestor. Although this can sometimes be seen as a rationalisation in which she was said to have been stoned like a dog instead of being turned into one, others still say that she was transformed either before or during the stoning. According to Lycophron, she became the hound of Hecate, and, in the late epic of Quintus of Smyrna, she was turned to stone after her transformation. According to a wholly different tradition of early origin, which subsequently found little favour, Apollo transferred her to Lycia during the sack of Troy, and, if this were so, there would have been no occasion for her to be enslaved or transformed. [Apollodorus 3.12.5; *Ep* 5.24; Euripides *Hecuba*, *Trojan Women*; Homer *Il* 6.287-95, 16.717-9, 24.496-7 and schol 3.325; Hyginus 91; Lycophron 330-4; Nicander fr 62; Ovid *Met* 13.536-75; Pausanias 10.27.2; Pindar *Paean* 8a; *PMG* 265; Q Smyrna 14.347-51]

Helen (*Ἑλένη*) The wife of Menelaus, king of Sparta, who was abducted to Troy by Paris, and so was the cause of the *Trojan war. There were two conflicting traditions about her birth, both of early origin. According to one, Zeus loved the goddess *Nemesis, who transformed herself into many different forms in the hope of escaping him; but when she finally changed into a goose, Zeus changed into a goose or a swan and had intercourse with her in Attica. In the more famous version, Helen was conceived when Zeus assumed the form of a swan to seduce *Leda, the daughter of Tyndareus, king of Sparta. In either case, Zeus' lover laid an egg from which Helen subsequently hatched, and the child was reared by Leda in Sparta. In the former version, Hermes or some shepherds conveyed the egg to Leda, who adopted Helen as her daughter after she hatched. The egg could be seen at a temple in Sparta.

As would be expected for a daughter of Zeus, Helen grew up to be exceptionally beautiful. While she was still below marriageable age, she was abducted by *Theseus and his friend Pirithous, who made a surreptitious visit to Sparta and seized her as she was dancing (or offering a sacrifice) at the temple of Artemis Orthia. Whether by prior agreement or the casting of lots, she was assigned to Theseus as his future bride, and he hid her away at Aphidnae in north-eastern Attica while he and his friend descended to Hades in the hope of winning Persephone as a bride for Pirithous. Before setting off, Theseus summoned his mother *Aethra from Troezen to look after the young Helen and act as her companion. In spite of Theseus' precautions, Helen's two brothers, the *Dioscuri, invaded Attica and recovered Helen during his absence. They also captured and enslaved Aethra, who was made a servant of Helen. Although Homer makes no explicit reference to this early episode in Helen's life, the fact that Aethra appears in the *Iliad* as Helen's maidservant indicates that he must have been aware of it. Estimates of Helen's age at the time of her first abduction vary from seven to twelve or fifteen; According to a curious story which would imply that Helen was somewhat older than commonly assumed, Helen conceived *Iphigeneia to Theseus and entrusted the child to Clytemnestra after giving birth to her at Argos during the return journey.

When Tyndareus offered Helen for marriage, many of the greatest men in the Greek world competed for her hand. Extensive fragments from the Hesiodic *Catalogue* provide the fullest continuous account of the episode. In this version, her suitors courted her (initially at least) through intermediaries, by sending heralds to Sparta with precious gifts. The contest was supervised by the Dioscuri, who received the envoys and ultimately selected Menelaus because he sent the most valuable gifts and was supported by his brother Agamemnon, the wealthiest and most powerful ruler in Greece. In most later accounts, however, the suitors gathered together at Sparta and the successful candidate was selected by Tyndareus, as

Helen's putative father, or, in Euripides' version, Tyndareus left the choice to Helen herself for fear of arousing hostility from the rejected suitors, and she indicated her preference by placing a wreath on the head of Menelaus. As a condition for entering the contest, Tyndareus obliged all the suitors to swear an oath that they would come to the aid of Helen's chosen husband if he should ever be wronged with regard to his marriage. This ingenious measure, which was designed to remove any danger of conflict and prevent rejected suitors from resorting to force, was often said to have been suggested by the wily Odysseus. The oath would have important implications in the future because it meant that all Helen's suitors, who included most of the significant rulers in the Greek world, would be obliged to help Menelaus to recover Helen after she was abducted to Troy. According to a tale recorded by Pausanias, Tyndareus sacrificed a horse before exacting the oath and made the suitors stand on slices of its meat as they swore to defend Helen and her chosen husband; he buried the horse afterwards by the road leading north from Sparta.

Helen bore a daughter, Hermione, to her husband, and he succeeded Tyndareus as king of Sparta; Helen might have lived with him indefinitely in tranquil luxury if she had not become involved in the schemes of the gods. As part of his plan to engineer a major war between the Greeks and the Trojans, Zeus contrived that Hera, Athena and Aphrodite should be judged for their beauty by Paris, a young son of the king of Troy; and the future conflict became inevitable when Aphrodite bribed Paris to award her the victory by promising to grant him Helen, the most beautiful woman in the world, as his bride. (*See Judgment of Paris.*) Armed with this assurance, Paris set sail for the Peloponnese. He received a friendly welcome from the Dioscuri and was entertained by Menelaus at his palace in Sparta for nine days until Menelaus had to depart to attend a funeral in Crete. Having no reason to be suspicious of Paris, who had repaid his hospitality by offering generous gifts to Helen, Menelaus entrusted him to the care of his wife; but Paris took advantage of his host's absence to persuade (or in some late accounts, force) Helen to elope with him; to compound the offence, he also stole much of Menelaus' treasure. In the *Cypria*, the first epic in the Trojan cycle, it was said that Aphrodite helped him to seduce Helen, and they slept together in Sparta before loading the stolen treasure on to Paris' ship and sailing away by night. According to the *Iliad*, they first slept together after their departure at Cranae ('Rocky Island', which was variously identified as a small island off the Spartan coast, or Cythera off the southern Peloponnese, or Helene off the southern tip of Attica); others say that they spent their first night together at Sidon, or later at Troy. Helen was accompanied to Troy by two or more of her maidservants, including Aethra. There was also a suggestion that *Aeneas, as the son of Aphrodite, accompanied Paris as an intermediary.

In Proclus' summary of the *Cypria*, Hera sent a storm against them which carried Paris' ship far off course to Sidon in Phoenicia, and Paris captured the city before sailing on to Troy; in Herodotus' conflicting report on the same epic (which was either based on an earlier version of the poem or was simply mistaken), the couple reached Troy in three days with the benefit of a favourable wind and calm seas. The *Iliad* mentions that they visited Sidon, where Paris acquired some richly-embroidered robes, and Apollodorus may have relied on an epic source for the suggestion that Paris delayed for a considerable time in Phoenicia and Cyprus until there seemed to be no further risk of pursuit. Paris' marriage to Helen was formally celebrated after their arrival in Troy. Although Helen's second marriage seems to have been childless in the Homeric epics, she bore a son called Aganus to Paris according to the *Cypria* and the pair are credited with a various children in late sources.

After Menelaus had been informed of the abduction of his wife, he visited Agamemnon to plan an expedition to recover her. With his friends he assembled a large force of Greeks, including Helen's former suitors (who were obliged by their oath to come to the aid of her wronged husband), and they set sail for Troy. Just after (or shortly before) their landing,

Odysseus and Menelaus visited Troy on an embassy to seek the return of Helen and the stolen treasures, but their overtures were rejected. Achilles, who had been too young to be a suitor of Helen, was naturally curious to see her, and Thetis and Aphrodite arranged a meeting between them in the early stages of the war.

Although Helen appears infrequently in the *Iliad*, her predicament at Troy is portrayed in a most telling manner. If she now felt regret at her abandonment of her husband and daughter and often found herself weeping, her remorse arose not so much from moral scruples as from a painful awareness that her actions had placed her in unenviable situation in her new life. She knew that the Trojans resented and even hated her as the cause of their troubles, she had come to feel increasingly homesick for her original family and homeland, and her love for Paris was tempered by an increasing awareness of his deficiencies. Only the ageing Priam, who sensed that the gods were to blame for the war rather than Helen and Paris, treated her with complete respect and kindness, although Hector respected her and the Trojans generally accepted her.

We are first introduced to Helen when Iris summons her to the city walls in the third book of the *Iliad*. Priam invited her to sit in front of him and asked her about the Greek heroes on the plain below. She could recognise Agamemnon, Odysseus and Ajax, but remarked that the Dioscuri (who had been killed or had disappeared in the Peloponnese before the beginning of the war) were nowhere to be seen, either because they had not joined the expedition or because they were reluctant to show themselves for fear of being reviled on their sister's account. Shortly afterwards, after Aphrodite had rescued Paris from his duel with Menelaus, the goddess appeared to Helen in the guise of an old woman to summon her to Paris' bedchamber. Recognising her true identity from the beauty of the goddess, Helen protested with some asperity that it would be shameful for her to share Paris' bed in such circumstances, but the Aphrodite sent her on her way, and Helen slept with Paris after addressing him with scorn. When Hector arrived to urge Paris to return to the fighting, Helen greeted him in a friendly manner and told him of her unhappiness and her regret that she was not the wife of a better man; and at the end of the epic, she spoke words of grief over Hector's body in succession to his wife and mother, saying that he had resembled Priam in always being kind and gentle to her and that he had spoken up on her behalf when others had reviled her.

The death of Paris marked a turning-point for Helen. After he was shot by the Greek archer *Philoctetes in the final stages of the war, Deiphobus and Helenus, two of the remaining sons of Priam, competed for her hand; when she was awarded to Deiphobus, Helenus left the city in anger and subsequently revealed vital information to the Greeks. In the earliest recorded version, however, Helenus was captured by the Greeks before the death of Paris, and Deiphobus seems to have had no rivals when claiming Helen. She had no reason to want to remain at Troy after the death of Paris and became disaffected, as is shown in the story of her encounter with Odysseus when he entered the city in disguise just before the end of the war. According to the *Odyssey*, she took him to her home after recognising him and gave him a bath, and he revealed all the plans of the Greeks to her after she had sworn not to betray him. When he had made his escape, killing many Trojans on the way, she rejoiced inwardly as the Trojan women lamented, for her thoughts had now turned to home. According to the *Little Iliad*, another epic in the Trojan cycle, she recognised him during the first of his two incursions into the city and plotted with him about its capture. The two of them presumably discussed the stratagem of the *Trojan horse, although this is not explicitly stated. In Apollodorus' account; she also helped Odysseus to steal the *Palladium from the city. In view of the early traditions about Helen's actions and attitude at the end of the war, a story in the *Odyssey* in which she almost betrayed the stratagem of the horse is surprising. Approaching the wooden horse with Deiphobus, she walked round it three times, testing the outside of it with her hand, and called out to the men inside, mimicking the voices of each of

their wives. If Odysseus had not restrained them, some of the Greek warriors would have cried out in response and all would have been lost. Usually, however, Helen is said to have welcomed the arrival of the Greeks even though she had reason to feel apprehensive about the outcome, and, in late sources, she is even said to have aided them by raising a torch to summon the main force into the city or by removing the weapons from Deiphobus' house.

During the sack of Troy, Menelaus made for the house of Deiphobus and then the man himself to recover Helen. In one account from early epic, he simply took her into his custody and led her back to the ships, and, in another, he fully intended to kill her, but was so entranced by her beauty when he caught a glimpse of her naked breasts that he threw his sword to the ground. In some later accounts, the Greek troops wanted to stone her as she was brought to the ships but dropped their stones at the sight of her beauty. Some said that Helen took refuge in the temple of Aphrodite; according to the *Aeneid*, Aeneas saw her hiding in the temple of Vesta (the Latin Hestia) in the hope of escaping the hatred of the Trojans, as well as the vengeance of the Greeks and the fury of her deserted husband, and Aeneas would have killed her in an access of rage if Venus (Aphrodite) had not held him back.

After surviving the sack of Troy, Helen set off for home with her original husband. As Menelaus' ships were rounding the Peloponnese, they were struck by a violent storm which divided the fleet and drove Menelaus himself to Egypt with five of his ships he then delayed in the south-eastern Mediterranean for eight years, amassing quantities of treasure before finally arriving home. While he and Helen were in Egypt, the wife of the king presented some beautiful gifts to her – a silver distaff and a golden-rimmed silver work-basket which ran on wheels. There was a story that Thonis, the ruler of Canopus at the mouth of the Nile, was killed by Menelaus for trying to seduce Helen. According to an early tradition, Helen bore a son Nicostratus ('Victorious Army') to Menelaus after their return, and a third son, Aethialus, is mentioned in some sources. The couple were now fully reconciled and lived together as if there had been nothing to divide them. Their elegant and luxurious existence is vividly portrayed in the fourth book of the *Odyssey*, which describes how they entertained *Telemachus at Sparta and reminisced about a past which had come to seem very remote. The *Odyssey* indicates that Menelaus and Helen were absolved from death because Helen was a daughter of Zeus, and they were transferred instead to *Elysium to enjoy a life of bliss. In some later accounts, however, Helen spent her posthumous life on *Leuce as the consort of Achilles.

According to an alternative tradition, Helen could be absolved from any blame for the Trojan War because Paris was accompanied to Troy not by Helen herself but by a phantom (*εἰδωλον*) of her. The story seems to have been invented by Stesichorus, a lyric poet of the sixth century BC, who said that Helen remained with Proteus in Egypt while a phantom of her went to Troy (although a surviving fragment of his poem gives the impression, perhaps misleadingly, that she never left Sparta). Legend relates that Stesichorus devised the tale as a recantation after he was struck blind for abusing Helen in a previous poem; *see* Autoleon. Later sources report that Paris visited Egypt after abducting Helen, and that the true Helen stayed there with Proteus, king of Egypt, until Menelaus recovered her when returning home after the sack of Troy. According to Euripides' *Helen*, a tragicomic play on the theme, Hera was angry that Aphrodite had defeated her in the judgement of Paris by promising Helen to him, and so she created the phantom Helen to ensure that his prize would be merely illusory. In this version Paris sailed from Sparta with the phantom Helen while the true Helen was wrapped in a cloud by Hermes and transported to the palace of Proteus in Egypt. In the plot of this play Menelaus later tricked *Theoclymenus, the son and successor of Proteus, into allowing Helen to escape home with him.

Helenus (*Ἑλενος*). Son of Priam, king of Troy, and Hecuba. He was the twin brother of Cassandra and shared her gifts as a seer. Some said that the pair acquired their gifts during their childhood when they were left overnight in the shrine of Thymbraean Apollo, and some snakes conferred prophetic powers on them by licking their ears (but there was a conflicting story about the origin of Cassandra's powers, *see* Cassandra). In the *Cypria*, an early epic in the Trojan cycle, Helenus foretold the future to Paris before he sailed off to abduct Helen; in the *Iliad* he is also portrayed as a brave warrior who took part in the assault on the Greek wall and later fought with *Menelaus, suffering a wound in the hand.

After the death of Paris, in one version Helenus competed with *Deiphobus for Helen's hand, and was so angry when she was awarded to Deiphobus that he left Troy and went to live on Mount Ida. Soon afterwards, Odysseus captured him in an ambush on the advice of the seer Calchas, and forced him to reveal how Troy could be captured. According to Apollodorus, he advised that (i) Achilles' son Neoptolemus should be fetched, (ii) the bones of Pelops should be brought to Troy, and (iii) that the *Palladium should be stolen; in Conon's account, the threats and bribes of the Greeks and his own anger against the Trojans induced him to reveal that Troy would be taken with the aid of a wooden horse, and that the Palladium (or strictly, the smaller of two such images) should be stolen. In the earliest attested account, from the *Little Iliad*, Helenus was captured before the death of Paris, which precluded his involvement in any dispute over Helen, and he advised the Greeks to fetch Philoctetes (and perhaps to fetch Neoptolemus and steal the Palladium also, although the surviving summary does not say so explicitly).

After the fall of Troy, Helenus accompanied Neoptolemus to the land of the Molossians in Epirus in north-eastern Greece. They travelled overland on the advice of Thetis (or of Helenus himself), and thus avoided the great storm which destroyed many ships in the Greek fleet; some said that Neoptolemus chose to settle in Epirus as the result of a prophecy from Helenus. Helenus founded a city there, and Neoptolemus gave him his mother, Deidamia, as a wife; alternatively, after the death of Neoptolemus at Delphi, Helenus took over the Molossian throne and married Andromache (who had been assigned to Neoptolemus after the fall of Troy). He and Andromache had a son, Pergamus, but the throne passed to Molossus, Andromache's son by Neoptolemus. In the *Aeneid*, Helenus and Andromache receive Aeneas in Epirus and Helenus delivers prophecies about his forthcoming travels. To allay his nostalgia for his lost homeland, he had built an imitation of the Trojan citadel, and named features of the landscape after corresponding features at Troy. There was also a tradition that *Hecuba was assigned to Helenus after the sack of Troy, and that he took her to the Chersonese (Dardanelles), where she turned into a dog. [Apollodorus *Ep* 5.9-10, 6.12-13; Conon 34; Homer *Il* 6.76, 13.580-97 and *passim*; Proclus on *Cypria* and *Little Iliad*; Vergil *Aen* 3.294-505 and Servius on 2.166]

Heliadae (*Ἡλιάδαι*). The seven sons of Helios ('Sun') and Rhodos. They were born on Rhodes and grew up to become the most learned of all men, especially in astrology. Because Tenages was cleverer than the other brothers, some of them grew jealous and banded together to kill him, and had to flee into exile after the murder. Macar went to Lesbos, Candalus to Cos, and Triopas to Caria; Actis, who went to Egypt, first introduced astrology to the Egyptians. Two of the brothers remained on Rhodes – Ochimus, who became king, and his successor Cercaphus, who fathered Lindus, Ialsus and Camirus, the eponyms of the main cities of the island. [Diodorus 5.56.3-57.8]

Heliades (*Ἡλιάδες*). The daughters of Helios ('Sun') and Clymene (or Rhode). After their brother Phaethon was struck by a thunderbolt and plunged to his death in the river Eridanus, the Heliades so mourned for him that Zeus or the gods took pity on them and transformed

them into poplars. They continued to weep in their new form as trees by the Eridanus, and their tears hardened into drops of *amber. In another version, they were transformed as a punishment because they had yoked the chariot of Helius for Phaethon without their father's permission. The Argonauts heard them while sailing up the Eridanus, lamenting piteously from within their trees during the night; and, in an astral myth, they were transferred to the heavens and became the Hyades. [Apollonius 4.623-6; Claudian 28.170ff; Diodorus 5.23.3-4; Hyginus 152a, 154; Ovid *Met* 2.340-66] *See* Constellation **22b3**.

Helice (*Ἑλίκη*). **1.** According to an astral myth, the infant Zeus was raised in a cave on Mount Dicte in Crete by two nymphs, Helice and Cynosura, who were subsequently transferred to the sky by the grateful god as the constellations Ursa Major and Ursa Minor (the Great and Little Bear). Alternatively, Helice was a daughter of Olenus, the eponym of the Achaean city of that name, and she and her sister Aega reared Zeus in the northern Peloponnese. Surviving source fail to explain why they were represented in the sky as bears. Their names originated as titles for the constellations themselves. [Aratus 25-44; Hyginus *Astr* 2.13] *See* Constellations **1,2**. **2.** A Chian nymph who bore Merope (or Aero) to Oenopion. [Parthenius 20] **3.** The daughter of Selinus, king of Aegialus, who married *Ion. [Pausanias 7.1.2]

Helicon (*Ἑλικών*). A mountain in Boeotia that, like Parnassus, was thought to be a haunt of the Muses and was associated with their inspiration. There was a sanctuary to them near the summit, and the source of the spring called *Hippocrene; Hesiod's town of Ascra lay on its slopes.

Helius (*Ἥλιος*). The Sun-god, child of the Titans Hyperion and Theia, and the brother of Eos ('Dawn') and Selene ('Moon'). He travelled across the sky each day from east to west in a four-horse chariot, and travelled back by night around the encircling Ocean in a golden cup. He had a magnificent palace and stables at the edges of the earth by Ocean near the mythical eastern land of the Ethiopians. His sun-beams were laid up in a golden chamber within his palace. According to the lyric poet Mimnermus, he slept while he was making his return journey in the cup, which was fashioned by Hephaestus and was winged, and his chariot and horses awaited him in the land of the Ethiopians. It was later suggested that he fed his horses on ambrosia after their passage through the sky, and that they travelled back with him in the round boat that sailed in the river Oceanus from west to east. The idea that Helius had a second palace in the west first appears in Latin sources.

Helius married Perseis or Perse, a daughter of Oceanus, who presumably lived in his palace in the east. In the earliest tradition, she bore him two children, Aeetes and Circe, who were originally thought to have lived in the mythical land of Aia in the remote east. The couple were later credited with further children, notably Pasiphae, the wife of Minos, and Perseus. Helius was also associated with Corinth, the main centre for his cult on the mainland. According to local tradition, he and Poseidon quarrelled for possession of the land, and Briareus, who was chosen as arbitrator, awarded the Isthmus of Corinth to Poseidon, and Acrocorinth, the peak which towers above the city, to Helius. According to the Corinthian epic poet Eumelus, Helius granted Corinth and the surrounding area to his son Aeetes (who subsequently left for Colchis in the east) and the Sicyonian region to another son, Aloeus.

Another important liaison connected the Helius with Rhodes, which was the most important centre for his worship. Because he happened to be absent when the gods were dividing the earth among themselves, no land was allotted to him, and, although Zeus offered to cast the lots again, Helius had seen the island of Rhodes rising up from the sea and said that he would be satisfied to have that as his special domain. He took Rhodos (or Rhode), the personification of the island as his consort and fathered seven sons, the Heliades, by her.

Some claimed that his daughters Phaethusa and Lampetia were also his children by this relationship. Phaethon was said to be his son by Rhode or, more commonly, his illegitimate son by Clymene, an Oceanid. Although Phaethon was brought up separately by his mother, he later went to visit his father at his palace in the east and borrowed his chariot with disastrous consequences; *see* Phaethon. For Ovid's story of Helios' love for Clytia and Leucothoe, *see* Clytia.

From his vantage point in the sky, Helios could see everything that happened on earth, and so he was known as the all-seeing. In the tale told by the minstrel in the *Odyssey*, it was Helios who reported Aphrodite's love-affair with Ares to her husband Hephaestus, enabling him to trap the pair in a net, and, according to the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, he told Demeter that her daughter Persephone had been abducted by Hades. Because he was universally recognised as a truthful and unfailing observer, figures in epic and tragedy often appeal to Helios as a witness (as Orestes for example in Aeschylus' *Libation-Bearers* with regard to his mother's crime in murdering Agamemnon), or swear oaths by him as one who would be sure to bear witness if the word was broken.

In the *Odyssey*, Helios is mentioned as the owner of large numbers of cattle and sheep on the mythical island of Thrinacia. These bore no young and were immune to death, and they were tended by Phaethusa and Lampetia, Helios' daughters by Neaera. When the companions of Odysseus killed and ate some of the cattle, Helios was informed of this by his daughters, and he complained to the other gods, threatening to descend to Hades and shine among the dead if he was not avenged. Anxious that he should continue to shine in the upper world, Zeus promised to strike the men's ship with a thunderbolt. On another occasion, the Giant Alcyoneus was said to have stolen some of the cattle of Helios from the island of Erytheia in the far west; some even claimed that this was the cause of the war between the gods and the Giants; and many of the cattle Helios gave to his son *Augeias. They were said to be white as snow and golden-horned, or brilliantly white like swans.

Helios played a significant role in two important tales from heroic mythology. As Heracles was passing through North Africa while travelling to fetch the cattle of Geryon (for his tenth *labour), he became so annoyed by the heat of the sun that he raised his bow against Helios. The god was impressed by his bravery and lent him his golden cup to ferry him across the outer Ocean to Erytheia, the home of Geryon's cattle. Heracles borrowed it on a second occasion when he was looking for the apples of the Hesperides in his eleventh *labour, for he needed to travel from the eastern coast of Africa along the Ocean to the Caucasus. Helios also appeared in the myth of Atreus and Thyestes: after Thyestes had won the throne of Mycenae by stealing the token of sovereignty, a golden lamb, from his brother Atreus, Helios reversed his course as a sign from the gods that Thyestes should surrender the throne to Atreus. In some accounts, he reversed his course at a later stage in the story, to show his horror when Atreus killed the children of Thyestes and served them as a meal to their father.

In a version of the story of *Phineus, Helios was responsible for his blindness or his persecution by the Harpies. From the classical period onwards, Helios was sometimes identified with Phoebus Apollo.

Helle (Ἑλλη). A daughter of Athamas by his first wife Nephele. When his second wife, *Ino, plotted to cause the death of Helle's brother *Phrixus (and in some accounts, of Helle too), Nephele provided a golden ram on which they flew away. While they were over the Hellespont, Helle slipped off and was drowned, and so gave her name to the straits ('Sea of Helle'); Herodotus mentions her tomb by the Hellespont. Some said that she was rescued by Poseidon, and that she bore him a son Paeon, Etonus, or Almops (all eponyms of Thracian or Macedonian peoples). [Apollodorus 1.9.1; ps.Eratosthenes 19; Herodotus 7.58; Pausanias 9.34.4] (Ci.)

Hellen (Ἑλλη). Son of Deucalion (or Zeus) and Pyrrha; the eponym of the Greek people, the Hellenes. The Hellenes believed that most of their people belonged to one of four ethnic groups, which could be distinguished by differences of dialect, institutions, histories and migratory patterns – the Aeolians, Dorians, Achaeans and Ionians. (The inhabitants of some regions, such as Arcadia, fell outside the scheme.) These subdivisions were expressed in genealogical terms by making Hellen the father or grandfather of the eponyms of the four groups. He had three sons, Aeolus, Dorus and Xuthus by the nymph Orseis, and Xuthus became the father of Achaeus and Ion, the eponyms of the interrelated Achaeans and Ionians. Of these sons and grandsons of Hellen, only Aeolus was of broader significance as the ancestor of the heroes from early mythology who were within the Deucalionid family.

Hellen himself was no more than a local ruler, the king of the Hellenes as they are described in the *Iliad*, a Greek people who lived in Phthia in north-eastern Thessaly. His son Aeolus remained in southern Thessaly, while Dorus settled on Parnassus in northern Thessaly, and Xuthus left for Attica or the northern Peloponnese. It was believed that the pattern of distribution of the four Hellenic groupings as found in later times was the result of long process of conflict and migration. For some features in the mythical history of these developments, see Achaeus, Ion, Aegimius, and the Heraclids. Hellen appears in only one mythical tale, from a play by Euripides, as the grandfather of *Melanippe who urged the destruction of the sons who had been secretly born to her. [Apollodorus 1.7.2-3; Hesiod fr 9; Homer *Il* 2.683-4; Pausanias 3.20.6; Thucydides 1.3]

Heosphorus (Ἑωσφόρος). The planet Venus, which was known to the Greeks as Heosphorus ('Dawn-bringer') or Phosphorus ('Light-bringer'), the morning star, and as *Hesperus, the evening star. In the time of the *Iliad*, which mentions Heosphorus as the harbinger of the dawn and Hesperus as the most beautiful star of all, the morning and evening stars were regarded as separate bodies, but their common nature was recognised before the classical period. According to Hesiod, Heosphorus and all the other stars were children of Eos (Dawn) and Astraeus. The name Phosphorus first appears in works dating from the fifth century BC. In genealogies which were probably of early origin, the personified Heosphorus was credited with two sons, *Ceyx (2) and Telauges, the father of Autolycus. [Apollodorus 1.7.4; Aristophanes *Frogs* 342; Homer *Il* 22.138, 23.226-8 and schol 11.267]

Hephaestus (Ἥφαιστος). The god of fire and metal-working. Although he is a son of Zeus and Hera in the Homeric epics, most later authors follow Hesiod in regarding him as the son of Hera alone. Hera wanted to bear a child without prior intercourse with Zeus because she was angry with him for having given birth to Athena from his head, but she was so ashamed when the child turned out to be lame that she threw him down from heaven to conceal from the other gods. He fell into the sea and was rescued by Thetis and Eurynome, daughter of Oceanus, who sheltered him for nine years in their cave beneath the outer Ocean. During his stay there, Hephaestus repaid their kindness by making quantities of beautiful jewellery for them, and he also avenged his mother's mistreatment of him by sending her a magical throne with invisible cords which held her fast as soon as she sat down on it. Realising that Hephaestus alone could set her free, the gods decided that he should be brought back to Olympus, but, when his brother Ares came to fetch him, Hephaestus scared him away with flaming torches. The problem was finally resolved by Dionysus, who plied Hephaestus with wine and persuaded him to come with him while he was drunk. The return of Hephaestus inspired some memorable vase-paintings, which show him making his way to Olympus or arriving among the gods either on foot or mounted on an ass.

In addition to the story of Hera's ejection of Hephaestus, the *Iliad* also records a conflicting story in which Zeus was responsible. In this version he and his mother were on good terms and Zeus hurled Hephaestus from Olympus because he came to support Hera when Zeus was angry with her (probably for sending storm-winds against Heracles as he was sailing back from Troy). After falling through the air for an entire day, Hephaestus fell to earth on Lemnos and was tended by the Sintians, who inhabited the island. Later authors assumed that the fall accounted for Hephaestus' lameness, and was the consequence of his ejection rather than the cause of it. In either case, Hephaestus was closely associated with Lemnos; he was said to have had a forge there, and the island was a main centre for his cult.

According to conflicting traditions from early epic, Hephaestus was married to Charis (Grace), or to Aglaea, one of the Charites (Graces), or to Aphrodite. In the *Odyssey*, the minstrel Demodocus sings of how Hephaestus exacted revenge after discovering that his wife Aphrodite was committing adultery with Ares, a far handsomer god than himself. When Helios (the Sun-god), who observes everything, informed him that his wife and Ares were meeting together secretly in his house, Hephaestus hurried to his anvil and forged some metal bonds which were so strong that they were unbreakable and yet so fine that they were invisible even to the gods; taking them to his bedroom, he wound them around his bed as a snare for the two lovers, who were caught up in them and immobilised as they lay down to make love. The ingenuity of the trap and the humiliation of the lovers raised unquenchable laughter among the gods when Hephaestus summoned them to the scene; he refused to release the pair until Poseidon promised to compensate him for the bride-gifts that he had paid for his faithless wife. After their release, Ares departed to his wild homeland in Thrace and Aphrodite to her precinct on Cyprus.

When he had been deserted by his wife, Hephaestus desired an unattainable goddess. One day, when Athena came to his forge to order some weapons, Hephaestus tried to embrace her and she took to flight; although he eventually caught up with her despite his lameness, she thrust him away when he tried to make love to her and he ejaculated over her leg. In disgust, Athena wiped his semen away with a piece of wool and threw it to the ground, causing the earth to conceive a child, *Erichthonius, who later became the king of Athens. When the child was brought to birth, Athena took him into her care and supervised his upbringing. A close association was established in Athenian cult between Athena, the special goddess of the city, and Hephaestus, since the patronage of the two deities who presided over arts and crafts were essential to the city's prosperity. Hephaestus had an altar at the Erechtheum on the Acropolis and was honoured in conjunction with Athena at his own temple near the Agora. The strange story of the birth of Erichthonius, the autochthonous ancestor of the Athenians, made it possible for him to be regarded, in some sense as the child of the two gods although he was actually earth-born and Athena a virgin.

Although Hephaestus was of little significance otherwise as a lover or parent, a number of children were credited to him. *Periphetes, who attacked wayfarers with the iron club that also served him as a walking-stick, was doubtless regarded as a son of Hephaestus because he shared his lameness, as was certainly the case with one of the Argonauts, *Palaemon, who joined the expedition despite his lameness. Another of his sons, Ardalus, was a clever craftsman who was said to have invented the flute and to have built a temple to the Muses at Troezen. The wrestler *Cercyon, who was clever with his hands in another way, was sometimes described as a son of Hephaestus (but more commonly of Poseidon). According to Pherecydes, the *Cabiri, minor deities associated with Lemnos and other islands in the northern Aegean, and their sisters the Cabiridae, were children of Hephaestus by Cabiro, daughter of Proteus.

Hephaestus was occasionally introduced into mythical narratives in his role as a craftsman or the master of fire. It was often said that he aided the birth of Athena from Zeus'

head by striking the top of her father's head with an axe or a hammer. In Hesiod's myth of the first woman, Hephaestus fashioned *Pandora from moistened earth at the request of Zeus. According to the *Prometheus Bound* ascribed to Aeschylus, he reluctantly obeyed Zeus' order that he should chain *Prometheus to a rock with bonds of unbreakable steel. In the *Iliad*, he forced *Scamander to return to his courses by setting fire to his banks, so winning a victory as the master of fire over the opposing element of water. He also made good use of fire during the battle between the gods and the Giants when he defeated the Giant Mimas by pelting him with missiles of red-hot iron.

Hephaestus is mentioned most frequently in myth as the maker of a wide variety of wonderful objects, especially in the art of metal-work: at his forge on Olympus, he built tripods with ears and wheels which could make their own way to the gatherings of the gods and then return home again according to his will; the lame god was aided in his movements by two animated golden maidens which were capable of speech and understanding; the doorways of *Alcinous' palace on Scheria were guarded by two animated golden dogs fashioned by Hephaestus; and Crete was protected in early times by *Talos, a huge man of bronze who had been presented to Minos by Hephaestus. Since the houses of the gods were imagined as palaces of bronze, Hephaestus was also thought to have worked as a divine builder. In addition to his own house on Olympus, in the *Iliad* it is mentioned that he built a palace for Zeus with polished colonnades and houses for each of the other gods. When building Hera's bedchamber, he fitted a secret bolt to the door to prevent any other god from entering except at her will. On the earth below, he constructed the third temple of Apollo at Delphi, a building of bronze with golden singing figures known as the enchantresses above the pediment. For the series of mythical temples at Delphi, *see* Trophonius. At a more mundane level, Hephaestus built an underground chamber on Chios to protect Oenopion from Orion, and four ever-flowing fountains at Colchis for Aeetes. He also fashioned arms and armour for the gods and some favoured mortals, and the most famous of his artefacts in this area was the armour that he made for Achilles, including a wonderful shield with inlaid metal-work that presented a picture of the natural world and human world in microcosm. He also made breastplates for Diomedes and Heracles, and a sword for Peleus. On a more delicate scale, he continued to fashion jewellery and other precious objects as he had in his childhood while living with Thetis. Among those that came into the possession of mortals were the *necklace of Harmonia, the golden crown acquired by Theseus during his visit to Poseidon's palace beneath the sea, and the golden urn that contained the ashes of Achilles and Patroclus.

In the earlier tradition, Hephaestus created his artefacts in his workshop on Olympus, where he seems to have worked without assistants (although he was aided by his own automata and by semi-automatic bellows and the like). So in the *Iliad*, when Thetis wanted to acquire armour for Achilles, she visited him in his bronze house and was welcomed initially by his wife Charis because he was hard at work in his foundry inside. Before coming to speak with his guest, Hephaestus drew his bellows back from the fire, packed his tools into a silver coffer and, in a homely detail, wiped his face, hands and chest with a sponge. A Naxian called Cedalion was sometimes mentioned as his assistant or teacher. According to one account, Hera entrusted the young Hephaestus to Cedalion to be taught the art of metal-work. In Hellenistic sources, Orion is said to have made his way to Lemnos after he was blinded by Oenopion and to have met Hephaestus there, who told his assistant Cedalion to have guided him towards the sun. According to a local tradition mentioned by Thucydides, the inhabitants of the Aeolian (Lipari) islands to the north of Sicily believed that his forge was located in a volcano on an island in the group, Hiera, because it emitted masses of flame by night and smoke by day. According to a belief first mentioned by Aeschylus and other poets of his time, his forge was situated in Mount Etna on the Sicilian mainland. Cicero is the earliest author to state explicitly that Hephaestus had a forge on Lemnos, and in Vergil's account, which

reconciles the two traditions, the home of Vulcan (the Roman equivalent of Hephaestus) in the Aeolian islands was connected to Etna by an underground cavern. In works of art and literature alike, Hephaestus came to be pictured to an increasing extent as a conventional workman who laboured in his workshop surrounded by assistants. According to Callimachus, who places his workshop in the Aeolian islands, and Vergil, he was assisted by the *Cyclopes, the primordial beings who had forged Zeus thunderbolt.

Hera (*Ἥρα*). This article is under revision. See instead “Hera” in P. Grimal, *The Dictionary of Classical Mythology*, Oxford (Blackwell) 1996.

Heraean Games (*Ἡραϊᾶ*). The women’s games at Olympia, held in the fourth year of every Olympiad. They were supervised by sixteen matrons who wove a sacred robe for Hera. The main feature of the games was a race for unmarried girls in which the winner was awarded a crown of olive and a share of the ox slaughtered to the goddess. It was said that the games were founded by *Hippodameia as a thank-offering to Hera for her marriage to Pelops, and that the victor at the first games was Chloris (formerly *Meliboea), daughter of Amphion. [Pausanias 5.16.2-4]

Heracles (*Ἡρακλῆς* – ‘glory of Hera’, Latin ‘Hercules’). Son of Zeus and Alcmena, wife of Amphitryon; the greatest of the Greek heroes.

A) The Early life of Heracles at Thebes

1. *The birth of Heracles.* Although Heracles was descended from Perseus through his putative father *Amphitryon (and also through his mother) and was thus a member of the Argive royal line, the peculiar circumstances of his birth ensured that he spent much of his life outside the Argolid and that he occupied a subordinate position even while he was there. Zeus had wanted his last son by a mortal woman to be a great ruler in Argos, the heartland of mythical Greece, and he chose the Perseid Alcmena as his mother, visiting her at Thebes where she was living in exile with her husband (for the circumstances, *see* Amphitryon). On the day before Amphitryon was due to return from a campaign abroad, Zeus assumed his form and slept with Alcmena, prolonging the night to three times its usual length. According to the standard account, Amphitryon himself slept with Alcmena for the first time on the following night, and Alcmena subsequently gave birth to twin sons, Heracles by Zeus and then Iphicles by Amphitryon. Zeus’ plan proceeded successfully until he boasted of it to the other gods shortly before his son was due to be born, provoking the jealous Hera to intervene. Zeus told the gods that the child who would be born on that day to a family of his own blood (i.e. the Perseids as descended from his son Perseus) would become the ruler of all who lived around him (i.e. in Argos); and since Hera knew that the wife of *Sthenelus, son of Perseus and king of Mycenae, was also due to give birth to a son, she asked Zeus to confirm his intention by a solemn oath and then ensured that the son of Sthenelus was born before Zeus’ son by Alcmena. She contrived this by intervening personally to cause Eurystheus, son of Sthenelus, to be born prematurely as a seventh-month child and by asking the goddess (or goddesses) of childbirth to delay the birth of Heracles until after that of Eurystheus. According to the earliest detailed accounts in Hellenistic and later sources, Eileithyia, the goddess of childbirth, and the Moirae (or other helpers) sat outside Alcmena’s bedchamber with their legs crossed and their fingers intertwined to prevent her from giving birth. After her travail had lasted seven days, *Galinthis, a maidservant or friend of Alcmena, (or Historis, daughter of Teiresias) tricked Eileithyia and her helpers by announcing that the child had already been born, causing them to leap up in surprise, so releasing the spell and allowing Heracles to be

brought to birth. He was born after Eurystheus nonetheless as Hera had planned, and *Eurystheus became the great king in the Argolid in accordance with the terms of Zeus' oath while Heracles himself faced an uncertain future as the putative son of an exile in Thebes. [Antoninus 29; Apollodorus 2.4.5-8; Diodorus 4.9.1-5; ps.Hesiod *Shield* 27-56; Homer *Il* 19.96-133; Ovid *Met* 9.285-303; Pausanias 9.11.2]

2. *Hera is deceived into suckling the infant Heracles.* Although Hera was unremittingly hostile to Heracles (as she often was with the mistresses or illegitimate sons of her husband), she was sometimes said to have been tricked into suckling the new-born hero. According to the familiar version from the astronomical literature, Hermes took him up to Olympus and caused the goddess to suckle him unknowingly by placing him at her breast while she was asleep; but she thrust him away as soon as she awoke and some milk spilled from her breast to form the Milky Way. According to a Theban tradition, Hera offered some of her milk to the child near the Neistan gate of Thebes as the result of an (unspecified) deception by Zeus. In an account recorded by Diodorus, in which Alcmena gave birth to Heracles at Tiryns rather than at Thebes, Alcmena was so afraid of Hera's jealousy that she exposed her new-born child at a location outside Tiryns which was known as the Heracleian Plain ever afterwards. Athena happened to come along shortly afterwards in the company of Hera, and she admired the child and persuaded Hera to offer her breast to it; but it sucked with such force that Hera soon pushed it away, and Athena then returned it to its mother. By suckling the child, Hera unwittingly conferred immortality on him; or the episode could at least be taken as a sign of his future apotheosis. According to another tradition, Hera offered her breast to the adult Heracles of her own free choice after his ascent to Olympus (D8). [schol Aratus 474; Diodorus 4.9.6-7; Eratosthenes 44; Hyginus *Astr* 2.43; Pausanias 9.25.2]

3. *The infant Heracles strangles a pair of snakes.* When Heracles was six or eight months old, Hera sent two huge snakes into his bedroom to destroy him. Although Alcmena cried out to her husband in alarm, he arrived to find that his help was no longer needed because Heracles had grasped one of the snakes in each hand and strangled them. While the infant Heracles, who was immune to fear even at this tender age, was confronting the snakes, his half-brother Iphicles naturally cowered or tried to escape, and in one account it was suggested that Amphitryon himself sent the snakes to discover which of the two children was his own. In Theocritus' account, Zeus intervened on his son's behalf by causing the children to awaken and by lighting up the house with a supernatural light. Heracles' future triumphs over death were foreshadowed in this precocious feat. Indeed in the fullest accounts by Pindar and Theocritus, the seer Teiresias was summoned to the scene and used the occasion to reveal the special destiny that awaited Heracles and the many perils that he would have to overcome in the future. [Apollodorus 2.4.8; Diodorus 4.10.1; Hyginus 30; Pindar *Nem* 1.37-61; Theocritus 24.1-102]

4. *The education of Heracles and his first crime.* In practical pursuits at least, Heracles benefited from an excellent education. He learnt the art of chariot-driving from his father, the arts of war from Castor, the subtle art of wrestling from the ever ingenious Autolycus (or from Harpalycus, son of Panopeus). Some said that he was taught archery by the great archer *Eurytus, who would later have cause to regret it (*see* C1); because he used a form of bow resembling that of the Scythians, some claimed that he was taught by a certain Teutarus, a Scythian who worked for Amphitryon as an oxherd; alternatively he was taught by *Rhadamanthys, who came from Crete, a land noted for its fine archers. Heracles showed little aptitude for artistic and intellectual pursuits and he never became noted for his cultivation or intelligence. His music-teacher *Linus, who undertook the arduous task of teaching him to sing to the lyre (and also to read and write), finally lost patience at his incompetence and struck him, so enraging the young hero that he struck back with his lyre (in some versions his plectrum or a stone), inflicting a fatal blow. Although Heracles managed to

avoid a murder-charge by citing a law of *Rhadamanthys which allowed for retaliation if another had initiated the violence, Amphitryon cut short his education for fear that he might commit another such crime in the future and sent him into the country to tend his herds. Heracles continued to practice with his bow and spear in his rural seclusion, and he grew up to become a young man of extraordinary size and strength with a fiery expression in his eyes. According to a conflicting account of his education in some late sources, Heracles was reared in Thessaly by the wise Centaur Chiron, who educated Achilles, Jason and other notable figures. [Aelian *VH* 3.32; Apollodorus 2.4.9; Diodorus 3.67.2; Lycophron 56 and schol; Theocritus 24.103-33 and schol 13.9]

5. *The young Heracles kills the lion of Cithaeron and fathers fifty sons.* Heracles' duties as a herdsman provided him with the occasion for his first manly exploit when he set out to confront a savage lion which was venturing down from Mount Cithaeron in south-western Boeotia to prey on his father's cattle, and also on those of Thespius, the ruler of the local city of Thespieae. While hunting the lion, Heracles spent fifty nights at the court of Thespius, who so admired his strength that he wanted his fifty daughters to bear children by him. So he arranged for them to visit the young hero's bedroom one after another on successive nights, and Heracles slept with all of them in the belief that he was sleeping with the same girl on each occasion. In other versions, he slept with them over a period of seven nights, or he slept with all of them on a single night, apart from one who refused and became the first of the virgin priestesses of Heracles at his sanctuary of Heracles. It was humorously suggested that this latter exploit should count as his thirteenth labour. Heracles fathered sons by each of the maidens and twin sons by the eldest. The names of the children, who were known as the Thespiads, and of their respective mothers can be found in a catalogue preserved by Apollodorus. The children remained at Thespieae until Heracles later sent most of them to Sardinia to found a colony (**D1**). Since the ancient accounts concentrate on the amatory exploits of the young Heracles at the expense of the lion-hunt itself, no details are recorded of it. Although Apollodorus states that Heracles wore the lion's skin after killing it, most sources agree that his lion skin came from the invulnerable Nemean lion (*see* **B1**). According to a conflicting tradition, the lion of Cithaeron was killed by Alcaeus, son of Pelops, as a service to *Megareus. [Apollodorus 2.4.9-10; Athenaeus 556F; Diodorus 4.29.2-3; Pausanias 9.27.5]

6. *Heracles leads the Thebans to victory in his first campaign.* As he was returning to Thebes after killing the lion of Cithaeron, Heracles encountered some heralds who were travelling to the city to fetch an annual tribute that the Thebans were paying to Erginus, king of the Minyans of Orchomenus, a city in north-western Boeotia. Some years earlier, Erginus' son Clymenus had been killed at the sanctuary of Poseidon in another Boeotian city, Onchestus, by a group of Thebans or by the charioteer of a member of the Theban royal family, and Erginus had avenged his death by marching against Thebes and forcing the Thebans to agree to a treaty which obliged them to send a hundred cattle to Orchomenus every year for the next twenty years. Angered by these demands and the insolent behaviour of the heralds, Heracles cut off their ears, noses and hands and tied them to their necks with cords, telling them to take these to Erginus and the Minyans as that year's tribute. Erginus was enraged at the insult and led the Minyans against Thebes for a second time, but Heracles was available to command the Thebans on this occasion and he soon killed Erginus and put the Minyans to flight. As an added humiliation, he forced the Minyans to pay a tribute to the Thebans at twice the rate that the Thebans themselves had been paying. In a rather different account of the episode by Diodorus, Erginus demanded that Heracles should be surrendered to him after the mutilation of the heralds, and Creon, king of Thebes, was ready to agree for fear of the Minyans' superior power; but Heracles persuaded the young men of the city to revolt against their oppressors, who had even stripped them of their arms, and he acquired fresh arms for them by removing trophies of war which had been dedicated in the temples.

Although he had fewer troops, Heracles defeated Erginus and his followers by waylaying them in a confined space and then made a sudden and unexpected attack on Orchomenus itself, burning the city to the ground. According to a Theban tradition recorded by Pausanias, Heracles diverted the River Cephissus into the Orchomenian plain to create the huge Cephisian (Copaic) lake which covered much of the territory of the Orchomenians. In Pausanias' account, Erginus survived to make peace with Heracles and eventually recovered his wealth.

In another campaign about the same time, Heracles defeated Pyraechmes, a king of Euboea. After his victory, Heracles tied Pyraechmes to two horses beside the river Heracleios, causing him to be torn apart; and whenever horses were watered at that stretch of the river thereafter, a whinny would rise up from its waters.

After Heracles had demonstrated his prowess through his early exploits (in another account, after he had completed his first seven labours), the gods showed their recognition by providing him with appropriate gifts. Hermes gave him a sword, Apollo a bow and arrows, Hephaestus a golden breastplate (or a war-club and coat of mail), and Athena a robe (*peplos*). According to Diodorus, he also received some horses from Poseidon. [Apollodorus 2.4.11; Diodorus 4.10.2-6, 4.14.3; schol Lycophron 874; Pausanias 9.37.1-2, 9.38.5-6; Plutarch *Parallel Stories* 7]

7. Heracles marries Megara and kills his children in a fit of madness. To reward Heracles for his valour in the war against the Minyans, Creon, king of Thebes, offered him his eldest daughter Megara as a wife. She bore him a number of children, from two to eight in different accounts, and the couple lived in tranquillity at the Theban court until their married life was brought to an end by a brutal intervention from Hera, who caused Heracles to kill his children by driving him mad. During his fit of madness, he either hurled them into a fire or shot them dead with arrows; and according to a Theban tradition, he would have killed his father too if Athena had not prevented him by stunning him with a stone (which could be seen at Thebes in historical times). According to a conflicting tradition, however, Amphitryon had been killed somewhat earlier while supporting his son against the Minyans. In other accounts Heracles also killed the children of his half-brother Iphicles, or two of them, and Athena had to intervene to save him from killing Iphicles himself. Except in Euripides' *Madness of Heracles*, which defers the episode until after Heracles' final labour and connects it with the invented story of the usurpation of the Theban throne by *Lycus (3), it was agreed that Megara survived and that Heracles embarked on his twelve labours as a more or less direct consequence of the murders.

According to Apollodorus, Heracles visited Thespius (*see A5*) to be purified from the bloodshed and then consulted the Delphic oracle, which told him to settle at Tiryns in the Argolid while he performed a series of labours for Eurystheus. The oracle revealed, furthermore, that the labours would ensure his future immortality. In a rather different account by Diodorus, Eurystheus summoned him to perform the labours before his madness, and when he ignored the summons, Zeus informed him (in some unspecified way) that he would have to serve Eurystheus. After consulting the Delphic oracle about the matter and receiving the same response as in Apollodorus' version, he hesitated in a state of despondency until he was sent mad by Hera and killed his children, a calamity which finally persuaded him to embark on the labours. In another version, he decided to leave Thebes forever after the murders, and when he received an invitation from Eurystheus to come to Tiryns, he decided to accept, calling to mind an oracle that Amphitryon had once received saying that Heracles should serve Eurystheus and thus win great glory. [Apollodorus 2.4.12; Diodorus 4.10.6-11.1; Euripides *Madness of Heracles* 967ff; Hyginus 32; Nicolaus of Damascus 90F13 Jacoby; Pausanias 9.11.1; Pherecydes fr 14]

8. The naming of Heracles. Since the name Heracles ('Glory of Hera') seems strangely inappropriate for a hero who was constantly persecuted by Hera, ancient authors invented

various stories to explain how he came to acquire it. According to these tales, he was originally called Alcaeus ('the Mighty One') like his grandfather (or Alceides, a name for a son or descendant of Alcaeus that was also applied to Amphitryon as a son of Alcaeus), but he was later given the name of Heracles. When the priestess at Delphi told him of his forthcoming labours (A7), she conferred this new name on him at the will of Apollo, announcing the god's bidding in two lines of verse, 'Phoebus gives you the name of Heracles, for by doing service (*era*) to men, you will gain imperishable glory (*kleos*)'. Other versions give different accounts of how he acquired the name: (i) The people of Argos conferred the name on him after he had strangled two snakes as an infant (A3), because he had gained *glory* on account of *Hera* (who had given him the opportunity for his heroism by sending the snakes against him). (ii) Hera herself gave the name to him at some later stage because he had gained glory as a result of her persecutions. (iii) He acquired the name because he saved Hera from the Giant Porphyryon while he was assisting the gods in their battle against the Giants. [Aelian *VH* 2.32; Diodorus 4.10.1; schol Homer *Il* 14.324; schol Lycophron 662; Probus on *Eclogue* 7.61]

B) The Twelve Labours of Heracles

While performing his labours for Eurystheus, Heracles was based at Tiryns, an ancient stronghold about ten miles south of Eurystheus' capital of Mycenae. He had to undertake twelve labours (*athloi*), six within the Peloponnese and then a another six which took him further abroad, as far as the edges of the earth and even the world below. According to Apollodorus, the priestess at Delphi (*see* A7) told Heracles that he would have to perform ten labours over a period of twelve years, but he finally performed twelve labours because Eurystheus refused to accept that he had fulfilled those of the hydra (B2) and the Augean Stables (B5) in a proper way, for he was helped by Iolaus in the former and sought a fee from Augeias in the latter. The canonic sequence of the twelve labours first appears in the metopes of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, which were carved in about 460 BC. The labours are listed below in the order adopted by Apollodorus. In Diodorus' biography of Heracles and some later catalogues, the labours are listed in a slightly different order, with the third and fourth, fifth and sixth, and eleventh and twelfth inverted.

1. *The Nemean Lion*. As the first of the series, Eurystheus ordered Heracles to kill the Nemean lion. According to Hesiod, this lion was a monstrous child of Orthus and Chimaera (or possibly Echidna, for there is an ambiguity in the Greek) which had been reared by Hera and prowled the hills of Nemea in the northern Argolid, bringing destruction to the local people. In some later accounts, it originated on the moon, where animals are far larger than on the earth below, and it was subsequently sent down to the earth by Selene (the Moon) at the request of Hera. Although evidence from the visual arts suggests that there was an early version of the tale in which Heracles killed the lion with his sword, most authors agree that its hide was impenetrable and that Heracles seized it by the neck and throttled it after finding that his arrows and sword had no effect on it. The idea of its invulnerability is first implied by Pindar and stated by Bacchylides in poems dating from the early fifth century BC. According to the standard account in subsequent sources, the beast lived in a cave with two entrances on Mount Tretos ('Perforated Mountain') near Nemea. Heracles raised his club and pursued it back to its lair after discovering that it was invulnerable, and he then walled up one of the entrances to the cave before entering through the other to throttle it. The scene of the struggle was shown to visitors in historical times. In a rather different account by Theocritus, Heracles tried to shoot the lion and then dazed it with his club before strangling it from behind in the open air. Apollodorus reports that it took the hero thirty days to track it down.

When the lion was safely dead, Heracles hoisted it on to his shoulders and carried it back to Eurystheus, who was so terrified that he told him to exhibit any future trophies outside the gates of the city. Eurystheus also ordered that a large bronze jar should be embedded in the ground in case he should have need of a refuge, and that from that time onwards Heracles should receive his instructions through a herald, Copreus. The lion was transferred to the sky by Hera to become the constellation Leo (the Lion); *see* Constellation Myths 25.

Heracles acquired his favourite costume by cutting the skin from the lion and wearing it as a cloak with the beast's scalp and gaping jaws as a hood or helmet. Since it was impenetrable, it offered him better protection than any armour. According to Theocritus, he was unable to cut the skin with any instrument until he was suddenly inspired with the thought that the lion's own claws could be used for the purpose. According to a less favoured tradition, his lion-skin came from the lion of Cithaeron (*see* A5).

Associated stories: (i) Heracles stayed with the labourer *Molorchus before confronting the lion and visited him again afterwards. (ii) Heracles founded or reorganised the Nemean Games after killing the lion.

2. The Hydra of Lerna. As his second labour, Heracles was ordered to kill the Lernean hydra, a monstrous child of Echidna and Typhon which lived in the swamps of Lerna not far south of the city of Argos. It had been reared by Hera to be a fearsome adversary for the hero, and it was no ordinary hydra (water-serpent) but a many-headed monster which was able to grow two new heads if any head should be cut from it. In the works of the earlier poets, estimates of the number of its heads vary from nine to fifty (far more than could be portrayed in vase-paintings). Heracles travelled to the hydra's lair in a chariot driven by his nephew *Iolaus and forced it into the open by pelting it with flaming brands. As he first tried to attack it, it enveloped one of his legs in its coils while a huge crab, which had been sent by Hera, came to its aid by biting the hero's foot. After successfully killing the crab, Heracles considered that he was now justified in summoning Iolaus to his aid, and as Heracles struck off the hydra's heads with his club (or cut them off with a sickle), Iolaus seared their stumps with a fire-brand to prevent new heads from growing up in place of them. When the monster was dead, Heracles slit it open and dipped the heads of his arrows into its gall, causing them to become so poisonous that even the slightest graze would be fatal. This virulent poison from the hydra would subsequently be the cause of his own destruction (*see* D2, 6). Some claimed that even the breath of the hydra had been poisonous enough to kill people. According to a tradition recorded by Apollodorus alone, the middle head of the hydra was immortal and Heracles had to bury it under a heavy rock by the roadside to render it harmless. As for the crab, Hera rewarded it for its services by placing it in the sky as the constellation Cancer (the Crab); *see* Constellation Myths 24.

3. The Cerynitian Hind. As his third labour, Eurystheus ordered Heracles to catch the Cerynitian (or Ceryneian) hind, which lived by the River Cerynites (or on Mount Ceryneia) in north-western Arcadia, and to bring it back to him alive. This hind, which was a wondrous beast with golden horns, could not be harmed because it was sacred to Artemis. Some said that *Taygete had dedicated it to Artemis as a thank-offering after the goddess had saved her from being raped by Zeus. According to Callimachus, five such hinds had once lived by the River Anaurus in Arcadia, and when Artemis had captured five of them to drive her chariot Hera had caused the other hind to escape to Mount Ceryneia to provide a labour for Heracles. Since he could neither kill nor seriously harm it, Heracles had to rely on speed stamina, and ingenuity in this labour rather than mere force. After pursuing the hind through Arcadia for an entire year, he finally brought it to the ground with a delicately-aimed arrow as it was about to cross the River Ladon in the centre of the province; or he captured it while it was asleep, or snared it in a net, or simply ran it down.

As Heracles was carrying the hind back to Mycenae, he happened to run across Apollo and Artemis. The goddess wanted to take the deer away from him in the belief that he had tried to kill her sacred beast, but he managed to mollify her by explaining that Eurystheus had ordered him to capture it. After showing the hind to Eurystheus, he released it unharmed. In the relatively early account by Pindar (which may well have been based on traditions from early epic), Heracles pursued the hind far beyond Arcadia to the mythical northern land of the *Hyperboreans. Since female reindeer are exceptional amongst deer in having antlers, it has been suggested that the story of the horned hind was inspired by reports of such beasts in the far north (but it should be remembered that this was a purely mythical creature with horns of gold). Although the hind was occasionally said to have been dangerous or even to have breathed fire, that was certainly not the case in the original story.

4. *The Erymanthian Boar.* As his fourth labour, Eurystheus ordered Heracles to capture a fierce wild boar which lived on Mount Erymanthus in north-western Arcadia and was causing havoc in the lands around Psophis to the south of the mountain. After chasing it from the undergrowth by shouting loudly (or by hurling stones), Heracles drove the exhausted beast into a snow-drift and trapped it in a noose. He then returned to Mycenae carrying it on his back. Vase-painters liked to show Eurystheus cowering in his jar as Heracles brandished the beast above him. Hyginus is exceptional in suggesting that Heracles killed it.

Associated stories: (i) The colourless main story of the boar-hunt was overshadowed by the associated tale of Heracles' conflict with the Centaurs of Arcadia. Before setting out against the boar, Heracles visited the Centaur *Pholus in his cave on Mount Pholoe not far south of Erymanthus. Along with Chiron, Pholus was exceptional amongst the Centaurs in being just and self-restrained, and he offered Heracles a hospitable welcome; but when he opened a jar of wine for his guest, the two of them were subjected to an attack from the local Centaurs, who appeared at the mouth of the cave armed with rocks and uprooted trees. In one version of the story, the Centaurs were aggrieved because Pholus had opened a wine-jar which belonged to all the Centaurs in common; or in another version, the wine had been left with one of the Centaurs four generations earlier by Dionysus, who had ordered that it should be left unopened until Heracles visited the place, and the sweet scent of the ancient wine drove the Centaurs into a frenzy when it was finally opened. Heracles put the Centaurs to flight with fire-brands and arrows and then pursued them as far as Cape Malea at the south-western tip of the Peloponnese, where they tried to take refuge with Chiron (who was living there at that time). While shooting at the Centaurs who were cowering around Chiron, Heracles accidentally shot Chiron himself in the knee with a poisoned arrow, causing him intolerable pain. After the surviving Centaurs had scattered to various parts of Greece, Heracles returned to Pholus to find that he had accidentally killed himself by dropping one of Heracles' poisoned arrows on to his foot. (ii) While seeking the boar in Arcadia, Heracles killed the brigand *Saurus, who had been preying on travellers from his lair in the mountains of north-western Arcadia.

5. *The Augean Stables.* As his fifth labour, Eurystheus ordered Heracles to clear the dung from the stables of *Augeias, king of Elis in the north-western Peloponnese, without assistance and, in some accounts, in the space of a single day. Strictly speaking, these were not stables at all, but unroofed enclosures for cattle. To clear the dung which had accumulated from Augeias' vast herds over many years, Heracles diverted the River Alpheus (and in some accounts the Peneius too) through the enclosures, and he was thus able to achieve the seemingly impossible task without suffering the intended humiliation of attempting to shift the waste with his own hands. Heracles had approached Augeias beforehand and offered to perform the task in exchange for a tenth of his herd, a proposal that Augeias was happy to accept because he considered that it would be impossible for him to complete the task in full. But afterwards, when the hero had done so, Augeias learned that he had been obliged to clear

the dung in any case as a service to Eurystheus, and he not only refused to pay him but also denied that he had even promised him a reward. When the matter was referred to arbitration, Augeias' son Phyleus testified on behalf of Heracles, telling the judges that a fee had indeed been promised, and Augeias drove both Heracles and his son from the land before a vote could be taken. Heracles returned to Elis after the completion of his labours to seek revenge; *see C7*.

Associated stories: (i) When Heracles demanded his reward from Augeias, Lepreus urged that he should be put in chains. Heracles remembered the insult and subsequently visited him at his home, where they engaged in an eating-contest; *see* Lepreus. (ii) After clearing the stables, Heracles visited his hospitable friend Dexamenus at Olenus on the northern coast of the Peloponnese. On learning that the Centaur Eurytion had forced Dexamenus to promise that he would hand over his daughter Mnesimache (or Deianira) to him, Heracles lay in wait for the Centaur and killed him when he arrived to fetch his bride. In another version, Heracles killed Eurytion when he tried to molest Hippolyte, daughter of Dexamenus, at her wedding-feast as she was marrying an Arcadian ruler, Azan.

6. *The Stymphalian Birds.* As his sixth labour, Eurystheus told Heracles to drive away the Stymphalian birds, which were infesting the woods around Lake Stymphalis near Stymphalos in north-eastern Arcadia. According to Apollodorus, vast flocks of these birds had sought refuge there for fear that they would fall prey to wolves. In the standard version of the story, they were in no way dangerous and were merely a problem because of their sheer numbers (although Pausanias mentions a version in which they were said to have been man-eaters). Heracles used a bronze rattle or castanets to frighten the birds into the air and, in most accounts, he then shot them down with his arrows. Some said that the rattle was fashioned by Hephaestus and passed on to Heracles by Athena, or else it was a product of the hero's own ingenuity. In vase-paintings, the birds are portrayed as large stork-like creatures, and Heracles is shown killing them with his bow, or a sling, or even his club.

7. *The Cretan Bull.* As his seventh labour, and the first to take him outside the Peloponnese, Heracles was ordered to fetch the *Cretan bull, which was generally identified with the bull that Poseidon had sent up from the sea for *Minos. It was an exceptionally dangerous animal because Poseidon had turned it wild to punish Minos for having failed to sacrifice it to him in accordance with a previous vow. According to a less favoured tradition, this was the bull that had carried Europa to Crete. After arriving in Crete, Heracles sought the assistance of Minos, who told him to confront the beast on his own. Although surviving sources offer no details on its capture, evidence from the visual arts suggests that Heracles wrestled with the bull and hobbled it. According to Diodorus, he took it to the Peloponnese by riding through the sea on its back. He set it free after showing it to Eurystheus, and it roamed through the Peloponnese and then across the Isthmus to Marathon in Attica, where it was later killed by Theseus (*see* Theseus **3**). In another version, Eurystheus dedicated the bull to Hera, who drove it out of Argos (a land sacred to the goddess) because of her hatred for Heracles. In a few late sources, including the *Aeneid*, Heracles is said to have killed it.

8. *The Horses of Diomedes.* As his eighth labour, Heracles was ordered to fetch some man-eating mares which were owned by Diomedes, king of the Bistones in the northern land of Thrace. These savage horses were tethered with iron chains and ate their grisly meals from mangers of bronze. Heracles tamed their savage nature by causing them to eat Diomedes, who had first taught them their unnatural habits, and he was then able to lead them back to Mycenae without further difficulty. According to another version of the story, he led a sizeable expedition to Thrace and seized the mares by overpowering the men who were in charge of the mangers; and shortly afterwards, when Diomedes and his followers launched a counter-attack to recover them, he entrusted them to his friend *Abderus while he killed Diomedes and put his troops to flight. His victory was somewhat tarnished, however, by the

death of Abderus, who was killed by the mares during his absence. On receiving the mares from Heracles, Eurystheus set them free and they travelled north again to Mount Olympus where they were destroyed by the wild beasts; or he dedicated them to Hera and their breed remained in existence until the time of Alexander the Great. In some Latin sources, Heracles is said to have killed the horses.

Associated stories: (i) According to Euripides' *Alcestis*, Heracles called in at the palace of *Admetus in Thessaly during his journey to Thrace and wrestled with Thanatos (Death) to prevent him from removing his host's wife *Alcestis to the Underworld. (ii) After burying Abderus in Thrace, Heracles founded the city of Abdera in his honour.

9. The Belt of Hippolyte. As his ninth labour, Heracles was ordered to fetch the belt of Hippolyte, Queen of the Amazons. Although sometimes referred to as the girdle of Hippolyte, this was properly a warrior's belt, and it was said to have been given to her by Ares, god of war, as a token of her supremacy. Some said that Eurystheus sent for it because his daughter Admete coveted it. In most accounts, Heracles travelled to the land of the Amazons (who lived in the north-eastern corner of Asia Minor) by sea with a large force of allies, including Telamon and, in some versions, Theseus too (*see* Theseus **11**). The story of this labour seems to have followed two main patterns. In one, Heracles captured Hippolyte's sister Melanippe, either in battle or on his own in an ambush, and acquired the belt in ransom for her; in the other, he and his allies engaged the Amazons in battle and seized the belt by force. Little is recorded of the episode in literary sources until the Hellenistic period, and Apollonius is the earliest author to name Hippolyte as Heracles' adversary. Although Heracles and his allies are often shown battling against the Amazons in earlier vase-paintings, Heracles' opponent is usually identified as Andromache (never Hippolyte), and it is not even clear that the Amazon's belt is of any special significance. In Apollodorus' account, Heracles is said to have killed Hippolyte as the result of an intervention by Hera and to have first engaged with the Amazons when he was already in possession of the belt. In this version, Hippolyte was willing to offer him the belt, but when she visited him at the harbour to do so, Hera assumed the guise of an Amazon and wandered amongst the Amazons spreading the rumour that the strangers were abducting their queen, causing them to seize their arms and rush down towards the ships. Supposing that he was the victim of a plot, Heracles killed Hippolyte, stripped her of the belt, and engaged the other Amazons in battle before sailing away.

Associated stories: (i) During the outward journey, Heracles called in at Paros in the southern Aegean, where two of his men were killed by some sons of Minos who were living on the island. Heracles killed the murderers and placed the island under siege until they allowed him to take two men to replace his lost crewmen. He selected *Alcaeus and *Sthenelus, two grandsons of Minos, for the purpose. (ii) After sailing about a hundred miles along the southern coast of the Black Sea, Heracles went ashore to visit Lycus, king of the Mariandynians, in what would later be Heracleia Pontica. During his stay, he fought at Lycus' side in a war with the neighbouring Bebrycians, killing Mygdon, the brother of their ruler *Amycus, and helping his host to seize a large amount of land. According to Apollonius, Heracles called in on Dascylus, the father of Lycus as he was returning through Asia Minor on foot with the belt of Hippolyte, and he helped Dascylus to subjugate a number of neighbouring peoples. (iii) As Heracles was returning to the Aegean during his return voyage, he saw *Hesione, daughter of Laomedon, king of Troy, exposed by the shore near Troy as prey to a sea-monster, and he offered to kill the monster in exchange for some divine horses owned by Laomedon. When *Laomedon refused to pay him the promised after he had saved Hesione, he warned Laomedon that he would come back to seek revenge at some later time; *see* **C4**. In another account, Heracles killed the monster as he was sailing to Colchis with the Argonauts. (iv) Instead of sailing directly home, Heracles skirted the northern Aegean making three stops on the way. After making his first stop at Aenus in south-eastern Thrace, where he

was entertained by Poltys, son of Poseidon, he shot Sarpedon, a violent brother of his host, on the beach as he was sailing off. (v) Further along the coast, he called in at the island of Thasos and installed Alcaeus and Sthenelus (*see i*) as its rulers after subjugating its Thracian inhabitants. (vi) At Torone on the central peninsula of the Chalcidice, he was challenged to a wrestling-match by Telegonus and Polygonus, two violent grandsons of Poseidon, and killed both of them.

10. *The Cattle of Geryon.* As his tenth labour, Heracles was ordered to fetch the cattle of *Geryon from the mythical island of Erytheia, which lay in the far west in the outer Ocean. He travelled overland through northern Africa on the outward journey, clearing the land of dangerous beasts as he passed. According to a late source, Hermes lent him the *cornucopia to sustain him on the way. As he was drawing near to the Ocean, he felt so oppressed by the heat of the sun that he raised his bow against Helios (the Sun). Impressed by his bravery, Helios offered him the use of his golden bowl (which he used for his nightly journey around the Ocean to the east) to carry him across the Ocean to Erytheia. As Heracles was sailing on the open sea in the bowl, which had been presented to him by Nereus (or by Oceanus himself), Oceanus caused it to heave in the waves to test the bravery of the hero, who soon stopped him by threatening him with his bow. On arriving at Erytheia, where the cattle of Geryon were grazing under the guard of the herdsman *Eurytion and the monstrous dog *Orthus, Heracles set up camp on a mountain on the island. When Orthus detected his presence and rushed against him, Heracles struck him dead with his club and killed Eurytion too when he came to the aid of the dog. Geryon was informed of these events by *Menoetes, who happened to be herding the cattle of Hades in the area, and he caught up with Heracles as he was driving the cattle away by the River Anthemous. As three men joined into one, Geryon was a fearsome opponent for any hero, but Heracles shot him dead before suffering any harm and embarked the cattle onto the golden bowl to ferry them across to the mainland. After coming ashore in Iberia, he drove the cattle back to the Peloponnese through southern Europe, making a detour to visit much of Italy and Sicily.

Associated stories: (i) On arriving at the Straits of Gibraltar during his outward journey, Heracles erected two pillars, one on each continent, to mark the western boundaries of the inhabited world. These were later identified with the rock of Gibraltar and the mountain above Ceuta. Some said that he also made the straits narrower to prevent sea-monsters from entering the Mediterranean from the outer Ocean. (ii) According to a strange story recorded by Silius Italicus, Heracles slept with Pyrene, daughter of Narbyx, while crossing the Pyrenees on his outward journey (which would mean that he travelled out through Europe rather than through Africa as in the usual tradition). After giving birth to a snake, she fled into the mountains to escape her father's anger and was torn apart by wild beasts; later, as Heracles was returning through the Pyrenees with the cattle of Geryon, he found her remains and buried them, and he called her name so frequently in his grief that the mountains came to be named after her. (iii) While passing through the land of the Celts (in what is now southern France) during his return journey, he put an end to its lawlessness, forbidding the murder of strangers; he also founded the city of Alesia (Arles), naming it after his wandering (*ale*), and slept with Celtine, fathering Celtus, the eponym of the Celts. (iv) When he was attacked by the Ligurians near the Rhone, he ran out of arrows but was saved by the intervention of Zeus, who rained stones from the sky to provide him with weapons; *see Constellation Myths 6*. (v) While in Italy, he visited the site of Rome and killed *Cacus on the Aventine hill. (vi) Some claimed that he fought against the Giants on the Phlegraean ('Fiery') plain near Vesuvius (rather than at Phlegrae in Macedonia); while in that area, he blocked up a channel which had once connected Lake Avernus to the sea and constructed a road along the coast which was known as the Heracleian Way. (vii) Some claimed that Italy first acquired its name because of the actions of Heracles, for when a calf broke away from the herd at Rhegium on the Straits of Messina, the hero

wandered through the land asking the local people whether they had seen a calf (*italos*). (viii) Also by the straits between Italy and Sicily, Heracles killed the monstrous *Scylla when she stole some of the cattle, but she was subsequently revived by her father Phorcys. (ix) Heracles crossed over to Sicily and killed *Eryx in a wrestling bout. A number of local traditions about his visit are recorded by Diodorus, who was naturally interested in the myths of his own island. (x) After returning to the mainland, Heracles killed *Lacinius in the region of Croton as he was trying to steal some of the cattle; since he accidentally killed *Croton at the same time, he gave him a magnificent funeral and foretold that a famous city would grow up there under his name. (xi) At the top of the toe of Italy, he founded Heracleia on the plain of Siris. Some footprints of the hero, on which nobody was allowed to tread, could be seen on the plain. (xii) When he arrived at the head of the Adriatic, Hera sent a gadfly against the cattle, causing them to scatter amongst the foothills of the mountains of Thrace. Although Heracles recovered most of them, those that were left behind became the ancestors of the wild cattle of Thrace. Blaming the River Strymon in Thrace for his difficulties in recovering them, Heracles filled it with rocks to make it unnavigable. (xiii) In Scythia a viper-woman stole and concealed some of the cattle, and demanded that Heracles should sleep with her as a condition for their return. He fathered some sons by her, notably *Scythes who gave his name to the land. (xiv) In one account of his encounter with *Alcyoneus, the giant confronted him at the Isthmus of Corinth as he was returning with the cattle; but see C6. (In Diodorus' biography of Heracles, the hero encountered Antaeus and Busiris while travelling through north Africa on his way to Erytheia rather than on his way to the Hesperides; *see below*)

11. *The Apples of the Hesperides.* As his eleventh labour, Eurystheus ordered Heracles to fetch some of the golden apples of the Hesperides, which grew on a tree (or some trees) in the garden of the gods and were guarded by some nymphs, the *Hesperides, and a dragon sometimes named as *Ladon. Having no idea of their location, Heracles hurried away to the Eridanus (now the river Po) to consult the nymphs of the river, who were apparently gifted with prophetic powers as daughters of Zeus and Themis, but they advised him to seek the answer from Nereus, the old man of the sea, and told the hero where he could find him. Catching Nereus while he was asleep, Heracles kept a firm grip on him as he repeatedly transformed himself and finally forced him to reveal the location of the Hesperides. Although it was commonly thought that the Hesperides and their garden were located in the far west, they were relocated to the far north in the standard account of this labour, and Heracles was said to have travelled there by a circuitous route that took him to all points of the compass. After his consultation with Nereus, he passed through north Africa from west to east (encountering Antaeus and Busiris, *see below*), and then south to Ethiopia, reaching the southernmost boundaries of the known world. From the eastern shores of Africa, he then travelled around the outer Ocean to the Caucasus in the north, borrowing the bowl of the Sun for a second time (*see 10*) to make the voyage. On encountering *Prometheus, who had been nailed to the Caucasus as a punishment for his theft of fire, Heracles shot the eagle that tormented him by gnawing at his liver, and set him free. The grateful Prometheus advised Heracles not to fetch the apples himself but to ask *Atlas to fetch them while he held up the sky for him. Although Atlas readily agreed to do so and returned before long with three apples, he was understandably reluctant to resume his arduous task and asked Heracles to continue to support the sky while he went off to Mycenae with the apples. Pretending to agree to his plan, Heracles asked him to take the sky back until he had prepared a pad for his head, but picked up the apples and hurried off as soon as Atlas had taken over the burden. In another version of the story which was probably of earlier origin, Heracles himself proceeded to the garden of the Hesperides, where he killed the dragon that guarded the apple tree (or trees) and seized some of the golden apples. In astral mythology, Zeus is said to have commemorated the episode in two neighbouring constellations, Engonasin (the Kneeler, now

known as Hercules) and Draco (the Dragon), which show Heracles kneeling to confront the dragon with his upraised club; *see* Constellation Myths 3,6. Evidence from the visual arts suggests that there was also a version in which the Hesperides themselves gave some apples to Heracles, rendering any violence superfluous. On receiving the apples from Heracles, Eurystheus handed them back, and Athena returned them to the Hesperides because it was unholy for them to remain elsewhere.

Associated stories: (i) As Heracles was setting out in search of the Hesperides, he was confronted by Lycaon, son of Ares and Pyrene (confused with Cynus, son of Ares, by Apollodorus) in Macedonia and killed him in single combat. (ii) When challenged to a wrestling match by *Antaeus as he was passing through Libya, Heracles raised him up in his arms and crushed him to death. He slept with Antaeus' wife Iphinoe afterwards and fathered a son called Palaemon; in a later version, she was *Tinge, the eponym of Tangier, and their son was Sophax, the founder of the Mauretanian royal line. (iii) Also in Libya, the Pygmies tried to tie Heracles down while he was asleep, but he broke free with little difficulty and gathered the Pygmies into his lion skin to take them back to Eurystheus. (iv) While he was in Egypt, *Busiris captured him and tried to sacrifice him, but he escaped from his bonds and killed Busiris together with his son Amphidamas, his herald Chalbes, and the attendants at the altar. (v) According to Diodorus, Busiris had despatched some pirates to seize the daughters of Atlas, and when Heracles encountered them on a beach with the abducted maidens, he killed them and returned the maidens to their father. (vi) According to Apollodorus, Heracles called in at Thermydrae on the island of Rhodes in the course of his journey, and when he seized a bullock from the cart of a drover and then sacrificed it and feasted on its flesh, the drover stood on a hill and cursed him; for that reason, when the people of the area offered sacrifices to Heracles, they did so to the accompaniment of curses. (vi) When subjected to an unprovoked attack by Emathion in Ethiopia, Heracles killed him. This incident marked the southernmost limit of his journey.

12. Heracles fetches Cerberus from the Underworld. As his final labour, Heracles fetched the monstrous dog *Cerberus from Hades, a feat mentioned in the Homeric epics. He descended into the Underworld through a bottomless cave at Taenarum, the southernmost promontory of the Peloponnese, and then frightened *Charon into ferrying him across the Acheron, the river which separated the world of the living from that of the dead. As his punishment for carrying a living man into Hades, the ferryman of the dead was placed in irons for a year. When Heracles appeared amongst them, the shades of the dead took flight except for Meleager (*see below*) and the Gorgon Medusa. Heracles was initially alarmed by Medusa and drew his sword against her, but Hermes reassured him by pointing out that she was merely an empty phantom. Athena was also said to have helped him during his visit to the world below. On learning of his mission, Hades told him that he could take Cerberus if he could overpower him without using any of his weapons. So he wrapped himself in his impenetrable lion skin (*see B1*) and grasped the head of the monster in his arms, and although he was bitten by the serpent in its tail, he never relaxed his grip until he had broken its will. In another version, Hades forbade him the use of his shield or weapons of iron, but he used his lion-skin instead of a shield and attacked the dog with pointed stones rather than with his arrows; when he was confronted by Hades afterwards, he even dared to shoot at him. After ascending to the upper world at Troezen or Hermione in the Argolid (alternatively, at Taenarum again or through a cave at Heracleia on the Black Sea), Heracles showed Cerberus to Eurystheus and then returned him to the gates of Hades.

Associated stories: (i) Before descending to Hades, Heracles went to Attica to be initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries. Since foreigners were then excluded from initiation, he was adopted beforehand by an Athenian, Pylus, Eumolpus or Musaeus; ever afterwards, the mysteries were open to any Greek-speaker who was not polluted by bloodshed. (ii) While in

the Underworld, Heracles encountered *Theseus and *Pirithous, who were detained there on chairs (or a chair) of stone. Heracles took Theseus by the hand and raised him up, but the ground shook when he tried to do the same for Pirithous and he stopped; in some accounts, he released both heroes. For details and variants, *see* Theseus **14**. (iii) Although Heracles tried to help *Ascalaphus by rolling away the rock under which he had been buried by Demeter, it was of little help since Demeter then turned him into a screech-owl. (iv) When Heracles killed some of the cattle of Hades to procure blood for the shades, their herdsman *Menoetes challenged him to a wrestling-match. Heracles seized him round the middle and broke his ribs, but let him go at the bidding of Persephone. (v) According to the lyric poet Bacchylides, Heracles had a long conversation with the dead *Meleager, who told him the story of his death and recommended that he should marry his sister Deianira. (vi) As Heracles was departing from Hades, he plucked some foliage from a white poplar (a tree associated with the Underworld and the dead) and crowned himself with it as a sign of his victory over Cerberus. Heracles was said to have introduced the white poplar into Greece. (vii) Back in the upper world, Cerberus escaped from Heracles by the well of Cynadra just outside Mycenae. Its water was known thereafter as the water of liberty, and ex-slaves would come to drink from it after receiving their freedom.

C) The Enslavement of Heracles and his Campaigns

1. Heracles puts Megara aside but fails to win Iole, daughter of Eurytus, as his new wife. Heracles continued to live in the Peloponnese during the next period of his life, although he was away from home much of the time while he was fighting various campaigns (**C4-9**) or serving as a slave in Asia Minor (**C3**). He either remained at Tiryns for the whole period, or else moved to Pheneos, a city at the foot of Mount Cyllene in north-eastern Arcadia, after his first attack on Augeias (**C7**). In the latter case Eurystheus, who had grown fearful of his power, ordered him out of Tiryns, accusing him plotting to seize the kingdom, and Heracles chose to settle in Pheneos because it was the native city of his maternal grandmother Laonome. As a service to its citizens, he dug potholes to prevent water from collecting in the plain around the city and excavated a six-mile channel for the local river, the Olbios (which subsequently returned to its original course). He finally left the Peloponnese after his war against Hippocoon (**C9**), the last of his Peloponnesian campaigns, and settled in central Greece (**D1**), initially at Calydon in the west and latterly at Trachis in the east.

When Heracles was able to devote some attention to his own affairs after the completion of his labours, he considered the question of his marriage. Since he could hardly resume his ill-fated marriage to Megara after killing their children (**A7**), he passed her on to his nephew and charioteer *Iolaus, who had incurred his gratitude by providing invaluable assistance during his labours, and then looked around for a new bride. On hearing that *Eurytus, king of Oechalia, was offering his daughter *Iole to anyone who could defeat him and his sons at archery, Heracles decided to compete for her hand; but when he visited Oechalia and won the contest, Eurytus and his sons refused to hand her over, saying that they were afraid that he might kill his children once again if he should have any by a new wife. *Iphitus alone, the eldest son of Eurytus, argued that it was wrong to withhold her. Since the terms of the contest had been broken, Heracles was naturally enraged and withdrew to Tiryns with thoughts of revenge in his mind. As it turned out, his vengeance would be delayed for many years until after his marriage to Deianira (**D1**), and his wife's jealousy when he finally seized Iole would be the cause of his own destruction (**D6**).

2. Heracles murders Iphitus, son of Eurytus, and suffers the consequences. Shortly after his encounter with Heracles, Eurytus found that some mares (or in one account only, some cattle) were missing from his herds. In an early account in the *Odyssey*, twelve brood-mares

with mules at the teat were stolen from his son Iphitus. The mares had either been stolen by Heracles in his anger at the broken agreement or else by the master-thief *Autolycus, who either kept them for himself or sold them on to Heracles. Whether he was truly responsible or not, Heracles was the obvious suspect, and Iphitus travelled to his home at Tiryns to investigate the matter; in one of the most shameful episodes in his long career, Heracles killed him after accepting him into his house as his guest. Although some authors tried to excuse the incident by suggesting that Heracles was struck by a fit of madness as when he had killed his children, it was generally believed that he murdered Iphitus deliberately to conceal the theft or in anger at being accused of theft. In the most striking account of the story, Heracles took his visitor to the top of a tower in his fortress and asked him whether he could see the horses grazing below; when he could not (for they had been hidden), the hero claimed that he had been falsely accused and hurled him down to his death.

Since he was struck by a terrible disease as a result of his crime, Heracles visited Neleus at Pylos to seek purification, but Neleus turned him away because of his friendship with Eurystus and the hero travelled on to Amyclai near Sparta, where Deiphobus, son of Hippolytus agreed to purify him of the murder. When the disease persisted, he decided to consult the Delphic oracle, but the priestess, Xenocleia, refused to grant him a response because he was polluted by the bloodshed. Heracles was so enraged that he tried to carry off the tripod that the priestess sat on while delivering her oracles in order to found an oracle of his own, and so became embroiled in a fight with Apollo, the presiding god of the oracle. After a dramatic intervention by Zeus, who separated his two sons by hurling a thunderbolt between them, Heracles returned the tripod and was then granted a response from the oracle, which advised that he should be sold into slavery for three years (or a year) to atone for the murder, and that he should offer the purchase fee to Eurystus as compensation for the loss of his son.

3. *Heracles is enslaved to Omphale in Asia Minor.* When offered for sale by Hermes, Heracles was purchased by *Omphale, who had succeeded her husband Tmolus as ruler of Lydia. The hero was thus subjected to the added humiliation of being enslaved to a woman and a foreigner (although Omphale seems to have lived on the Greek mainland in Thessaly in the earliest tradition). He made the best of the situation, however, by performing some valuable services for his mistress and the people of the region: (i) He captured and bound two notorious liars and cheats, the *Cercopes. (ii) He killed *Syleus, who forced passing strangers to labour in his vineyard. (iii) He killed *Lityerses, who used to decapitate passers-by after forcing them to compete with him in a reaping-contest. (iv) He destroyed the city of the Itones, a neighbouring people who had been raiding much of Omphale's territory, enslaved them and recovered their plunder. (v) He killed a large snake which had devastated the land around the River Sangarius and had caused many deaths. (vi) After discovering the body of *Icarus on Doliche, an island off the coast, he saw to its burial and gave the island the new name of Icaria.

The story of Heracles and Omphale appealed to the imagination of Hellenistic and later authors and was developed in some predictable directions. Above all, an erotic element was introduced. Omphale was so impressed by the hero's exploits that she set him free and took him as her lover, bearing him a son, Lamus; in some accounts, they even became lovers during the period of his servitude, and they were credited with a variety of children, including Agelaos, who was supposedly the ancestor of Croesus. Omphale was also said to have exchanged clothes with Heracles, dressing in his lion skin while she forced him to wear women's clothes and to undertake domestic tasks such as the spinning of wool.

4. *Heracles attacks Laomedon, king of Troy.* After completing his term of servitude, Heracles returned to the Peloponnese to make preparations for an expedition against Troy, the first of a series of campaigns that he launched during this period of his life. While returning

from the land of the Amazons (**B9**), or while accompanying the Argonauts to Colchis, he had sailed past Troy and had noticed that a maiden had been tied to a rock by the shore. On learning that she was Laomedon's daughter *Hesione, who had been exposed to a sea-monster at the order of an oracle, he approached her father and offered to rescue her in return for some divine horses owned by the king. Heracles killed the monster by making his way into its belly through its mouth and then destroying its guts or liver with his sword. It was said that he spent three days in the monster and that it was so hot inside that he lost all his hair. After he had killed it, however, Laomedon refused to pay him the promised reward (or tried to substitute mortal horses for the divine ones); although Heracles was unable to retaliate at the time because he had to sail away to complete his labour, he warned Laomedon that he would return for vengeance at some future date.

According to the *Iliad*, Heracles sailed against Troy with only six ships, but even if he had eighteen as some later sources suggest, the scale of his expedition was still very small when compared with the massive expedition led by Agamemnon. The hero's main allies on this occasion were *Telamon, the father of Ajax, and Oicles, who was generally considered to have been the father of Amphiarus. After landing at the coast near Troy, Heracles advanced against the city with most of his troops (or the best of them) while Oicles stayed behind to guard the ships. Having been caught by surprise, Laomedon had few troops at hand and decided to advance against the ships in the hope of bringing the war to a swift end by setting fire to them. Although Oicles was killed in the ensuing battle, most of his followers escaped back to their ships and saved them by putting out to sea. Laomedon then engaged with the contingent commanded by Heracles and was either killed in battle or was forced back into the city and placed under siege. In either case, Heracles proceeded to take the city by storm. When Telamon broke through the wall ahead of him, Heracles was so jealous of his success that he rushed at him with a drawn sword; but Telamon managed to appease his anger by hastily piling together some stones and saying that he was building an altar to Heracles Kallinikos ('the Noble Victor', a cultic title of Heracles). Laomedon was killed as were his many sons, with the sole exception of Priam, who ruled Troy until he was killed during the second sack of the city. After his victory, Heracles granted Hesione to Telamon as a reward for his valour, and he allowed Hesione to select any single person from amongst the captives. She chose Priam, ransoming him with her veil, and Heracles allowed him to take over the throne because he alone of all the sons of Laomedon had argued to his father that Heracles should be paid his promised reward for killing the sea-monster.

5. An interlude in Cos. As Heracles was sailing home from Troy, Hera persuaded Hypnos (Sleep) to lull Zeus to sleep while she sent storm-winds against his ships, causing him to be driven towards Cos in the south-eastern Aegean. When the islanders mistook the approaching strangers for pirates and tried to repel them by hurling stones, Heracles waited until nightfall and then forced a landing, killing the ruler Eurypylus, son of Poseidon, and all his sons. Although Heracles was wounded during the fighting by a warrior called Chalcodon, Zeus snatched him to safety and he suffered no serious harm; in another account, Athena rescued him from an invulnerable warrior called Asterus. After his victory, he slept with Chalcioppe, the daughter of the dead king, and fathered a son Thessalus, whose sons Pheidippus and Antiphus are mentioned in the *Iliad* as the leaders of the Coans during the Trojan War.

According to a divergent account recorded by Plutarch, Heracles was shipwrecked on Cos after losing five of his six ships. On coming ashore, he encountered the king's son Antagoras, who was tending his father's flocks, and asked for a sheep to satisfy his hunger; but Antagoras challenged him to fight for the sheep and a general conflict soon developed between the Coans and the followers of Heracles. When the Coans gained the upper hand, Heracles fled to the hut of an old Thracian woman where he hid in female disguise until he subsequently returned to battle and defeated the Coans. This was a local story which was

devised to explain why the priest of Heracles at Antimacheia on Cos wore an embroidered woman's dress while offering sacrifices.

6. *Heracles supports the gods against the Giants and kills Alcyoneus.* After his adventures on Cos, Athena took Heracles to Pallene (or Phlegrae), the westernmost of the three peninsulas of the Chalcidice in Macedonia, to help the gods in their battle against the *Giants because the gods knew from an oracle that none of the Giants could be killed by them unless they had a mortal fighting at their side. In another version, they needed the assistance of two demi-gods, Heracles and Dionysus. Heracles fought as an archer, shooting the Giants dead with his arrows after they had been brought to the ground in various ways by the gods. His first and most notable exploit, however, was to kill the Giant Alcyoneus in an individual duel. Heracles started by shooting him down, but since the Giant recovered some of his strength whenever he came into contact with his native ground, Heracles was unable to deal the death-blow until he received some timely advice from Athena and dragged him beyond the boundaries of Pallene.

Some literary accounts and vase-paintings present Heracles' conflict with Alcyoneus in a wholly different light as an isolated incident unconnected with the Gigantomachy. In this version, Alcyoneus was a gigantic herdsman who confronted Heracles and his companions at Pallene, destroying a number of chariots and their riders with a huge rock before Heracles killed him with his club (alternatively, his sword or arrows). In paintings Heracles is sometimes shown creeping up on the sleeping Alcyoneus. Pindar's account of this incident clearly indicates that Heracles encountered Alcyoneus during his return from Troy (although an ancient commentator on Pindar mentions another version in which he was confronted by Alcyoneus at the Isthmus of Corinth as he was returning with the cattle of Geryon).

7. *Heracles attacks Augeias, king of Elis, and murders the Moliones.* After arriving back in the Peloponnese, Heracles made preparations for a campaign against Augeias, king of Elis in the north-western Peloponnese, who had refused to pay him his promised reward for clearing the Aegean stables (**B5**). Although Heracles assembled a sizeable force, recruiting volunteers from Arcadia, Argos and Thebes, he suffered a humiliating defeat at the hand of the Eleans, largely because they were led by a formidable pair of warriors, the *Moliones, who were two men joined into one. According to Pausanias, Heracles' half-brother Iphicles was fatally wounded by the Moliones and was carried away to Pheneos in Arcadia, where his tomb could be seen in historical times along with the tombs of other allies of Heracles who were killed during the battle. In Apollodorus' account, Heracles fell ill in the course of the expedition and arranged a truce with the Moliones, who attacked his army nevertheless on learning of his illness and killed many of his men. In any event, it was agreed that the Moliones drove him back to the Argolid and that he subsequently resorted to discreditable means to contrive their death. He waited until the Eleans sent them to Corinth to assist at the sacrifices at the Isthmian Games and then killed them in an ambush at Cleonae, a town in the Argolid on the road between Argos and Corinth. Since all who competed or assisted at the panhellenic games were protected by a religious truce, this ranked with the murder of Iphitus as one of Heracles' worst acts. The Eleans demanded justice from the Argives, asking that Heracles should be put to death, but when this request was refused and the Corinthians then refused to exclude the Argives from the truce associated with the games, the Eleans decided to stay away from the Isthmian Games forever. With the Moliones out of the way, Heracles marched against Elis once again and captured the city with little difficulty, killing Augeias and all his sons except Phyleus (who had been sent into exile by Augeias, *see B5*). Still grateful to Phyleus for testifying on his behalf after Augeias had withheld his reward, Heracles recalled him to Elis and installed him on his father's throne. According to a less favoured tradition recorded by Pausanias, Heracles allowed Augeias to escape with his life.

After defeating Augeias, Heracles founded the Olympic Games, which were held every four years at Elis. He took all the spoils of his victory to the site of the games, where he founded a precinct of Pelops and erected six altars to the twelve gods. Pindar records the names of the victors in the first games, including Heracles' cousin Oeonus, who won the foot-race, and Echemus, king of Tegea, who won the wrestling. According to a tale of late origin, Heracles himself stepped forward to compete in the wrestling, but nobody dared to confront him and Zeus assumed human form to provide him with a match; after they had wrestled for along time in a closely-fought contest, Zeus revealed his true nature to his son (or even allowed him to win).

8. *Heracles attacks Neleus and his sons at Pylos.* After his campaign against Elis, Heracles marched against Pylos in the south-western Peloponnese to punish its ruler Neleus for refusing to purify him after he had murdered Iphitus (alternatively, for trying to rob him of the cattle of Geryoneus, or for assisting the Orchomenians against the Thebans during Heracles' first campaign). Neleus was able to call on the support of his many sons, and most notably of his eldest son *Periclymenus, who had the power to transform himself at will, whether into an eagle, an ant, a bee or a fearsome snake. On this occasion, however, Periclymenus gained no advantage from his special powers, for when he settled on the yoke of Heracles' chariot-horses in the form of a bee, Athena pointed him out to the hero, who then shot him with one of his arrows. In other accounts, Heracles crushed him with his club after he had turned into a fly, or shot him while he was in the form of an eagle. The most remarkable feature of this conflict is the fact that Heracles was said to have confronted or even wounded a variety of gods in the course of it. In Pindar's version, he was pressed hard by Poseidon and Apollo, who came to the aid of the Pylians. According to the Hesiodic *Shield*, he brought *Ares to his knees three times with spear-thrusts to his shield and finally cast him into the dust with a wound to the thigh. He was also said to have inflicted an arrow-wound on *Hades when the god came to Pylos to assemble the dead (or to assist the Pylians). After overcoming some formidable resistance, Heracles captured Pylos, killing Neleus and all his sons apart from *Nestor, who was too young to fight and was being reared elsewhere. Nestor succeeded to the throne and ruled Pylos until after the Trojan War. As in the case of Augeias, there was also a conflicting version in which Heracles allowed Neleus to live.

9. *Heracles attacks Hippocoon and his sons at Sparta.* Heracles' final campaign in the Peloponnese was directed against *Hippocoon, who had seized power in Sparta by expelling his brother (or half-brother) *Tyndareus with the aid of his sons (variously twelve or twenty in number). The sons of Hippocoon had angered Heracles by killing his cousin *Oeonus and by fighting in support of Neleus during his previous campaign; and according to Pausanias, Hippocoon and his family had also offended him in the same way as Neleus by refusing to purify him for the murder of Iphitus. Needing assistance against this powerful family, Heracles sought the aid of Cepheus, an Arcadian king who had twenty sons. Although Cepheus was initially reluctant to help because his city of Tegea would be exposed to attack from Argos if he and his sons went away, Heracles overcame his objections by giving a lock of the Gorgon's hair to his daughter Sterope, saying that it would turn any assailants to stone if she held it up from the ramparts. Heracles won a convincing victory in the ensuing battle, killing Hippocoon and his many sons, but only at the expense of many losses on his own side, including his half-brother Iphicles, Cepheus, and all or most of the latter's twenty sons. After taking possession of Sparta, Heracles restored the throne to Tyndareus, who ruled the city until the accession of his son-in-law Menelaus. Heracles' settlement of the succession at Sparta and Pylos enabled his descendants, the *Heraclids, to lay claim to both thrones at a later date.

In Pausanias' account of this episode, Heracles confronted Hippocoon and his sons on two occasions, first attacking them in the heat of the moment immediately after the murder of Oeonus. He was forced to withdraw on this occasion as the result of a wound in the hip, but

his wound was soon cured by Asclepius at Therapnae near Sparta (where the hero was said to have founded a shrine to Asclepius), and he then raised an adequate force before launching a successful attack. To thank Hera for not having acted against him in the course of this conflict, Heracles founded a sanctuary to her in Sparta. Because he sacrificed some goats to her, having nothing better to hand, the goddess was honoured there as Hera the Goat-eater in a cult peculiar to the Spartans. While returning through Arcadia after this campaign, Heracles raped (or engaged in a love-affair with) *Auge, fathering *Telephus.

10. *Heracles and the Argonauts.* Although Heracles enlisted the help of other warriors in his campaigns and sometimes fought as an ally of local rulers, these were always individual enterprises and he took no part in the panhellenic adventures of the period before the Trojan War, with the possible exception of the Argonautic expedition. Since he was certainly not an Argonaut in the early tradition and no feats were recorded for him in this connection, some later authors found it necessary to explain why he should have failed to join the expedition or, at any rate, why he should have been left behind before he could make any significant mark on it. According to the early mythographer Pherecydes, the speaking timber on the *Argo protested that he was too heavy for the ship. Other versions include: (i) He was too great a man to mix in with the rest of the crew. (ii) The Argonauts themselves decided that he should be left behind because he was clumsy at rowing and broke the oars. (iii) He was unable to sail with them in the first place because they set off during the period of his enslavement to Omphale. (iv) He was eager to take part but was left behind by accident before he could achieve anything memorable or overshadow Jason. (v) In a Hesiodic poem, the *Marriage of Ceyx*, he was said to have been abandoned accidentally at Aphetae on the Thessalian coast after going ashore to fetch water. (vi) In the tradition favoured by Apollonius, he was abandoned at Mysia in Asia Minor before the Argonauts reached the Black Sea. In this version, Heracles had been accompanied by his young favourite *Hylas, who was snatched away by the nymph of a spring as he was fetching water; while Heracles and another Argonaut, *Polyphemus, were conducting a fruitless search for him, the Argonauts sailed on their way without noticing that they were missing. Only in some novelistic accounts of the Hellenistic period, notably that of Dionysius Skytobrachion which is partially preserved by Diodorus, was Heracles said to have sailed the whole way to Colchis and to have played a leading role in the expedition.

There are two noteworthy stories associated with Heracles' voyage as an Argonaut. According to Apollonius, the *Boreads were killed by Heracles on Tenos because they had opposed Telamon when he had urged that the Argonauts should sail back to Mysia to recover the abandoned Heracles; according to Diodorus, *Phineus was killed by Heracles when he tried to prevent the Boreads from releasing two of his sons who had been imprisoned and maltreated by him.

D) The Final Years of Heracles in Central Greece, and his Death and Apotheosis

1. *Heracles marries Deianira and settles in Calydon.* After his campaign in Sparta, Heracles finally decided to leave the Peloponnese for central Greece. Diodorus dates his departure to the fifth year after his move to Pheneos and suggests that it was prompted by his sorrow at the deaths of Iphicles and Oionus (*see C9*). Together with many Arcadian followers, who are mentioned as his allies in some of his late campaigns, he crossed over to the Aetolian city of Calydon in the south-western corner of the mainland. After failing to win Iole as his new wife (**C1**), he was now anxious to marry *Deianira, the daughter of Oeneus, king of Calydon, a young woman who was skilled in the arts of war and in chariot-driving. According to Bacchylides, her dead brother *Meleager had recommended her to Heracles during his visit to the Underworld. Heracles was faced, however, with a formidable rival, for the river-god

*Achelous had been visiting her father's palace to seek her hand. To settle the issue, Heracles travelled to the river and wrestled with the river-god while Deianira waited anxiously by the bank. Although Achelous assumed the form of a mighty bull (and also of a serpent in some versions), Heracles gripped him firmly and finally forced him down, snapping off one of his horns. To recover his lost horn, Achelous offered the magical horn of *Amalthea in exchange.

Heracles lived with Deianira at her father's court during the earlier years of their marriage, and she bore him four sons, Hyllus, Glenus, Ctesippus and Oneites, and a daughter Macria. As a service to his father-in-law, Heracles joined the Calydonians in a campaign against the Thesprotians to the north, capturing their main city of Ephyra and killing their king, Phyleus (or Phylas). He captured the king's daughter Astyoche and fathered one of his best-known sons, *Tlepolemus, by her. During this period, he sent most of his fifty sons by the daughters of Thespius (*see A5*) to Sardinia at the order of the Delphic oracle to found a colony under the leadership of Iolaus. Seven alone remained behind at their birthplace, Thespieae, while three (or two) others settled at Thebes, where they founded prominent families.

Heracles' stay at the Calydonian court was brought to an abrupt end by an accidental murder rather similar to that of Linus (**A4**). As a young page-boy, Eunomus (in other accounts his name was Eurynomus, Cyathus or Cherias), son of Architeles, was pouring water over the hero's hands at a banquet, Heracles lost his temper and struck him, apparently because he had taken the water from a footbath. The careless blow proved fatal because of the hero's extraordinary strength, and although the boy's father recognised that the killing had been an accident and was willing to forgive him, Heracles insisted that he should depart into exile as was customary after an act of bloodshed.

2. Heracles moves to Trachis and encounters the Centaur Nessus on the way. Heracles decided to settle at the court of Ceyx at Trachis (later known as Heracleia) at the head of the Malian Gulf in southern Thessaly. The city lay on the north road from Delphi and to the west of the famous pass of Thermopylae with its hot springs, which were said to have been created by Hephaestus (or by Athena or local nymphs) to refresh Heracles as he was returning with the cattle of Geryon. Although Ceux's association with Heracles was celebrated in a lost Hesiodic poem, the *Marriage of Ceyx*, little of interest is recorded of him beyond the fact that he was a family friend and that the *Heraclids sought refuge with him after the death of their father.

As Heracles was travelling east from Calydon towards Trachis with his wife and their son Hyllus, he arrived at the Evenus, the river that marked the eastern boundary of Aetolia. The Centaur *Nessus had settled there after Heracles had expelled the surviving Centaurs from the Peloponnese (**B4**), and he used to carry travellers across the river on his back, claiming that the gods had appointed him to the post of ferryman because of his righteousness. Although Heracles himself had no need of his services, he entrusted Deianira to him and paid him a fee to carry her across. As Nessus was half-way across (or when he reached the opposite bank), he attempted to rape her, but Heracles heard her cries and shot the Centaur in the heart with one of his poisoned arrows. As Nessus was dying, he told Deianira that she would gain a love-potion to use on her husband if she collected some of the semen that he had shed on the ground and mixed it with some blood from his wound. She believed him and kept the potion at hand after her arrival in Trachis; but since the Centaur's blood was tainted with the poison from Heracles' arrow (which had come from the hydra's gall, *see B2*), the mixture was in fact a virulent poison, and it would prove fatal to Heracles, just as Nessus had intended, when she finally had occasion to use it on her husband (**D6**).

After this misadventure with the Centaur (and also a struggle with the Dryopians in one version, *see below*), Heracles and his family arrived safely at Trachis. During this final period

of his life, the hero engaged in two wars and two duels before launching the attack on Oechalia that would lead to his death and apotheosis.

3. *Heracles defeats and resettles the Dryopians.* While in central Greece, Heracles fought against the Dryopians, a wild people who lived on the northern slopes of Mount Parnassus between Trachis and Delphi, and drove them out of their original homeland. The story was recounted in two very different versions. In one, Heracles encountered a Dryopian called *Theiodamas as he and his wife and son Hyllus were passing through the land of the Dryopians during their journey from Calydon to Trachis. Theiodamas was driving a pair of bullocks, and when he spurned Heracles' request for food, the hero slaughtered one of the bullocks and took its flesh for food. Theiodamas hurried back to the city of the Dryopians to rouse the inhabitants against Heracles, who fell into such peril during the ensuing fight that he had to arm his wife to avoid defeat. She was said to have suffered a wound in the breast. After the victory, Heracles transferred the Dryopians to Trachis and Mount Oeta. In the brief account of the episode by Apollodorus, there is no suggestion that Heracles was subjected to an immediate attack after seizing the bullock, and he is said to have returned to make war on the Dryopians at a later date after establishing himself at Trachis. There was disagreement on whether Theiodamas was the king of the Dryopians or a mere herdsman. According to Apollonius, Heracles' young favourite *Hylas, who disappeared during the voyage of the Argonauts, was the son of Theiodamas and he was seized by Heracles on the present occasion (although this might seem implausible in terms of the usual chronology of the hero's life).

According to the other main version of the story, Heracles marched against Phylas, king of the Dryopians, with an army of Malians (from the area around Trachis) to punish him for an act of sacrilege against the temple of Apollo at Delphi. The hero killed Phylas and drove his people from their land, transferring it to the Malians. According to Diodorus, some of the defeated Dryopians went to Euboea and some to Cyprus while others were granted refuge in the Argolid by Heracles' old enemy Eurystheus. Pausanias records two traditions about their fate. In one, Heracles took the defeated Dryopians to Delphi to dedicate them to Apollo, and when the god ordered them to emigrate to the Peloponnese they settled at Asine in the Argolid and later moved to Messenia; or according to the local tradition at Asine, they were defeated by Heracles but never captured by him, for they abandoned their city after he had seized the walls and took refuge on Mount Parnassus, where they remained until they subsequently sailed to the Peloponnese to seek refuge with Eurystheus.

4. *Heracles fights the Lapiths in Thessaly as an ally of the Dorians.* Heracles' second campaign in this period took him north to Hestiaeotis, a region in north-western Thessaly which was then the home of the Dorians. *Aegimius, king of the Dorians, had been attacked by Coronus, king of the neighbouring *Lapiths as the result of a boundary dispute, and when the Lapiths took advantage of their superior numbers to place the Dorians under siege, Aegimius asked Heracles to help him in return for a share of the land. So Heracles marched north with a force of Arcadians and soon put the Lapiths to flight, killing Coronus and many of his followers. After the victory, he refused Aegimius' offer of a third of the land, asking instead that it should be kept in trust for his descendants. A close association was thus established between the Dorians and the family of Heracles, and his descendants the *Heraclids would lead the Dorians in one of the last major episodes in mythical history, the Dorian invasion of the Peloponnese. Aegimius adopted Heracles' eldest son Hyllus after his father's death and later offered refuge to the Heraclids when their first invasion of the Peloponnese ended in failure.

5. *Single combat with Cycnus and the king of Ormenion.* There were two well-known incidents in which Heracles killed men of violence in single combat in Thessaly as he was returning home after his alliance with the Dorians. At Itonus in southern Thessaly some thirty miles north-east of Trachis, Heracles was confronted by *Cycnus, a fearsome son of Ares

who used to cut off the heads of passing strangers to build a temple to his father (or to Apollo) with their skulls. According to the earliest surviving account in the Hesiodic *Shield*, Heracles encountered Cycnus and Ares as he was travelling on a visit to *Ceyx in a chariot driven by Iolaus, and when Cycnus engaged with the hero in single combat in the hope of seizing his magnificent armour which had been fashioned by Hephaestus, Heracles soon killed him with a spear-thrust to the neck. Although Ares then rushed forward to avenge the death of his son and hurled a spear at Heracles, Athena turned the spear aside, and Heracles forced the god to withdraw by wounding him in the thigh with his spear. In a later version, Zeus saved Heracles from the revenge of Ares by hurling a thunderbolt between the pair; according to another version, Heracles fled from his first encounter with Cycnus because his adversary was supported by Ares, but later caught him on his own and killed him.

In the second of these incidents, Heracles killed the ruler of Ormenion, a city under Mount Pelion near the western coast of Thessaly. Both Apollodorus and Diodorus place this encounter after that with Cycnus although Itonus was closer to Trachis than Ormenion. In one version, Heracles killed *Amyntor, king of Ormenion, because he tried to prevent the hero from passing through his territory, or the ruler of the city was called Ormenius and he aroused Heracles' anger by refusing to allow him to marry his daughter Astydamia on the wholly reasonable ground that he was already married to Deianira. In both versions, Heracles slept with Astydamia after killing her father, and she bore him a son, Ctesippus; in one account, Tlepolemus was his son by Astydamia rather than by Astyoche, daughter of Phylas, as in the tradition noted above (**D1**).

6. Heracles sacks Oechalia, captures Iole and is afflicted by a poisoned robe. In what would turn out to be his last campaign, Heracles now launched an attack on Oechalia to punish Eurytus for having refused to hand over his daughter Iole (**C1**). To achieve his long-delayed revenge, Heracles assembled an army from the Arcadians who had accompanied him from the Peloponnese (**C1**), and from the Malians of Trachis and the Locrians of the adjoining area. Although the location of Eurytus' city was disputed in antiquity and there were also Oechalias in Thessaly, Messenia and elsewhere, the city attacked by Heracles seems to have been situated on Euboea, the large island of the eastern shores of central Greece, in the region of Eretria. With the help of his allies, Heracles killed Eurytus and his sons and captured Oechalia, losing two of his cousins, Argeius and Melas, sons of Licymnius, and also Hippasus, son of Ceyx, on his own side. After plundering the city, he set off for Trachis taking Iole with him as a captive but decided to anchor on the way at Cenaion, the north-western headland of Euboea, to offer a sacrifice to his father Zeus. He erected an altar to him there under the title of Cenaean Zeus and despatched his herald *Lichas to Trachis to fetch the proper robes for the sacrifice. While fulfilling the errand, Lichas mentioned to Deianira that her husband had captured Iole, or even warned her explicitly that he was in love with the maiden. In Sophocles' *Women of Trachis* (which offers a full account of the following events but is generally very free in its treatment of traditional mythology), Lichas actually brought Iole to the palace along with other captive women. Fearing that Iole would displace her, Deianira decided to make use of the potion that she had prepared from the semen and blood of Nessus (**D2**) and rubbed the supposed love-charm into the ceremonial robes before Lichas took them back to her husband; but when Heracles put them on for the sacrifice, the poison from the hydra's gall which was contained in the potion bit into his skin like an acid, causing him to suffer agonising and irremediable pain. Blaming the unfortunate Lichas for his sufferings, Heracles picked him up by his feet and hurled him into the sea below. Although he tried to relieve the pain by pulling off the robes, the fabric had become attached to his flesh, and he was ferried back to Trachis in a desperate state. Deianira hanged herself on discovering the effects of her action and it seemed that the anguish of her husband too could only be relieved by death.

7. *Heracles dies on his funeral-pyre and becomes a god.* When the pain became unendurable, Heracles ordered his son Hyllus to build a pyre for him on Mount Oeta to the west of Trachis. In other accounts Heracles built it himself in spite of his condition, or he sent Licymnius and Iolaus to Delphi to consult the oracle, which ordered them to convey Heracles to Oeta with his arms and armour and to build a pyre there. After some final words with his son Hyllus in which he told him to marry Iole after his death, Heracles climbed on to the pyre and asked the bystanders to lay a torch to it; and when they all shrank from doing so, *Philoctetes (or in some accounts, his father Poeas) alone had the courage set fire to it, and Heracles rewarded him by giving him his bow and arrows. Philoctetes would later use the bow to kill Paris during the Trojan War.

In the earliest tradition, Heracles died on the pyre and descended to Hades like other mortals. In the *Iliad*, Achilles cites him as an example to stress the point that every man is fated to die at his appointed time, 'for not even mighty Heracles could escape death, although he was most dear to lord Zeus, son of Cronus, but fate overcame him, and the dreadful anger of Hera'; and in a striking passage in the *Odyssey*, Odysseus sees him in the Underworld with his bow and arrows, casting terrible glances around as if he were about to shoot and causing the dead to raise a clamour like that of birds scattering in panic. Although three lines are interposed in the latter passage to explain that this was merely a phantom (*eidolon*) of the hero since Heracles himself was above with the gods, these lines were clearly interpolated at a later period. Heracles was originally respect as a *hero rather than as a god, and the fact that he was honoured at sacrifices as both a god and a hero in later times is an indication that he underwent a change of status at some stage. The origins of his cult as a god should probably be dated to the end of the seventh century BC or somewhat later. The earliest surviving literary reference to his divinity is a fragment from the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* (which seems to have been written in the early sixth century BC).

If Heracles became a god at the end of his life, his immolation on the pyre was the occasion of his apotheosis. According to Apollodorus, a chariot passed beneath him as the pyre was blazing and he was raised up to heaven to the accompaniment of thunder. In Athenian vase-paintings from the sixth and fifth centuries BC, he can be seen climbing into (or ascending in) a chariot driven by Athena, Hermes, Nike ('Victory') or some other deity or even Iolaus, and the pyre is sometimes depicted beneath the chariot; or Heracles is shown arriving at Olympus as he is led before the assembled gods either on foot or in a chariot. Writers from Theocritus and Callimachus onwards often suggest that the flames of the pyre burned away all that was mortal in Heracles, leaving only the divine element inherited from his father. In Ovid's account of the episode, the gods were afraid for Heracles as the flames blazed on his pyre until Jupiter (Zeus) explained to them that the fire could affect only the mortal element in his body that he had derived from his mother, and Zeus swept him up to the heavens in a four-horse chariot when he had been duly rendered immortal. Diodorus, in his characteristic fashion, offers a more rationalistic account of the events surrounding Heracles' death. As soon as Philoctetes had set light to the pyre, lightning also descended on it from the heavens causing it to be wholly consumed, and when the attendants of Iolaus were unable to find even a single bone from Heracles, they assumed that he must have passed into the company of the gods as the Delphic oracle had previously foretold.

8. *Heracles is received amongst the gods and marries the goddess Hebe.* After ascending to Olympus and assuming his place amongst the gods, Heracles married Hebe, daughter of Zeus and Hera. Since he had conquered age through his apotheosis, the goddess of youth was an appropriate bride for him, and the marriage also marked his reconciliation with Hera, who now became his mother-in-law. According to Diodorus, Zeus persuaded Hera to adopt him as her son and show him a mother's love from that time onwards, and the adoption was solemnised through a symbolic second birth in which Hera lay down on a bed, drew Heracles

to her body through her clothes and then let him drop to the ground. In images from the visual arts, she is shown offering him her breast as if he were her child while the other gods look on (in contrast to stories in which she was tricked into suckling him when he was a baby, *see* A1). This could represent both her adoption of him and a conferral of immortality. From that time onwards, Heracles enjoyed the timeless fulfilment of the gods without even becoming involved in the affairs of mortal heroes and heroines below. Apollodorus records one further detail about his life in heaven, that Hebe bore him two sons Alexiades and Anicetus, but these were merely empty figures whose names were based on cultic titles of Heracles.

Heraclids (*Ἡρακλειδαί*). The descendants of Heracles, in particular the descendants of Heracles and Deianira who invaded the Peloponnese in alliance with the Dorians. After the death of Heracles, his children feared the enmity of Eurystheus and asked for refuge with *Ceyx at Trachis, but, when Eurystheus threatened to make war on Ceyx, they fled to Athens and sat down as suppliants on the altar of Pity. Although Eurystheus followed them and demanded their surrender, the Athenians under Theseus (or his son Demophon) refused to hand them over. Eurystheus was defeated in the ensuing conflict and his sons were killed; Eurystheus himself was overtaken and put to death as he tried to escape to the Peloponnese in his chariot. To ensure the victory, a daughter of Heracles, *Macaria, had offered herself for sacrifice.

After the death of Eurystheus, the Heraclids decided to invade the Peloponnese. They had a claim to Argos and Mycenae as members of the Argive royal line, and also to Sparta and Messenia because Heracles had settled the succession there (*see* Tyndareus and Neleus); since they were returning to claim their legitimate rights, the invasion was commonly known as the return of the Heraclids. Although they succeeded in this initial invasion, it was the will of the gods that they should establish their rule there later, after a period of Pelopid rule, and the Peloponnese was seized by a plague or famine in the following year. When the cause was revealed by an oracle, they withdrew to Marathon in Attica, and the Mycenaeans were told by an oracle chose a Pelopid to succeed Eurystheus, so *Atreus became their king. In the next generation Menelaus, a son of Atreus, became king of Sparta, the other main centre in the Peloponnese, and Argos and Sparta remained under Pelopid rule until the Heraclids accomplished their return after the Trojan War by defeating Tisamenus, the great-grandson of Atreus.

*Hyllus, the eldest son of Heracles and Deianira and leader of the Heraclids, went to consult the Delphic oracle, which told him that the Heraclids should return at the third harvest. Thinking that they had been told to wait three years, he launched an invasion after that time and was confronted by a Peloponnesian force at the Isthmus of Corinth. When Hyllus proposed that the issue should be settled by single combat between himself and a Peloponnesian champion, Echemus, king of Tegea took up the challenge and killed him, and the Heraclids had to withdraw. According to an alternative tradition, Hyllus fought the duel with Echemus when he led the first invasion soon after the death of Eurystheus, and it was agreed as the terms of the duel that the Heraclids would make no further attack on the Peloponnese for fifty (or a hundred) years if Hyllus was defeated.

Some time later, Aristomachus, the grandson of Heraclids, consulted the Delphic oracle once again, and was told that he would be victorious if he invaded by the narrow route. Thinking that this meant the narrow Isthmus of Corinth, he invaded the Peloponnese by way of it, but he was defeated and killed. When the sons of Aristomachus, or his son Temenus specifically, came of age and again asked advice of the oracle, it offered the same reply as before. Temenus complained with some justification that they had already followed this advice and had met with nothing but disaster; the god replied that the previous misfortunes of the Heraclids were their own fault because they had misinterpreted his words,

for when he had said the third harvest, he had meant the third generation of men rather than the third harvest of the crops, and when he had said the narrow way, he had meant not the Isthmus of Corinth but the Gulf of Corinth (which is of no great width from north to south). Accordingly, Temenus and his followers constructed a fleet at Naupactus on the northern shore of the Gulf to carry them over to the Peloponnese by the sea-route.

While the army was at Naupactus, Carnus, a priest of Apollo from Acarnania, appeared and began to deliver oracles in a prophetic frenzy. Everyone thought that he was a sorcerer sent by the Peloponnesians to bring ruin to the army, and Hippotes, one of the Heraclids, hurled a spear at him and killed him. In anger, Apollo caused the fleet to be destroyed and the army to be struck by a famine, and, when Temenus consulted the oracle, the god explained the reason for the calamities, and gave orders for the murderer to be exiled and that they should take the 'Three-eyed One' as their guide for the invasion. They discovered the god's meaning when they came across *Oxylus seated on a one-eyed horse. After they had crossed over to the Peloponnese, Oxylus led them through Arcadia to the Argolid, where they defeated Tisamenus, the last Pelopid king of Argos and Sparta, who was either killed in battle or expelled to Achaea where he was killed soon afterwards.

After winning control of the Peloponnese, the Heraclid leaders built three altars to Paternal Zeus, offered sacrifices on them, and then drew lots for the most important kingdoms, Argos, Sparta and Messenia. Those who took part were Temenus and Cresphontes, two sons of Aristomachus, and Procles and Eurysthenes, the twin sons of *Aristodemus (the third son of Aristomachus) who shared a single lot. Temenus and Cresphontes won Argos and Messenia respectively, and Procles and Eurysthenes became joint kings of Sparta. According to the Spartans, however, who rejected the usual story that Aristodemus had been struck by a thunderbolt before the invasion of the Peloponnese, Aristodemus became the first Heraclid ruler of Sparta. *Cresphontes resorted to a trick to ensure that he won the fertile lands of Messenia. Two important regions of the Peloponnese were not brought under Heraclid rule: Elis, which was awarded to Oxylus for his services, and Arcadia, which escaped conquest either because the Heraclids had been deterred by oracles or because its ruler Cypselus had offered his daughter Merope in marriage to Cresphontes.

The return of the Heraclids, which was dated to fifty or eighty years after the Trojan War, was usually regarded as the last major event in mythical history. This myth of the return of the Heraclids, although of independent origin, came to be linked with the legend of the Dorian invasion of the Peloponnese (which had some historical basis). The connection between the Dorians and the family of Heracles was said to have originated in the alliance between Heracles and Aegimius, king of the Dorians, during the war between the Dorians and the Lapiths, and to have been confirmed when Aegimius adopted Hyllus as his son after the death of Heracles; according to one tradition, the Heraclids took refuge with Aegimius and the Dorians after the defeat of Hyllus. Whatever the case, it came to be believed that the Heraclids conducted their final invasion of the Peloponnese in alliance with the Dorians, and, since the Dorians, who were of northern origin, had no legitimate claim to any of the Peloponnesian thrones, the Dorian occupation could be justified in mythical terms if the Heraclids, who would have had excellent claims, had founded the royal lines in the invaded territories. [Apollodorus 2.8.1-5; Diodorus 4.57-8; Eusebius *PE* 5.20; Herodotus 9.26; Pausanias 2.18.6-19.1, 3.13.4, 4.3.4-5, 8.5.1]

Hercules (*Ἡρακλῆς*). *See* Heracles.

Hermaphroditus (*Ἑρμαφρόδιτος*). An androgynous son of Hermes and Aphrodite who inherited the name of both of his parents. He had male genitals but the breasts and general physique of a woman. It is believed that the cult of Hermaphroditus was derived from the

Cypriot cult of Aphroditus, the bearded male Aphrodite, which was introduced to Athens in the classical period. Although Hellenistic artists were much intrigued by the ambiguity s/he made little appearance in myth. In the earliest surviving account, by Diodorus, he was androgynous from birth; but according to a tale in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (which was originally devised to explain the enervating properties of a spring in Asia Minor), he acquired his androgynous nature by becoming fused with a female, for after the young Hermaphroditus had spent fifteen years in the care of the nymphs of Mount Ida in the Troad, he wanted to travel, and, as he was passing through Caria, the nymph of the spring of Salmacis caught sight of him while she was gathering flowers, and fell in love with him. Finding that direct advances embarrassed the young man, she awaited her opportunity and seized him in a tight embrace when he plunged into her spring to bathe; when she prayed that the two of them would never be separated, the gods responded by merging them into a single being who was neither a man nor a woman, yet shared in the nature of both. Afterwards, Hermaphroditus addressed a prayer of his own to his divine parents, asking that from that time onwards any man who bathed in the spring should be deprived of his virility. [Diodorus 4.6.5; Hyginus 271; Ovid *Met* 4.285-388; Lucian *Dialogues of Gods* 15]

Hermes (*Ἑρμῆς*, Latin 'Mercury'). Son of Zeus and Maia, daughter of Atlas. After he was born to Maia in her remote cave on Mount Cyllene in Arcadia, Hermes proved to be an extraordinarily precocious child who invented the lyre on the morning of his birth and stole the cattle of Apollo in the evening. As he was leaving the cave to seek out the cattle, he found a tortoise grazing on the rich grass outside and was struck with the idea that its shell would make an excellent sounding-board for a musical instrument. He thus constructed the first lyre by scooping the tortoise's flesh from its shell, inserting a pair of horns into the openings for the front legs, and stretching seven strings of sheep's gut over the shell, attaching their ends to a crossbar fitted across the horns. As he was trying out his new invention, he sang of the love of Zeus and Maia and of his own conception, and also sang in praise of his mother's home. In another version of this story, he invented the lyre after returning with the stolen cattle and was thus able to use gut from two slaughtered cattle to make the strings.

Hermes soon hurried off to find the cattle of Apollo, which grazed on the mountains of Pieria far to the north in Thessaly. Arriving there at nightfall, he drove away fifty of the cattle, making them walk backwards (in other accounts he place little shoes over their hooves or attached branches to their tails) to conceal their tracks. For his own part, he wore sandals fashioned from branches of myrtle and tamarisk. As he was travelling through Onchestus in Boeotia during the journey south, his passage was observed by an old man who was tilling his vineyard, but the young god ordered him to keep silent promising him exceptional vine-crops in return. According to a later version of this story, Hermes promised the old man (here called Battus) a reward for keeping silent, but when the god returned in disguise to test him out, he betrayed the secret in return for a cloak, provoking Hermes to turn him to stone. As the night was drawing to a close, Hermes arrived at the river Alpheus in the Peloponnese where he halted the cattle and fed and watered them. After inventing fire sticks to kindle a fire, he slaughtered two of the cattle and sacrificed them to the twelve gods. Concealing all traces of his presence there, he hurried back to Maia's cave at dawn and lay down in his cradle as if he had been there all the time. But Maia realised that he had been up to no good, and when she chided him for his nocturnal activities, he replied that he would willingly become the prince of thieves if it would allow the two of them to escape from the gloomy cave and live in luxury amongst the gods.

Apollo had discovered the theft in the meantime and had set off in search of his cattle. The old man at Onchestus told him that he had seen an infant driving them past, and Apollo soon learned the identity of the thief from an omen provided by a long-tailed bird. When he

arrived at Maia's cave and demanded the truth from Hermes, the infant god replied that a new-born baby like himself, who cared only for his mother's milk and warm wrappings and baths, could hardly have stolen the cattle even if he had known what cattle were; but Apollo was not deceived by his plausible words and carried him up to Olympus to refer the matter to Zeus. Although Hermes continued to protest his innocence, Zeus merely laughed and ordered him to guide Apollo to the cattle. After revealing their hiding place, Hermes used the power of music to soften Apollo's heart, singing of the origins of the earth and the gods as he accompanied himself on the lyre. Entranced by the unfamiliar sound, Apollo offered to surrender his cattle in exchange for the newly-invented instrument, and Hermes handed over the lyre, inventing a new instrument, the shepherd's pipes, for himself. After he had sworn never to steal from Apollo in the future, the two gods became firm friends, and Apollo gave Hermes a golden staff and advised him to learn the art of divination from the *Thriae. In Apollodorus' version, Apollo wanted to acquire Hermes' pipes in addition to the lyre and offered his golden staff in exchange for them, but Hermes wanted to learn the art of divination as part of the exchange and Apollo taught him how to use divining-pebbles.

Hermes was a deity who was particularly associated with boundaries and the crossing of boundaries. Since boundaries were marked in the countryside by piles of stones known as *hermai*, it is commonly believed that Hermes derived his name from these cairns and originated as a personification of their powers. At Athens and elsewhere, markers bearing the god's name (*herms*) were set up at cross-roads and by the roadside in the form of a quadrangular pillar with a bearded head of Hermes at the top and a phallus (usually erect) half-way up. Hermes crossed boundaries and led others across boundaries as a divine messenger and guide. In the familiar image of him as the divine herald, he wears the broad-rimmed felt hat (*petasos*) favoured by travellers and a pair of winged sandals, and he carries a golden herald's staff (*kerykeion* or *caduceus* in Latin), usually with two serpents coiled around it in the form of a figure-of-eight with a break at the top. He sometimes used this staff as a magical wand to lull people to sleep, draw the souls of the dead, or perform transformations. Hermes was otherwise a complex and many-faceted figure. He was the god of luck and fortune and all that could give rise to good fortune, from windfalls and lucky discoveries of treasure and the like (*hermaia* in Greek) to thievery and, to an increasing extent, trade and commerce; he presided over lower forms of divination that depended on chance rather than divine inspiration; as a god of the countryside rather than the cities, he was a patron of herdsmen and a protector of rustic prosperity who ensured the fertility of livestock and crops; and he was associated with agility of both body and mind as a patron of athletics and subtle and persuasive talk, as well as the art of the interpreter (*hermeneus*).

Since *Iris performs all the duties of a divine messenger in the *Iliad* and Hermes was the least warlike of the gods, there is little place for him in the epic. Although we are told that he favoured the Greek side, there is no mention of him ever intervening to influence the course of the fighting. His only significant appearance comes towards the end of the poem when Zeus asks him to guide Priam to the Greek camp at night. Assuming the form of a comrade of Achilles (although he reveals his true identity at the end of the journey), he drives Priam in a chariot to the hut of Achilles, putting the guards to sleep as they reach the Greek wall, and later wakes him and conducts him back to Troy. Providing a safe conduct to mortal heroes who were under divine protection was a characteristic activity of Hermes throughout the tradition because, as Zeus remarks when sending him to Priam, he was always a god who liked to act as a comrade to men. There is only a passing allusion to his function as a divine messenger in the *Iliad* when we are told that he conveyed a divine token of authority, a sceptre made by Hephaestus, to Pelops at the order of Zeus. The *Odyssey* reveals his full range of activities in this regard, reporting that the gods sent him to *Aegisthus to warn him not to seduce Clytemnestra or kill Agamemnon, and showing him visiting a minor goddess,

*Calypso, to tell him that the gods wanted her to allow Odysseus to return home. It is not clear whether he was acting for the gods or on his own initiative when he subsequently warned Odysseus about Circe and provided him with a herb to counteract her potions. Although it was probably not part of the original poem, a passage in the final book of the epic shows him performing another important function as the conductor of the dead (*psychopompos*) who guided the shades of the dead down to the Underworld with his wand.

Hermes appears in a wide range of stories as an agent of Zeus. In addition to those mentioned in the Homeric epics, he visited *Deucalion after the great flood to ask him what he most desired; he went to *Atreus to tell him how he could recover the Mycenaean throne from *Atreus, who had won it by dishonourable means; he contributed to Zeus' plan to bring about the Trojan War by conducting Hera, Athena and Aphrodite to Mount Ida to be judged by Paris (*see Trojan War 1*); he visited *Tantalus to recover a golden dog that *Pandareus had hidden with him after stealing it from Zeus' shrine in Crete; and according to a Theban tradition, he removed *Alcmena from her coffin and transferred her to the Isles of the Blessed. His most celebrated service to Zeus was to release *Io, a mistress of Zeus who had been transformed into a cow and tethered to a tree by Hera under the guard of *Argus Panoptes. Although Hermes had hoped to free her by stealth, his plan was betrayed by Hierax and he had to kill Argus by hurling a stone at him (or in some Latin accounts, he merely lulled him to sleep with his wand). The story was probably invented to explain an ancient title of the god, Argeiphontes, which could be interpreted as meaning 'Slayer of Argus'. Hermes sometimes acted to safeguard children who had been born or conceived to Zeus or other gods. He placed the infant Dionysus in the care of the nymphs of Mount Nysa and of *Ino and *Athamas; after *Coronis, the mother of Asclepius, had been killed for being unfaithful to Apollo, Hermes snatched her unborn child from her funeral-pyre and conveyed him to Chiron to be reared; and in some accounts, he conveyed *Aristaeus to the Horae to be reared, and *Arcas to Maia. As the god who conducted the dead to the Underworld, Hermes occasionally conducted dead heroes back to the upper world when they were granted leave of absence by Hades and Persephone, as when he took the dead *Protesilaus home for a brief visit to his wife *Laodamia. As a comrade and protector of mortal heroes, Hermes brought aid to two notable sons of Zeus. He guided *Perseus to the Graiae and then to the nymphs who provided the hero with the cap of invisibility, winged sandals and a satchel (in another version Hermes himself provided the cap and sandals); and he gave him the sickle that he used to cut off the Gorgon's head. In the visual arts in particular, Hermes was also closely associated with Heracles. Literary sources record that he tricked Hera into suckling the new-born hero (*see Heracles A2*), that he presented a sword to him when he was armed by the gods, and that he advised him during his visit to Hades.

On the few occasions in which Hermes is said to have aided other gods during the earlier history of the world, he relied more on stealth than on force. In one version of the story of *Typhon, the monster disabled Zeus by removing the tendons from his hands and feet and hiding them in a cave in Asia Minor, but his plan was frustrated by Hermes and *Aegipan, who stole the tendons from the cave and fitted them back into Zeus surreptitiously. According to Apollodorus, Hermes made himself invisible during the battle between the gods and the Giants by wearing the cap of Hades and killed a Giant called Hippolytus. In tales of early origin, Hermes stole *Ares out of his imprisonment after he had been enclosed in a bronze jar by the *Alods, and visited Hades on behalf of Zeus and the other gods to seek the return of Persephone after she had been abducted by the lord of the Underworld.

Although Hermes never married and he was not a deity who was particularly noted for his amorous exploits, he engaged in some passing liaisons and was credited with a number of children. Many claimed that he was the father of another god of the countryside, *Pan, whether by an unnamed daughter of Dryopis, or an Arcadian nymph or even by Penelope (but

there were many conflicting traditions Pan's birth). According to the *Homeric Hymn to Pan*, the nurse of Pan fled in terror at the sight of the new-born god's beard, horns and goat's feet, but Hermes was delighted with him and took the young god up to Olympus to display him to Zeus and the other gods. It was suggested for obvious reasons that *Hermaphroditus was his child by Aphrodite, and he had various mortal sons, including *Aethalides, the herald of the Argonauts; Echion and Eurytus, two minor Argonauts; *Abderus, the eponym of Abdera; and *Myrtilus, the charioteer of Oenomaus. Some said that he avenged Pelops' murder of his son Myrtilus by sending a golden lamb into the herds of Atreus to cause dissension between the sons of Pelops; *see* Atreus and Thyestes. Although the *Odyssey* states that Hermes merely instructed the master thief *Autolycus in the arts of thievery and perjury in exchange for sacrifices of lambs and kids, he is commonly described as the father of Autolycus in later sources. Ovid tells how he put Autolycus' mother (here named Chione rather than Philonis as in other sources) to sleep with his wand so as to take advantage of her. According to the *Iliad*, he fell in love with Polymela, daughter of Phylas, when he saw her in a chorus of girls dancing in honour of Artemis, and he visited her in secret in her room, fathering a son Eudorus who became one of Achilles' lieutenants. He raped the Cretan princess Apemosyne on Rhodes after causing her to slip over by spreading freshly-cut hides across her path. And finally, in a tale from Ovid, he fell in love with *Herse, daughter Erechtheus, at Athens and turned her jealous sister *Aglaurus to stone when she tried to prevent him from entering Herse's bedroom.

Hermione (*Ἑρμιόνη*). The daughter of Menelaus, king of Sparta, and *Helen, she was nine years old when her mother was abducted by Paris. According to the *Odyssey* she was Helen's only child, and she was as beautiful as golden Aphrodite; after the Trojan War, Menelaus sent her away to the land of the Myrmidons to be the wife of *Neoptolemus, in accordance with a promise that he had made to Neoptolemus at Troy. Except in some late sources, it was agreed that Neoptolemus had no children by Hermione before he met his early death at Delphi, and some said that he made his fateful trip to Delphi to consult the oracle about their failure in this respect.

An important new element in Hermione's story first appears in tragedy – a prior marriage or betrothal to *Orestes, and this provided scope for tales of conflict arising from the competing claim of Neoptolemus. According to the lost *Hermione* of Sophocles, her grandfather Tyndareus married Hermione to Orestes while Menelaus was away at Troy; but Menelaus, who had been unaware of this, took her away from Orestes on his return and gave her to Neoptolemus to fulfil a promise that he had made to him at Troy. Neoptolemus, however, was killed at Delphi, and Hermione returned to Orestes and bore him a son Tisamenus, who later became the last Pelopid king of Argos and Sparta. In other versions, Neoptolemus asserted his claim to her by abducting her from her husband, who retaliated by arranging for Orestes to be killed at Delphi, and so recovered her. In some accounts Hermione was already pregnant by her husband when she was seized by Neoptolemus. In Euripides' *Andromache*, the only surviving play to centre on Hermione's marital affairs, she is married to Neoptolemus, her first husband, in Epirus. Because she had remained infertile, she became jealous of her husband's slave-prize, Andromache, who had a child by him, and Hermione tried to bring about the death of both mother and child while Neoptolemus was away at Delphi. Although the pair clung for refuge at the shrine of Thetis, Hermione and her father Menelaus prised her away and would have put her to death with her son if Neoptolemus' grandfather Peleus had not arrived and saved their lives. Hermione now had reason to think that she herself would be in danger when her husband returned, but Orestes, who had arranged for Neoptolemus to be killed at Delphi, passed through on his way to the oracle at Dodona; because Menelaus had promised Hermione to him before offering her to Neoptolemus, he

willingly took her with him, and she became his wife. [Euripides *Andromache* and schol 32; Homer *Il* 3.171-6, *Od* 4.12-14 and schol; Pherecydes fr 64a]

Hero (*Ἡρώ*). **1.** A priestess of Aphrodite at Sestus who became the lover of *Leander. **2.** The word hero was used in two senses. In early epic and in connection with heroic legend: (i) it was a term of respect for the great men of the mythical past whose exploits were recounted by the poets and mythographers; (ii) in connection with the cult of the heroised dead, it was a term for dead persons who were thought to exercise power for good or ill after their death. Because it was believed that some exceptional figures from the mythical (or even more recent) past could continue to exercise such a power, they were honoured with offerings and sacrifices to ensure that they remained generally favourable or to encourage them to offer specific aid, especially in time of sickness and war. Hero-cult was a distinctive and often perplexing feature of Greek religion which has no exact parallel in the records of other cultures. Although comparisons can be drawn with certain aspects of the cult of the Christian saints, the heroes were distinguished by the mere fact of their present power rather than their moral and spiritual qualities in their past lives, and some, like the famous Hero of *Temessa, were even actively malevolent. Dead women were honoured in hero-cult as well as men.

The heroes were inevitably beings of lower dignity than the gods, and their cult also tended to be more local in nature because it was tied to their grave (or *ἥρῳον*). In some cases, however, two or more places would claim to possess the bones of an important hero, and it was not always essential for heroes' bones to be present at the place of their cult. The heroes were honoured with a distinctive form of sacrifice known as *enagismos*, which differed from that offered to the higher gods. Such sacrifices were usually offered in the hours of darkness and at a pit (or low altar) rather than at a high altar, so that blood from the victim's throat flowed into the earth below. Many of the familiar heroes of epic were honoured in hero-cult, often at Mycenaean tombs whose original significance had been forgotten long before. Since hero-cult seems to have grown to prominence around the eighth century BC, it is generally believed that the diffusion of epic on the mainland encouraged its development (even if it was not entirely responsible for it). Whatever the origins of hero-cult, figures of very diverse origin came to be honoured as heroes, ranging from semi-deities or local figures from sacral legend to people from the recent past and what might be described as ghosts.

Herse (*Ἑρση*). A daughter of Cecrops, first king of Athens, and the sister of Aglaurus and Pandrosus. When Athena entrusted the infant Erichthonius to the three sisters (or to Pandrosus alone) in a chest, telling them not to open it, Herse and Aglaurus did so out of curiosity, and saw a snake (or two snakes) coiled around the child; they were then killed by the snake, or were driven mad by Athena and jumped from the Acropolis. In other versions, Aglaurus and Pandrosus opened the chest, and all three of the sisters jumped to their death. In Ovid's version, Aglaurus opened the chest, but none of the sisters died; subsequently, Hermes fell in love with Herse when he saw her in a procession, and turned *Aglaurus to stone when she tried to prevent him from entering Herse's bedchamber. Some said that Cephalus was the child of this union between Hermes and Herse. [Apollodorus 3.14.2-3, 14.6; Euripides *Ion* 260-83; Ovid *Met* 2.552-62, 708-832; Pausanias 1.18.2]

Hesione (*Ἡσιόνη*). **1.** The daughter of *Laomedon, king of Troy. When Poseidon sent a sea-monster against Troy because Laomedon had refused to pay him and Apollo for building the city walls, an oracle declared that the Trojans would be rid of it if Laomedon sacrificed his daughter to it. He bound her to some rocks by the sea-shore where Heracles saw her as he was travelling to the land of the Amazons (or in some late accounts, while he was with the Argonauts). He offered to save her in return for the mares that Zeus had given to Laomedon's

grandfather Tros as compensation for the abduction of Ganymede. In some accounts he also asked to take Hesione away with him, but there is never any suggestion that he wanted to marry her (as in the similar story of Perseus and Andromeda). But after he had killed the monster, Laomedon refused to pay him the promised reward, and, when the hero returned at a later date to take revenge, he sacked Troy and killed Laomedon and all but one of his sons. He then offered Hesione to his friend and ally Telamon as a reward for his contribution to the victory. Heracles allowed her to select one of the captives to accompany her, and, when she chose her surviving brother Podarces, he said that she should offer something in payment for him. So she bought him with her veil, and for that reason, he was known afterwards as *Priam (supposedly from *priamai*, to buy). Because Telamon was already married to Periboea, the mother of Ajax, Hesione became his concubine rather than his wife, and bore him a son, Teucer. [Apollodorus 2.5.9, 7.4, 3.12.7; Diodorus 4.42, 4.49; schol Homer *Il* 20.146; Hyginus 89] **2.** Daughter of Oceanus, and sometimes named as the wife of Prometheus. [Aeschylus *Prometheus* 555; schol Homer *Od* 10.2] **3.** In some accounts, the wife of *Nauplius was a Hesione of unknown parentage. [Apollodorus 2.1.5]

Hesperia (*Ἑσπερία*). One of the Greek names for Italy as the western land or 'land of the evening'. [Dionysius 1.35, 1.49]

Hesperides (*Ἑσπερίδες*). Daughters of Nyx (Night) who guarded some trees (or a tree) bearing golden apples at the edges of the earth in the far west. When Zeus had married Hera, Gaia (Earth) had presented some golden apples to the bride, and Hera had so admired them that she had ordered them to be planted in the garden of the gods near Atlas. The three maidens, who were noted for their beautiful singing, were usually named as Erythia (or Erytheis), Aegle and Hespera (or Hesperethusa). They were helped in their task as guardians by a huge serpent, sometimes named as *Ladon. According to Pherecydes, it was stationed there to prevent the daughters of Atlas from stealing the apples. Heracles was ordered to fetch some of the apples as his eleventh *labour, and he either picked them himself or asked Atlas to do so. In connection with this labour, the Hesperides were sometimes relocated to the far north. According to Apollonius, the Argonauts passed by shortly after Heracles had killed the serpent; the Hesperides were lamenting his death, but they turned to dust and earth as the Argonauts approached and were subsequently transformed into trees, Hespera becoming a poplar, Erytheis an elm and Aegle a willow. In her new form, Aegle addressed the Argonauts and told them the way to a spring created by Heracles. In some versions, the Hesperides were said to have guarded sheep rather than apples (for the words were the same in Greek) or just ordinary apples. Some said that the golden apples thrown down by the future husband of *Atalanta came from those guarded by the Hesperides. In some late sources, the Hesperides were said to have been daughters of Zeus and Themis, or even of neighbouring Atlas. [Apollodorus 2.5.11; Apollonius 4.1393-1451; Diodorus 4.26.2-3; Euripides *Heracles* 394-407; Hesiod *Theog* 214-6, 274-6, 333-5; Pherecydes fr 16, 17; Vat Myth 1.39] **(GL.)** See Hesperus.

Hesperus (*Ἑσπερος*). The planet Venus as the evening star, distinguished from its aspect as Heosphorus, the morning star. Several times brighter than any of the true stars, it is described in the *Iliad* as the most beautiful star of all. Although no early myths or genealogies are recorded for Hesperus, Diodorus preserves two rationalistic myths from the Hellenistic era which suggest the Hesperus was related to Atlas and the Hesperides, figures who lived in the far west towards the sunset. In one, Hesperus and Atlas are said to have been two brothers who owned large numbers of golden-yellow sheep in the western land of Hesperitis. The land was named after Hesperis, a daughter of Hesperus who married her uncle Atlas and bore him

seven daughters, the *Hesperides (who are thus identified with the seven Atlantids or Pleiades). Since the Greeks used the same word (*μηλα*) for both sheep and apples, it is suggested here that the golden apples associated with the *Hesperides were really no more than sheep. The other story, which is equally facile, explains how the evening star came to be called Hesperus. Atlas, a notable astronomer and the ruler of western lands in Africa near the Ocean, had a number of sons including Hesperus, who was exceptional for his piety, justice towards his subjects and his love for his fellow human beings. One night, after he had climbed to the peak of Mount Atlas to make astronomical observations, he was snatched away by raging winds and never seen again; and the people of the time so regretted his loss that they gave his name to the brightest star in the heavens. In one late source, Hesperus himself is said to have been the father of the Hesperides. *See* Heosphorus. [Diodorus 3.60.2-3, 4.27.1-2; Homer *Il* 22.317-8; Servius on *Aen* 1.530]

Hestia (*Ἑστία*) (Latin 'Vesta'). As the eldest child of Cronus and Rhea, Hestia was the first of their children to be swallowed by Cronus and the last to be disgorged. Although Poseidon and Apollo wanted to marry her, she refused them and, placing her hand on the head of Zeus, swore to remain a virgin forever; instead of marriage, Zeus then offered her a place of honour at the centre of the home and community as goddess of the hearth. Alternatively Zeus offered her the choice of whatever she wanted after the defeat of the Titans, and she asked to remain a virgin and that she should be honoured first at sacrifices. She was usually named before the other gods in prayers, and often in oaths too, and received the first offerings in libations and sacrifices, a practice reflected in the proverbial phrase 'beginning from Hestia' (for a good beginning).

Despite her precedence in cult, she hardly appeared in mythical tales because her position at the hearth meant that she always remained at home. According to a late story in Ovid, Priapus once set out to rape her while she was asleep after a feast, but she was awakened just in time by the braying of an ass. She is sometimes shown in vase-paintings as one of the deities who attended the wedding of Peleus and Thetis. [schol Aristophanes *Wasps* 844; Hesiod *Theog* 453-4; *Homeric Hymn Aphrodite* 21-32; *Homeric Hymn Hestia*] *See* Vesta.

Hierax (*Ἱέραξ*). **1.** A good man who lived in the land of the Mariandynians in the north-western corner of Asia Minor. When Poseidon punished the Trojans for their neglect of his cult by causing their crops to die and sending a sea-monster against them, they appealed to Hierax for help and he supplied them with grain and other food. Poseidon was so angry that he turned him into a hawk (*hierax*), a bird of opposite character to his real nature; for it is hated by its fellow-birds rather than loved as Hierax was, and it kills its fellow-creatures instead of coming to their aid. [Antoninus 3] **2.** Someone who revealed that Hermes was planning to steal *Io after she was transformed into a cow, and thus prevented the god from catching *Argus Panoptes, who was her guardian, unawares; he may have been punished for his indiscretion by being turned into a hawk like Hierax (1). [Apollodorus 2.1.3]

Himerus (*Ἥμερος*). The personification of amorous yearning, he was the associate of *Eros and Pothos, and a member of Aphrodite's retinue. According to Hesiod, he and the Charites (Graces) lived on Olympus with the Muses, and he and Eros accompanied Aphrodite when she first went to join the gods. [Hesiod *Theog* 64, 201-2]

Hippe (*Ἥπιπη*). The daughter of Chiron and the nymph Chariclo. She was reared on Mount Pelion in Thessaly, and devoted herself to hunting until she was seduced by Aeolus and became pregnant. As the time for the birth approached, she fled into the forest, and, when her father came in search of her, she prayed to the gods that he should remain ignorant of her

disgrace. After she had given birth to a daughter, Melanippe, the gods turned her into a mare and then placed her in the heavens as the constellation Equus (the Horse; now known as Pegasus). It was also said that Hippe was turned into a horse because she had used her powers as a seer to betray the secrets of the gods to mortals, or that Artemis transformed her because she had stopped hunting and no longer honoured the goddess. [Eratosthenes 18; Hyginus *Astr* 2.18] *See Constellation 13*.

Hippocamp (*Ἰππόκαμπος*). A mythical sea-animal with the fore-quarters of a horse and the tail of a fish. They were often portrayed in the decorative arts carrying Nereids through the sea. [Philostratus *Imag* 1.8; Strabo 8.7.2]

Hippocoon (*Ἰπποκόων*). A son of Oebalus, king of Sparta, by Anteia, or his illegitimate son by Nicostrate, Hippocoon was the brother or half-brother of *Tyndareus and Icarius. After the death of Oebalus, he expelled Tyndareus with the aid of his twelve (or twenty) sons and seized the Spartan throne. It was generally said that he expelled Icarius at the same time, but, in some accounts, Icarius helped Hippocoon to expel Tyndareus and remained in Sparta. Hippocoon's position was secure until his sons offended Heracles by killing his cousin *Oeonus, son of Licymnius. It was also said that Hippocoon had angered Heracles by refusing to purify him for the murder of Iphitus, or by supporting Neleus when Heracles made war on him. In any event, Heracles, aided by Cepheus and his twenty sons, killed Hippocoon and his sons and restored Tyndareus to the Spartan throne. Heracles' settlement of the Spartan succession meant that the Heraclids could later claim the throne for themselves. [Apollodorus 2.7.3, 3.10.4-5; Diodorus 4.33.5-6; schol Homer *Il* 2.581; Pausanias 2.18.6, 3.15.3-5] (**J**)

Hippocrene (*Ἰπποκρήνη* – 'horse-spring'). An ice-cold spring on Mount Helicon in Boeotia. It is mentioned by Hesiod as one of the springs in which the Heliconian Muses used to bathe, and, because the poet received his poetic inspiration from the Muses nearby, Hippocrene came to be associated with poetic inspiration. The familiar idea that a poet could be inspired by drinking from its waters was a recurrent theme in ancient epigrams. The Hellenistic poet Aratus suggested that the constellation Equus represented the horse that created the spring by stamping the ground with its hoof. Not long afterwards, this horse came to be identified with Pegasus, and the story of the spring's origin was woven into the story of Pegasus' association with Bellerophon, for it was said that Pegasus carried Bellerophon back to Greece after his adventures in Asia Minor, and that he created the spring with a stamp of his hoof because he or his master was thirsty after the journey. According to another tale, the daughters of Pierus once challenged the Muses to a singing contest, and the Muses sang so sweetly that even inanimate nature was affected and Mount Helicon rose up into the air in delight, until Pegasus, at the order of Poseidon, restrained it by stamping the summit with his hoof. Although it is not explicitly stated in the surviving summary, it can be assumed that this would have caused the spring to gush forth. According to one tradition, Teiresias was blinded because he saw Athena naked as she was bathing in Hippocrene in the midday heat. [Antoninus 9; Aratus 216-24; Avienus 485-502; Callimachus *Hymn* 5.70-81; Hesiod *Theog* 1-8 and schol 2; Ovid *Met* 5. 253-67] *See Constellation 13*.

Hippodameia (*Ἰπποδάμεια*). **1.** Daughter of *Oenomaus, king of Pisa in the north-western Peloponnese, and Sterope. Her father wanted to prevent her from marrying, either because he had been told by an oracle that he would be killed by his son-in-law or because he was in love with her himself, so he compelled her suitors to compete with him in a chariot-race and killed them when he overtook them. When *Pelops came to seek her hand, she fell in love with him and persuaded *Myrtilus, the charioteer of Oenomaus, to sabotage her father's chariot and so

cause his death, but, soon afterwards, Myrtilus tried to rape her and was killed in his turn by Pelops. For details and variants, *see* Myrtilus. After the death of Oenomaus, Pelops married Hippodameia and took over her father's kingdom. To show her gratitude to Hera for her marriage, Hippodameia founded the Heraea, the women's games at Olympia. She bore many children to Pelops including Atreus, Thyestes and Pittheus. Pelops also had a son Chrysippus by another woman, which led to conflict within the family, for, when Pelops seemed to favour him above his legitimate sons, Atreus and Thyestes killed him at the urging of their mother. When Pelops learned of it, he banished the murderers and, in some late accounts, he blamed Hippodameia for the murder, causing her to kill herself or to go into exile to the Argive city of Midea. In another version, Hippodameia herself was the murderer of Chrysippus when her sons were reluctant to become involved. She used the sword of *Laius, who was staying with Pelops at the time, and left the sword in the body, hoping to cast the blame on Laius, but Chrysippus revealed the truth before he died, and Hippodameia was banished. [Apollodorus *Ep* 2.4-10; Diodorus 4.73; schol Homer *Il* 2.105; Hyginus 85, 243; Pausanias 6.20.7; Pherecydes fr 37] **(L.) 2.** Daughter of Adrastus or Butes, she was the wife of Pirithous, king of the Lapiths in Thessaly, and the mother of Polypoetes. After drinking to excess at her wedding feast, the Centaurs tried to rape her and other guests, and so provoked the conflict between the Lapiths and the Centaurs. [Diodorus 4.63.1, 4.70; Homer *Il* 2.740-4] **3.** The wife of Amyntor and mother of Phoenix. [Homer *Il* 9.447-65]

Hippolyte (*Ἰππολύτη*). **1.** Daughter of Ares and Otrere, she was the queen of the *Amazons whose belt (or 'girdle') was seized by Heracles in his ninth *labour. **2.** The Amazon abducted by Theseus, who was also known as *Antiope. [Plutarch *Thes* 27] **3.** A name for the Amazon who led the invasion of Attica after one of her company was abducted by Theseus. According to Pausanias, Hippolyte was the sister of Antiope, the Amazon who had been abducted, and she escaped to Megara with a few of her companions after the invaders were defeated by Theseus. She died of grief in Megara, and her grave was marked by a memorial shaped like an Amazon's shield. [Apollodorus *Ep* 5.2; Pausanias 1.41.7] **4.** An Amazon who was accidentally killed by her sister *Penthesilea, sometimes wrongly identified with the Hippolyte (3). [Apollodorus *Ep* 5.1] **5.** The wife of Acastus, also known as *Astydamia, who tried to cause the death of Peleus. [Pindar *Nem* 4.54-60]

Hippolytus (*Ἰππόλυτος*). Son of Theseus, king of Athens, and the Amazon Antiope or Hippolyte. When Theseus put the Amazon aside to marry Phaedra, he sent Hippolytus to Troezen to be reared by Pittheus, his maternal grandfather. Hippolytus would have succeeded Pittheus as ruler of Troezen if he had not met an early death as the result of his stepmother's passion for him. Euripides' *Hippolytus* (the poet's second play on that theme) offers the fullest surviving account of this tragic story. Hippolytus, who was a devotee of the virgin goddess Artemis, lived a chaste and austere life and spent most of his time hunting in the wilds. His scorn for the gifts of love angered Aphrodite, who contrived that Phaedra should fall in love with him when he visited Athens to be initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries. Although Phaedra was ashamed of her passion, she was unable to resist it and resolved to kill herself; in an attempt to prevent this, her nurse informed Hippolytus of Phaedra's love for him without forewarning her. In a fit of righteous indignation, Hippolytus scorned Phaedra and threatened to inform her husband. To save her honour and protect her children, Phaedra committed suicide, leaving a note accusing Hippolytus of having tried to seduce her. When Theseus confronted Hippolytus with the letter, he denied the accusation without betraying Phaedra's secret passion. Refusing to believe his son's protestations of innocence, Theseus not only exiled him but cursed him to his father Poseidon, who had promised him the fulfilment of three curses; as Hippolytus was driving his chariot along the shore Poseidon sent

a bull from the sea to panic his horses; he was thrown from his chariot and dragged along by the reins. As the fatally wounded Hippolytus was being brought to the palace, Theseus was finally informed of the truth by Artemis, and he begged his dying son's forgiveness.

Euripides' play presents Phaedra in an unusually sympathetic light, and correspondingly, Hippolytus as an unappealing character who views women with scorn and shows little understanding for Phaedra's position. In the traditional version (and in Euripides' earlier play on the theme, now lost) Phaedra may have been the villain of the story and Hippolytus a character of greater nobility; as in a familiar *motif* she may have made a direct attempt to seduce him, and would then have slandered him to Theseus when her proposition was rejected. In a version preserved by the Hellenistic mythographer Asclepiades she crossed over to Troezen in an attempt to seduce him, and committed suicide after his death when the falsity of her accusation against him was brought to light; in Seneca's play, she felt remorse after her stepson's death and revealed the truth to Theseus before taking her own life.

There was a shrine to Hippolytus at Troezen and the girls there used to dedicate a lock of hair to him before their marriage. According to Pausanias, the people there denied that he had ever died, claiming instead that the gods had transferred him to the heavens as the constellation Auriga ('Charioteer'). Nevertheless, the usual story of his death was firmly established in local folklore, and visitors were shown the twisted wild olive tree by the shore which had snagged his reins causing his chariot to overturn, and the place where Phaedra used to spy on him while he was exercising. In her frustration, she had torn at the leaves of a myrtle tree there, which continued to grow with perforated leaves.

According to an early epic, the *Naupactia*, Hippolytus was raised from the dead by Asclepius, who presumably pitied him for his undeserved death. There was a stone tablet at Asclepius' shrine at Epidaurus which recorded that Hippolytus had dedicated twenty horses to Asclepius, evidently in gratitude for his revival. Hippolytus was later identified with a minor Italian god, *Virbius, for it was said that he was so embittered after he was brought to life again that he went to settle in Italy at Aricia, where Virbius was worshipped in association with Diana (the Roman equivalent of Artemis); he dedicated a grove there to the goddess from which all horses were excluded. *See Constellation 19.*

Hippomedon (*Ἰππομέδων*). Son of Aristomachus or Talaus, and so a nephew or brother of *Adrastus, king of Argos. Adrastus appointed him as one of the seven Theban champions in the Theban War; *see Seven against Thebes*. He was stationed outside the Oncaidian gate during the attack on Thebes and was killed by Hyperbius or Ismarus. His son Polydorus was one of the *Epigoni. The foundations of his house could be seen on the crest of Mount Pontinos near Lerna. [Aeschylus *Seven* 486-516; Apollodorus 3.6.3-8; Pausanias 2.36.8]

Hippomenes (*Ἰππομένης*). Son of Megareus and Merope, or of Ares; he was the husband of Atalanta according to the Boeotian tradition. He won her by the trick of the golden apples in the running race for her hand; the couple were subsequently transformed into lions. [Apollodorus 3.9.2] *See Atalanta.*

Hippotes (*Ἰππότης*). **1.** The father of Aeolus, keeper of the winds. [Apollonius 4.778] **2.** The son and successor of Creon, king of Corinth. He demanded that Medea should be returned from Athens after she had caused the death of his father and his sister Glauce, but she was granted a trial at Athens and cleared of the charges. In some accounts, it was he, rather than Creon as was generally believed, who welcomed Jason and Medea to Corinth and offered his daughter to Jason with fatal consequences for himself. [Diodorus 4.55.5-6] **3.** Son of Phylas a Leipephile; one of the *Heraclids. While the Heraclids were at Naupactus preparing for their final invasion of the Peloponnese, Carnus, a prophet of Apollo from Acarnania, appeared

among them and delivered oracles in a prophetic frenzy. Because he was taken for a sorcerer sent by the Peloponnesians, Hippotes hurled a javelin at him and killed him. Angered by the murder of his prophet, Apollo caused the destruction of the Heraclids' ships and a famine, and, when the Delphic oracle was consulted, its advice was that Hippotes should be exiled for ten years. Because he had to live a wandering life, he called his son Aletes ('Wanderer'). [Apollodorus 2.8.3; Conon 26; Pausanias 3.13.4]

Homonoia (Ὁμόνοια). The personification of Concord. There was an altar to her at Olympia. [Pausanias 5.14.9]

Honey-thieves. The subject of a Hellenistic transformation story. The Cretan cave in which Rhea had given birth to Zeus was inhabited by the sacred bees that had nourished the young god with their honey. Although entry was forbidden to everyone, god and mortal alike, four men named Laius, Celeus, Cerberus and Aegolius once sheathed themselves in bronze armour and entered the cave in the hope of stealing large quantities of honey. But when they saw the swaddling-clothes of Zeus, their armour shattered; Zeus caused a clap of thunder and would have struck them with a thunderbolt if he had not been restrained by the Moirae (Fates) and Themis, who warned him that nothing was allowed to die in that holy place. So Zeus transformed them into birds instead, a thrush (*laios*), a green woodpecker (*celeos*), a *kerberos* and an *aigialos* (probably a form of owl). These were birds of good omen because the thieves had seen Zeus at the time of his birth. [Antoninus 19]

Horae (Ὥραι). The Seasons, daughters of Zeus and Themis. Although estimates of their number varied from two to four, it was usually thought that there were three Horae, representing spring, summer and autumn, and in art they were often portrayed bearing the attributes of their respective seasons; they were also closely associated with times of growth and fertility. As spirits who represented the orderly cycle of nature, their dominion was sometimes thought to extend beyond the purely natural sphere, to cover good order in human society and the civic virtues that favoured successful agriculture. This is reflected in their names in Hesiod's *Theogony*: Eirene ('Peace'), Eunomia ('Good Order') and Dike ('Justice'). By contrast, the cultic names of the two Horae at Athens, Carpo ('Fruit') and Thallo ('Sprouting') were purely agricultural in their implications. Because of their association with the charms of nature and of spring in particular, it is understandable that they should have played a similar role to the Charites ('Graces') as dispensers of beauty and attendants of Aphrodite, and as dancers at the assemblies of the gods. Thus a *Homeric Hymn* tells how they welcomed the newly-born Aphrodite on her arrival at Cyprus and adorned her with divine robes and fine jewellery before taking her up to Olympus, and, in Hesiod's *Works and Days*, they crowned the newly-created Pandora with spring flowers. They have a distinctive role in the *Iliad* as the gate-keepers of Olympus who determine whether the barriers of thick cloud should be opened or kept shut, and, by a natural extension, they were once said to have unyoked and stabled the horses of Hera after admitting Hera and Athena, and to have parked her chariot by the entrance wall. According to Pindar, they and Gaia reared the young *Aristaeus. [Hesiod *Theog* 901-3, *WD* 74-5; Homer *Il* 5.748-51, 8.393-5, 432-5; *Homeric Hymn Aphrodite*; Pausanias 9.35.1; Pindar *Paean* 1.6-9, *Pyth* 9.59-63]

Horatii. These were three brothers in the legends of early Rome who fought the three Curatii, brothers from Alba Longa. The three Curatii and two Horatii were killed, but Horatia, the sister of the Roman team, loved one of the Curatii, and wept at his death. The surviving Horatius promptly killed her when he saw this, was tried and acquitted on 'appeal to the people'. [Livy 1.24ff]

Horatius Cocles. A later member of the Horatian family who famously defended the bridge against the invading Etruscans under Porsenna. He held back the invaders while the wooden bridge was destroyed behind him, and then, despite his wounds, dived into the Tiber and swam across, safely according to Livy, but in Polybius' version he drowned. [Livy 2.10; Polybius 6.55]

Hundred-handers (*Ἑκατόγχειρες*, Latin 'Centimani'). These were Cottus, Briareus and Gyes, three primordial monsters who each had fifty heads and a hundred arms. According to Hesiod, they were the third group of children to be born to *Uranus and Gaia, after the Titans and Cyclopes; their father, who hated them from the first, hid them away in the earth to prevent from coming to the light. There is no indication in Hesiod's *Theogony* that the freeing of the Titans by Cronus led to the release of the Hecatoncheires as well, and they are next mentioned when Zeus releases them on the advice of Gaia to help him in his war against the Titans. After they had been reinvigorated with nectar and ambrosia, they played a crucial role in the defeat of the Titans, for they hurled rocks at them with their hundred hands, and then bound them and consigned them to Tartarus. Since Zeus told them to guard the Titans in Tartarus, or simply sent them back again, there was no occasion for them to appear in other myths (except, perhaps, for *Briareus, who had connections with the sea and was said to have been summoned by *Thetis to quell a threatened revolt against Zeus).

In the rather different account of the earliest history of the gods by Apollodorus, the Hecatoncheires and Cyclopes were the first sets of children to be born to Uranus and Ge (Gaia), and Cronus bound them up and consigned them to Tartarus. It was Ge's anger at the loss of these children that provoked her to incite Cronus and the Titans against Uranus. Although the Hecatoncheires and Cyclopes were then released by the Titans, Cronus re-imprisoned them and they remained in Tartarus under the guard of Campe until Zeus released them for the war against the Titans. [Apollodorus 1.1.1-2.1; Hesiod *Theog* 147-58, 617-735] *See Titanomachy.*

Hyacinths (*Ἑκινθίδες*). The cult offered to the heroines of that name at Athens was explained by two different stories. According to one, they were the three daughters of Erechtheus, king of Athens. During his war with the Eleusinians, Erechtheus was advised by the Delphic oracle that he should sacrifice one of his daughters if the city was to be saved, and, when he did so, his surviving daughters took their own lives. The three were honoured after their death as the Hyacinthides, taking their name from the village where the sacrifice was offered. In the other account, the Hyacinthides were the four daughters of a certain Hyacinthus who had emigrated from Sparta. When the Athenians were afflicted by a famine and a plague during their war with Minos they sacrificed the four maidens on the grave of Geraestus the Cyclops in obedience to an ancient oracle, but without effect. [Apollodorus 3.15.8] *See Aegaeus.*

Hyacinthus (*Ἑκινθος*). **1.** Son of Amyclas, king of Sparta, and Diomedes, or of Oebalus, another Spartan king, or of Pierus, son of Magnes, and the Muse Cleio. The beautiful youth aroused the love of Apollo, who caused his death in a tragic accident. As they were exercising together, the god threw a discus which rebounded from a rock, or was blown aside by the wind, and killed Hyacinthus. Some later authors suggested that Zephyr ('West Wind') or Boreas ('North Wind') was a rival for the youth's love and blew the discus aside out of jealousy. Apollo caused a hyacinth flower to spring up from the blood of his dead favourite, and this accounted for the flower's red petals and the AIAI markings on them, which could be read as meaning 'ah me!' in Greek, and were thus as an expression of the god's grief. This was a different plant from the modern hyacinth and may have been a form of iris. In other

accounts, the flower sprang from the ashes of Hyacinthus, or he was transformed into it. There was also a tradition that Thamyris had been his lover. Hyacinthus was honoured in cult at Amyclae and elsewhere in Dorian Greece, and his pre-Indo-European name suggests that his cult was of early origin. [Apollodorus 1.3.3, 3.10.3; Euripides *Helen* 1469-73; Lucian *Dialogues of Gods* 16; Ovid *Met* 10.162-219; Pausanias 3.1.3, 3.19.5; Servius and Philargyrius on *Eclogue* 3.63] **2.** A Spartan who was said to have been the father of the *Hyacinthides.

Hyades (Ἰάδεις). See Constellation **22b**.

Hydra (Ἰδρα). A general term for a water-snake. The Lernean hydra, a many-headed monster who grew fresh heads if one were cut off, was the object of the second *labour of Heracles. See Constellation **39**.

Hygeia (Ἰγεία). Daughter of Asclepius and Epione. Asclepius had two sons, Podalirius and Machaon, who belonged to heroic mythology, and several children who were personifications of various concepts associated with healing. As the personification of health itself, the end achieved by the process that her father presided over as a healing god, Hygeia was the most important figure in the second group, and she was thus honoured as a partner of her father rather than a mere auxiliary. In statues she was usually shown standing, either on her own or beside the seated Asclepius, as she offered food from a small bowl to the sacred snake associated with her father's cult. [Aeschylus *Eum* 522; Pindar *Pyth* 3.14; Pausanias 1.23.5, 31.5, 34.2, 2.4.6, 3.22.9, 8.28]

Hylas (Ἰλάς). Son of Theiodamas, a Dryopian, and Menodice; he was loved by Heracles, who abducted him after killing his father in central Greece. Heracles took Hylas with him when he joined the Argonauts, but Hylas disappeared during the outward voyage. This caused Heracles to be left behind, for when the Argonauts called in at Mysia before entering the Black Sea, Hylas was sent to fetch water from a spring, and the nymph of the spring was so enchanted by his youthful beauty that she pulled him in. Polyphemus, one of the Argonauts, heard him cry out and alerted Heracles, but, although the two of them called his name and searched high and low, he was nowhere to be found; while they were engaged in the search, the Argonauts sailed away without noticing their absence. Later, after the Argonauts had discovered that the three were missing, the sea-god Glaucus appeared by their ship and told them that it was the will of the gods that Heracles and Polyphemus should be left behind, and that the nymph had taken Hylas as her husband. In Theocritus' account, which makes no mention of Polyphemus, Hylas was pulled into the spring by three nymphs, and he called out three times from beneath the water in response to the shouts of Heracles. This explained a local rite in which the participants roamed the hills searching for Hylas until they arrived at a particular spring, where they called his name three times and received an echo in response. [Antoninus 26; Apollodorus 1.9.19; Apollonius 1.1207-325; Strabo 12.4.3; Theocritus 13]

Hyllus (Ἰλλος). **1.** The eldest son of *Heracles by his second wife Deianira. He was born in his mother's native city of Calydon and later accompanied his parents to the court of *Ceyx at Trachis. After the death of Heracles, Ceyx was unable to defend Hyllus and the other Heraclids from Eurystheus, and they fled to Athens, closely pursued by Eurystheus. The Athenians under Theseus (or his son Demophon) refused to hand them over, and Eurystheus was defeated in the ensuing conflict. Hyllus played a leading part in the fighting, and in some sources he is said to have killed Eurystheus, although others gave the credit to the ageing *Iolaus. In the version recorded by Apollodorus, Eurystheus fled in a chariot towards the

Peloponnese after his sons were killed in battle, but Hyllus set off in pursuit and killed him as he was passing the Scironian Rocks in the Megarid; he delivered the head of Eurystheus to *Alcmena, the mother of Heracles, who gouged out his eyes with weaving pins.

Soon afterwards, Hyllus and the *Heraclids invaded the Peloponnese to claim their father's inheritance, but they withdrew in the following year because they were warned by a plague that the gods were displeased by their action. They settled at Marathon and Hyllus married *Iole, as his father had ordered before his death. When Hyllus consulted the Delphic oracle about returning to the Peloponnese, he was told that the Heraclids should await the third harvest and then return. Taking this to mean the third year, Hyllus waited until the appropriate time and then led the Heraclids and their Dorian allies towards the Peloponnese. When they arrived at the Isthmus of Corinth, they were confronted by a Peloponnesian army under the command of Echemus, king of Tegea, and it was decided that the issue should be settled by single combat between the two commanders. Hyllus was killed despite the apparently favourable oracle, and the Heraclids were forced to withdraw, for it turned out that Hyllus had misinterpreted the oracle, which had meant the third generation of men rather than the third harvest of the crops. The successful invasion was finally led by his great-grandsons.

In a slightly different account recorded by Herodotus, Hyllus was confronted by Echemus when he led the first invasion of the Peloponnese shortly after the death of Eurystheus. Hyllus himself suggested the single combat to avoid unnecessary bloodshed, and the Heraclids swore that they would withdraw and make no attack on the Peloponnese for a hundred years if Hyllus were defeated.

The alliance between the family of Heracles and the Dorians, which was first established when Heracles helped Aegimius, king of the Dorians, in a war against the Lapiths, was confirmed when Aegimius adopted Hyllus as his son after the death of Heracles. He and the two natural sons of Aegimius, Pamphylus and Dymas, were said to have given their names to the three Dorian tribes, the Hylleis, the Pamphyloi and the Dymanes. [Apollodorus 3.8.1-2; Diodorus 4.57.2-58.4; Euripides *Heraclidae*; Herodotus 9.26; Pausanias 1.41.3, 8.5.1] **2.** A son of Heracles by Melite, a nymph whom he seduced in the land of the Phaeacians (here identified with Corcyra, now Corfu) when he went there to seek purification for the murder of his children. When Hyllus came of age, he crossed over to the mainland and founded the kingdom of the Hylleians in Illyria. [Apollonius 4.534-551] **3.** A son of the earth who gave his name to the river Hyllus in Lydia; his gigantic bones were later exposed by a storm. According to a local tradition, Heracles named his son Hyllus after the river, which he had come to know while he was serving Omphale in Asia Minor. [Pausanias 1.35.6]

Hymenaeus (*Ἵμέναιος*). The god who presided over weddings, and a personification of the wedding-song or *hymenaios*, which derived its name from the invocation *Hymen O Hymenaie*. It was usually said that he was a son of one of the Muses by Apollo, Magnes or Pierus, or else, in some Latin sources, that he was a son of Dionysus and Aphrodite. Alternatively, he was a mortal who came to be invoked in wedding-songs because he died on his wedding-day or during his wedding-night, or prematurely, or because he died (or merely lost his voice) while he was singing at the wedding-feast of Dionysus; in writings ascribed to Orpheus, Asclepius was said to have raised him from the dead. According to an Athenian tale, he came to be remembered for happier reasons: Hymenaeus fell in love with a girl of noble birth, and, since there was no prospect of a marriage, he used to follow her around at a distance, delighting in her beauty; one day, as the girl and her companions were celebrating the rites of Demeter at Eleusis, they were abducted by pirates, and Hymenaeus was abducted at the same time because he was close by; he later killed the pirates while they were asleep, made his way back to Athens, and extracted a promise from the citizens that he would be allowed to marry his beloved if he restored the abducted girls to them. Because this marriage

turned out to be a happy one, the Athenians decided to invoke the name of Hymenaeus in their marriage-songs. He was usually portrayed as a tall, effeminate youth carrying a bridal torch and wreath. The only stories associated with him as a god were those which attributed various lovers to him, such as Apollo, Thamyris or Hesperus. [Antoninus 23; Apollodorus 3.10.3; Servius on *Aen* 1.651, 4.127; Vat Myth 1.75]

Hyperboreans (Ἵπερβόρειοι). A legendary people who lived in the far north, 'beyond the north wind'. As with the Ethiopians and others who lived at the edges of the earth, it was supposed that they were a just and peace-loving people who were close to the gods and devoted most of their time to festivals and feasting. According to Pindar, they were unaffected by illness and age, and remained aloof from toil and conflict. In historical times, sacred offerings wrapped in wheat-straw which were supposed to have come from the Hyperboreans used to be sent to the shrine of Apollo at Delos. Herodotus describes how these offerings used to pass from Scythia to Dodona in north-eastern Greece and then from place to place within Greece; but their route cannot be traced beyond Scythia and their origin remains a mystery. It was said that they were conveyed directly to Delos by two Hyperborean maidens, Hyperoche and Laodice, on the first occasion, but that, when the pair failed to return, the Hyperboreans decided that it would be safer to send them by relay in the future. The tomb of the two maidens could be seen on Delos, and the young people of the island used to lay locks of their hair on it before they married.

Apollo's special association with the Hyperboreans was said to have dated from the time of his birth. They sent Hyperoche and Laodice to Delos to fulfil a vow that they would give thank-offerings to Eileithyia, the goddess of childbirth, if Leto were granted an easy labour when she gave birth to Apollo and Artemis on the island. (Two other Hyperborean maidens, Arge and Opis, were said to have travelled there at the time of the birth.) According to the lyric poet Alcaeus, Apollo flew to the land of the Hyperboreans after his birth in a chariot drawn by swans, and remained there for a year laying down laws for the Hyperboreans before he went to Delphi, and it was said that he used to spend the winter with them every year. He also took refuge with them for a year after killing the Cyclopes, and some said that amber was formed from the tears shed by him during his exile. The second of the mythical temples of Apollo at Delphi, which was constructed by bees from bee's wax and feathers, was sent by him to the land of the Hyperboreans. When the Gauls attacked Delphi in 279 BC, two ghostly Hyperboreans fought at the side of the Delphians. Their names, Hyperochus and Laodocus, were evidently based on those of the two maidens at Delos.

Two mythical heroes were sometimes said to have penetrated to the land of the Hyperboreans. According to Pindar, Perseus went there, presumably when he was on his way to the Gorgons, and found them sacrificing hecatombs of asses to Apollo. In some accounts, Heracles had to travel to their northern land (rather than to the far west) to fetch the apples of the Hesperides for his eleventh *Labour; they provided him with the olive-spray which was used for the victor's crown at the Olympic Games. [Apollodorus 2.5.11; Apollonius 4.611-8; Eratosthenes 29; Herodotus 4.13, 4.32-6; Himerius *Orat* 48.10-11; Hyginus *Astr* 2.15; Pausanias 1.4.4, 5.7.7, 10.5.4-5; Pindar *Ol* 3.13-16, *Pyth* 10.29-48]

Hyperion (Ἵπερίων). One of the Titans, a son of Uranus and Gaia. He married his sister Theia (or Euryphaessa) who bore the three great luminaries of the sky to him: Helios ('Sun'), Selene ('Moon') and Eos ('Dawn'). In the Homeric epics in particular, Hyperion was also an epithet of Helios. [Hesiod *Theog* 134, 371-4; Homer *Il* 8.480; *Homeric Hymn Helios* 4-7]

Hypermestra (Ἵπερμήστρα). **1.** The eldest daughter of *Danaus. When the other Danaids killed their husbands, the sons of Aegyptus, on their wedding-night in accordance with their

father's orders, Hypermestra alone spared her husband, *Lynceus, because she had fallen in love with him or because he respected her virginity. After he had escaped from Argos, the two of them lit beacons to show one another that they were safe. Danaus was angered by Hypermestra's disobedience and imprisoned her. According to a local tradition, he even brought her to trial, alleging that she had put him in danger by allowing Lynceus to live, and that she had made the disgrace of the murder worse for her sisters and himself by refusing to take part in it, but she was acquitted by the citizens of Argos, and dedicated a statue of Aphrodite in the temple of Apollo in the city. Danaus finally relented and agreed to her union with Lynceus, and she bore a son, Abas, to her husband, so ensuring the continuation of the Danaid line in Argos. [Apollodorus 2.1.5; Ovid *Heroides* 14; Pausanias 2.19.6, 2.25.4] **2.** Daughter of Thestius and Eurythemis, and sister of Leda; the wife of Oicles, an Argive descended from Melampus, and the mother of the seer Melampus. She was buried in Argos next to her Danaid namesake. [Apollodorus 1.7.10; Pausanias 2.21.2] **3.** Another name for *Mestra. [Antoninus 17]

Hypnos (Ἵπνός) (Latin 'Somnus'). The personification of Sleep, he was a son of Nyx ('Night') and the brother of Thanatos ('Death'). According to Hesiod, he and Thanatos live near their mother at the ends of the earth, in a ghostly region where the Sun never shines on them with his rays; he roams peacefully over the earth and sea, and is kind to mortals, in contrast to his iron-hearted brother. He appears in two episodes in the *Iliad*. In one, Hera visited him in Lemnos because she wanted him to lull Zeus to sleep, and offered him a golden throne and foot-stool if he would do so. He was initially reluctant, because, when he had performed this service for her previously to allow her to send storms against Heracles, he would have been hurled from heaven into the deep, never to be seen again, if he had not taken refuge with his mother Nyx, who was fearsome even to Zeus; but he yielded to Hera's will when she offered him Pasiphae, one of the Charites (Graces) as a wife. In the second passage, he and Thanatos conveyed the dead Sarpedon to his Lycian homeland at the order of Zeus. Poets generally pictured Hypnos as a winged youth, rather like Eros, as did the vase-painters, who liked to portray him in the latter episode from the *Iliad*, and also hovering over the sleeping *Alcyoneus as Heracles crept forward to kill him. He made virtually no appearance in myth after Homer. According to Licymnius, a lyric poet of the fifth century BC, Hypnos fell in love with Endymion and caused him to sleep with his eyes open so as to allow him to gaze into them without interruption.

Ovid paints a poetic picture of his cave near the land of the Cimmerians where he slept on an ebony couch surrounded by empty dreams. In Latin sources as *Somnus he is said to have induced sleep by touching people with a branch dripping with the dew of Lethe ('Forgetfulness'), or by poring a sleep-inducing fluid onto them from a horn, or simply by the beating of his wings. [Athenaeus 546c; Hesiod *Theog* 211-12, 750-66; Homer *Il* 14.230-360, 16.666-84; Ovid *Met* 11.692ff; Silius Italicus 10.351-6; Vergil *Aen* 5.854-61] *See* Somnus.

Hypsipyle (Ἵψιπύλη). Daughter of Thoas, king of Lemnos, and Myrina. Because the women of Lemnos failed to honour Aphrodite, the goddess afflicted them with an evil smell, and their husbands slept with Thracian slave-women instead. When the Lemnian women responded to this slight by killing all the men on the island, Hypsipyle shrank from killing her father, and either hid him away in the palace or sent him to sea surreptitiously in a ship or a chest; *see* Thoas. As a result of these events, Hypsipyle was queen of an island inhabited only by women when the *Argonauts called in at Lemnos during their outward journey. The Lemnian women thought that they were being attacked by raiders from Thrace and went down to the shore fully armed under the command of Hypsipyle, who had donned her father's armour; but the herald Aethalides persuaded her that the Argonauts' intentions were friendly and she

hurriedly convened an assembly. Although she initially argued that the Argonauts should be kept outside the walls, the women decided that they needed men and children to ensure their safety in the longer term and resolved to invite the Argonauts into their homes. To explain the absence of men, Hypsipyle told Jason that the Lemnian women had refused to accept them back from Thrace because they had been favouring Thracian captives above themselves, and that they had left for Thrace taking all the male children with them. Jason stayed in the palace with Hypsipyle and fathered two sons by her, Euneus, who is mentioned in the *Iliad*, and Thoas (also named as Nebrophonus or Deipylus). The Argonauts remained with the Lemnian women until Heracles finally lost patience and persuaded them to continue their voyage.

The Lemnian woman eventually discovered that Hypsipyle had spared her father, and to punish her sold her into slavery on the mainland, or she fled when they tried to kill her, but was then captured by pirates who sold her into slavery. In either case, she came to be purchased by Lycurgus, king of Nemea in the north-eastern Peloponnese, and acted as nursemaid to his young son, *Opheltes. As *Adrastus and the seven Argive champions were passing through Nemea on their way to Thebes, they met Hypsipyle and asked her where they could find water. So she placed Opheltes on a patch of wild parsley and showed them the way to a neighbouring spring, but, on her return, she found that the child had been killed by a snake. Some said that Lycurgus had told her never to place his son on the ground because an oracle had warned him that it was unsafe to do so until the child could walk. In his distress, Lycurgus wanted to kill Hypsipyle, but Tydeus held him off with his drawn sword while Adrastus and Amphiaraus interceded on her behalf. Alternatively Eurydice, the wife of Lycurgus, imprisoned her, but the seer Amphiaraus revealed the place of her imprisonment to her sons Euneus and Thoas, who had called in at Nemea while searching for their mother, they rescued her and took her back to Lemnos. [Apollodorus 1.9.17, 3.6.4; Apollonius 1.607-908; Hyginus 15, 74; Pindar *Nem*]

Hyrieus (*Ἵριεύς*). Son of Poseidon and Alcyone, daughter of Atlas; the founder of Hyria on the coast of Boeotia. He once entertained Zeus, Poseidon and Hermes at his palace, and, when they offered him the choice of whatever he wished, he said that he would like to have a child although he was unmarried. So they took the hide of a bull that he had sacrificed to them and urinated into it, and then told him to bury it in the ground; *Orion was subsequently born from it (his name is a form of 'Urion'). According to one tradition, Lycus and Nycteus were his sons by the nymph Clonia. For his treasure house and his part in the death of Agamedes, *see* Agamedes. [Apollodorus 3.10.1; Hyginus 195; Ovid *Fasti* 5.499-54; Pausanias 9.37.3]

Hyrtaeus (*Ἵρταίος*). King of Arisbe in the Troad, he was the father of Asius who was killed by Idomeneus during the Trojan War. His wife Arisbe, who gave her name to the town, had been the first wife of Priam; he passed her to Hyrtacus so as to be free to marry Hecuba. [Apollodorus 3.12.5; Homer *Il* 2.835-9]