Two Is Company, Three Is A Crowd:

An analysis of the relationships between Herakles, Hera & Zeus in Apollodoros' *Bibliotheke*

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Abstract

This thesis examines the relationships between Herakles, Hera and Zeus in five mythic episodes in the *Bibliotheke*: the punishment of Hera; the Gigantomachy; Herakles' birth and early life; the madness of Herakles; and his death, apotheosis and marriage to Hebe. These episodes display a variety of interactions between the figures across the life of Herakles. From his birth to his death and apotheosis, his relationship with Hera is of a contentious nature. Zeus' involvement in the life of Herakles is often absent during crucial points. Apollodoros' *Bibliotheke* is a survey of myth composed by an author who evidently had considerable literary resources to hand. What this means for the work is that the options available to Apollodoros were vast; thus we must attribute a great deal of choice to him in his compilations of the myths. As a result, when viewing the relationships between the three figures, we can investigate Apollodoros' adjustments to the myths and attempt to uncover how he wished to portray the figures of Herakles, Hera and Zeus. As well as displaying information in the text, Apollodoros' strict structuring method also presents us with more information. The genealogical structure forms the backbone of the work; it is in the deliberate placements of certain myths, however, such as the Punishment of Hera (*Bib* 1.3.5; 2.7.1) and the Gigantomachy (1.6.1; 2.7.1), that we see the effect of his conscious decisions in regard to the structure of the *Bibliotheke*.

Table of Contents

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Introduction

The *Bibliotheke* of Apollodoros[1] is a mythographical compilation that presents a wide range of Greek myths. Due to this range, there is a plethora of themes and mythical aspects throughout this work. The *Bibliotheke* also stands as a product of the mythic traditions that precede it; these are often reflected within the work as we view well established myths. The myths of Herakles are such myths, yet Apollodoros' treatment of them is unique and methodical.[2] My main intent for this thesis is to analyse the relationships of Herakles, Hera and Zeus in the *Bibliotheke*. As this work is of a later composition, change has occurred in these relationships for a variety of reasons, from deliberate modification to source loss. The relationships between Herakles, Hera and Zeus are a small aspect of the major work. However considered in the light of the mythical traditions that come before, these relationships provide a useful example of Apollodoros' treatment of myth; they will demonstrate how his mythographical style and deliberate choices lead to the manipulation of mythical elements to suit his own purposes, through the deliberate inclusion and exclusion of certain elements; this becomes evident when his myths are compared to older versions, placing his work in its mythographical context.

In this work I will be relying heavily on the primary text of the *Bibliotheke*.[3] This is not due to ignorance or deliberate exclusion of scholarship on the *Bibliotheke* but rather due to a general lack of study on the work. Due to this, I have also drawn on evidence in other primary resources, those from epic, tragic or poetic traditions, to aid in my discussion. I start from the premise that placing the *Bibliotheke* in its mythical context and tradition will illuminate Apollodoros' version of the relationships and how he deliberately shapes these. The *Bibliotheke* is a source of many of our modern versions of Greek myths, despite low regard for the work by many scholars; unfortunately for scholarship on the *Bibliotheke*, it has often been viewed with contempt. Mythography is an invaluable source for information on ancient myth. In the case of Apollodoros' *Bibliotheke*, the attempt at a holistic approach to Greek myth has proven valuable to scholarship, modern and otherwise.[4] A genealogical structure provides the organizational backbone to the *Bibliotheke*, which enables the display of a wide variety of material, ranging from a theogony to the death of Odysseus.[5] This structuring system also gives us additional

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[1] The author will be referred to throughout this work as Apollodorus, not Pseudo-Apollodorus. For my discussion on this and author attribution see Chapter One.
[2] The firm placement of events in the life of Herakles is evidence of this, Stafford (2012) 63.
[3] The translation I will be using is Frazer (1921).
[4] See Diller (1935) on the textual history, including its importance during the Byzantine period.
[5] Scott Smith & Trzaskoma (2007) xxxii; Thomas (2011) 73.

information on Apollodoros and the dating of the work.[6] It is suggested that the work became more popular during the Byzantine period, as it was used as an authority on the subject of Greek myth.[7] Due to its later popularity, the *Bibliotheke* survived and as Cameron put it, it exists as 'the only comprehensive mythographic work of its age'.[8]

Scholars often struggle with the relationship between Hera and Zeus due to its contentious nature. Aloni-Ronen produced an argument suggesting the relationship between Hera and Zeus is born out of Hera's 'incomplete integration' into the pantheon. Using Hera's cult depiction, the author suggests Hera's connection to Zeus was of a secondary nature. These relationships depicted in Greek myth show an uncomfortable balance between her cult role and Hera's connection to Zeus; this can also be seen as contention between her representations in cult versus literature.[9] It is present in both the *Bibliotheke* and the *Iliad*; the former is a major point of this thesis, when it is displayed in connection to the hero Herakles. In the *Iliad*, several examples show the establishment this contentious relationship (1.566ff, 8.401ff).[10] Along with the suggestion of a cult versus literature contention, authors suggest this could be the result of a rival religious system or human dynastic quarrels.[11]

I have chosen a series of episodes from the *Bibliotheke* that I believe to be prime examples of the relationship between Herakles, Hera and Zeus. All of these episodes take place during the life and afterlife of Herakles, although some of them are placed elsewhere in the general text; this discussion of events placed outside the life of Herakles will be discussed in the relevant chapters.

Chapter One, 'The *Bibliotheke* and the Genre of mythography' presents the background of the work. A brief explanation of the field of mythography and its connections to other genres will give this *Bibliotheke* analysis a firm grounding. What information we have on Apollodoros and what we may learn of the author will be discussed. I will also investigate the structure of the work and how this sheds light on cultural contexts of the work; this structure also provides us with further information on Apollodoros.

Chapter Two, 'The Punishment of Hera' is the first episode which I will analyse for the relationships of Herakles, Hera and Zeus. This is also the first example of Apollodoros'

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[6] As the work clearly demonstrates Second Sophistic tendencies (through its exclusion of Rome), we are able to consider a shorter dating timeframe.
[7] Scott Smith & Trzaskoma (2007) xxxi. As the authors point out, the attribution to 'Apollodoros of Athens' would not have disadvantaged the work in this.
[8] Cameron (2004) x.
[9] Aloni-Ronen (1998) 11-15.
[10] Synodinou (1987) 13-15.
[11] Synodinou (1987) 20.

structuring system that we will view. The Punishment of Hera is referred to in two locations, one inside the bulk of the Herakles myths, the other placed in the Olympian context. Apollodoros' purpose and gain from this will be examined. The depictions of the relationships in this episode are valuable as they will demonstrate actions not visible elsewhere; Zeus' reaction to Hera's meddling with Herakles here is unique. The *Iliad* version of this myth will also provide a comparison and help demonstrate Apollodoros' deliberate changes. This episode produces an unusual example of the relationship between the three figures and adds great depth to the overall analysis.

Chapter Three, 'The Gigantomachy', discusses the second example of the relationship and how the three are depicted in this significant episode. This episode is surprisingly detailed considering the mythographical style. Small elements of this myth exist in other primary examples; what changes in these literature examples is discussed briefly. The popularity of this myth in art is also discussed, especially the idea that this particular depiction reflects later art traditions. As another example of dual placement, the position of this episode in the text reflects Apollodoros' structural intent. This episode produces unusual examples of the myth; the behaviour of all three figures, especially Zeus, is unexpected and has impact on other points in the life of Herakles.

Chapter Four, 'The Births of Eurystheus and Herakles, and Hera's serpentine assassins', examines the beginnings of the complex relationships between the key figures. The birth of Eurystheus has great impact on the life of Herakles; due to a prophecy of Zeus and the resultant meddling of Hera. The conception and birth of Herakles marks the beginning of many elements, not least of all, Hera's role as stepmother to the hero. The placement of these various aspects of the myth provides an example of Apollodoros' genealogical structuring. The appearance of Hera's serpents attacking an infant Herakles displays examples of the behaviour of his mortal parents, as well as that of the demi-god's; the version of this myth in the *Bibliotheke* is bolstered with details from other primary accounts. This serpentine connection and what we learn of the nature of Hera begins a discussion that will be echoed in several chapters.

Chapter Five, 'The Madness of Herakles', provides us with our most malicious example of the relationship between Hera and Herakles. The details of this, including the stark absence of Zeus' involvement provides an extreme example of the relationships. The changeable nature of this myth and how this is reflected in other traditions is also discussed. The unusually intense instance of Hera's malevolence here is analysed and the lifelong repercussions for Herakles provide valuable elements to the overall discussions. Also present here is an investigation at the lack of involvement by Zeus in this text; this is

discussed in contrast to Euripides' *Herakles* which produces an example of the difficulties that were faced by others presenting this myth.

Chapter Six, 'The demise of a hero and his divine afterlife', discusses several aspects of the end of the life of Herakles. His death brings with it many questions regarding previous traditions and what is reflected in Apollodoros' use of fire, both here and in the death of his children by Megara. Also present here is a tentative discussion of Hera's previous literary connections to the hydra and what Apollodoros' deliberate exclusion of this means for the relationships in this work. The apotheosis of Herakles and how he earns this in the *Bibliotheke* provides vital aspects to this discussion and exists as a stepping stone to his divine afterlife. This afterlife is depicted in two parts in this work; the reconciliation with Hera and his marriage to Hebe. The first of these demonstrates the conclusion of Hera's malevolence and theories positing how this happens are present. The valuable elements of Hebe and her importance to the immortality of Herakles are highlighted; the goddess is mentioned here as the daughter of Hera, but she bolsters the immortality provided by Zeus. Hebe is but one aspect of the over determination that Apollodoros presents when portraying the apotheosis and divine afterlife of Herakles.

Chapter One - The *Bibliotheke* and the Genre of Mythography

Ancient mythography is a valuable aspect of the study of myth; however it was once unenthusiastically received by scholars. [12] Despite this negativity, modern scholarship is gradually paying more attention to this useful resource. Mythography, generally speaking, provides a more analytical and less 'artistic' approach to myth. It displays tendencies and preferences towards neatly compiled material presented in an organized manner, as opposed to flowery language or flowing text. [13] While opinions vary on what in particular can be defined as mythography, Scott Smith and Trzaskoma, in their useful work on the *Bibliotheke*, suggest potential definitions through a categorization of surviving sources. They suggest two types of mythography, based on how the material is compiled and adjusted. Type A displays a form of mythography that demonstrates tendencies towards general compiling and organization of the material. It generally avoids interpretation and the author may have also attempted to remove themselves from the work to avoid bias; this type includes Apollodoros' *Bibliotheke* and Hyginus' *Fabulae*. [14] Type B mythography still provides the basic compilation but also demonstrates inclinations towards analytical and rationalizing interpretations of the material. [15] This second type depicts some of mythography's early origins and connections to the field of historiography. [16] Cameron, in his work on mythography, offers a different opinion on the classification of it. He suggests a mythographer must use Classical or Hellenistic material and only offer the story, not opinions or interpretations. [17] Through this stricter definition, Cameron would eliminate the previously suggested Type B mythography. Apollodoros' *Bibliotheke* fits both Scott Smith and Trzaskoma's and Cameron's definitions; Apollodoros offers few interpretations or opinions and does not use any sources from later periods than the Classical or Hellenistic. [18]

Origins of Mythography

Mythography was born through the creation of prose writing, along with history and philosophy. [19] Historiography and mythography are considered similar, not just due to their

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[12] Scott Smith & Trzaskoma (2007) xv.
[13] Apollodoros' Greek is described by Scott Smith & Trzaskoma (2007) as 'workman-like', xxxix.
[14] Scott Smith & Trzaskoma (2007) xv.
[15] Scott Smith & Trzaskoma do not go into any further detail on this form as their focus, and mine, is on Apollodoros.
[16] Scott Smith & Trzaskoma (2007) xviii.
[17] Cameron (2004) xi.
[18] Bowie (1970) 23-24 suggests that due to the subject matter there is a lack of later sources.
[19] Scott Smith & Trzaskoma (2007) xviii.

origins but structure and methods also; one suggestion is to treat them as related entities that simply deal with different areas of interest.[20] A distinction made between 'history' and 'pre-history' facilitated the creation of mythography. [21] Myth or 'prehistory' remained an important element of history, for example historical figures often traced their genealogies back to a famous mythical ancestor.[22] This genealogical structuring is suggested to be an optimum way to display 'non-historical' relationships;[23] these relationships are ones that are accepted by society but may not be genealogically true. This aspect demonstrates a specific value of myth to society; however historiography's use of myth is limited and seems to be considered generally unimportant to the vast scheme of the works.

This relationship between mythography and historiography is demonstrated in the works of Herodotus and Thucydides.[24] The treatment of myth or 'pre-history' in Herodotus and Thucydides shows similarities to the rationalizing approach of type B mythography; this relationship can enable greater insights into the genre of mythography. It also demonstrates some of the attitudes towards the material used in mythography and the potential negativity with which it was received. Both of these authors deal with the historical subject matters, however when dealing with early Greek history, there comes a blurred line between historically proven events and pre-history.[25] Both historians struggled with the legitimacy of the information presented in myth. When attempting research, information conflicted with mythic sources and a separation occurred.[26] Myth was still a source for remote history; the material merely required corrections to historize it.[27]

Herodotus tells of the relationship between Greece and Persia, starting with its supposed beginning with the back and forth abductions of women. Io, Europa, Medea and Helen are all considered to be kidnapped victims (Herodotus *Histories* 1. 1-3); Herodotus then continues with his *Histories*, leaving this pre-history behind.[28] What is present in the text at this stage resembles the rationalization that can be found in certain forms of mythography. Herodotus accounts for some of these mythical events, giving more reasonable explanations (Herodotus *Histories* 1.1-7). Generally speaking myth

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[20] Scott Smith & Trzaskoma (2007) xviii.
[21] Fowler (2006) 35.
[22] Gehrke (2011) 50.
[23] Thomas (2011) 74.
[24] Scott Smith & Trzaskoma (2007) xviii.
[25] Scott Smith & Trzaskoma (2007) xviii.
[26] Wardman (1960) 403.
[27] Wardman (1960) 408.
[28] Scott Smith & Trzaskoma (2007) argue that Herodotus appears to recognize the categories of history and pre-history, xviii.

rationalization assumes misunderstanding or twisting of the original subject matter.[29] Despite this, such mythical events were not ignored; what happens instead is a questioning of details and any potential embellishments.[30] The word myth (μῦθος) appears twice in Herodotus but is used in a derogatory manner.[31] Both myths, Ocean (2.23) and Herakles (2.45) have details that conflict with a 'historical' perspective.[32] Herodotus' problem with the first regards the existence of Ocean and the inability to prove its existence; the Herakles episode displays an incredulous tale of strength and cultural ignorance.[33]

Thucydides takes a harsh stance upon the myths, correcting them through severe rationalization. However, like his predecessor Herodotus, Thucydides does not seem to argue against the existence of mythical characters, just the situations and details surrounding them. Characters like Agamemnon and Minos are still present, but are deprived of their more fantastical elements.[34] Thucydides tells of Minos' naval prowess but not his connection to the Minotaur or the Labyrinth (Thucydides *History of the Peloponnesian War* 1.4). Gomme describes this missing element as 'the story-telling aspect';[35] this very effectively describes what Thucydides eliminates from his own telling. Later he continues on to the Trojan War and details surrounding Agamemnon. According to Thucydides' account, the Mycenaean king did not succeed at recruiting ships to sail to Troy because of Tyndareus' oath but rather due to his presence as the most powerful ruler of his day (Thucydides 1.9). Thucydides reasons that fear is a greater motivation than loyalty thus the existence of the Trojan War is not doubted, just what may have motivated it.[36] Thucydides himself claims a more rational approach than his literary predecessors. The author asserts superiority of evidence, separating his work from exaggerations and unfounded material. He sums up his opinions on previous mythical material neatly, 'subject matter, owning to the passage of time, is mostly lost in the unreliable streams of mythology' (Thucydides 1.21); he prefers his material uncontaminated by mythology.[37] In Thucydides' work a distinction between the purposes of myth and history is displayed; myth is considered to be of value for entertainment purposes, while history is a 'service', culturally and intellectually.[38] These lines have earned comparisons to Hecataeus of Miletus, an early Greek mythographer, who describes stories of the Hellenes as 'many and

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[29] Euhemerus' style of writing is reminiscent of this, Diodorus Siculus 6.1.2 – 6.1.11.
[30] Veyne (1988) 1, 41.
[31] Zali (2011) 64; Wardman (1960) 403/404.
[32] Zali (2011) 64.
[33] Wardman (1960) 404, the story shows extreme ignorance of Egyptian customs.
[34] Walbank (1960) 221.
[35] *Commentary on Thucydides*, Gomme (1945) 149 as described in Walbank (1960) 221.
[36] Gehrke (2011) 51.
[37] Walbank (1960) 222.
[38] Wardman (1960) 404.

ridiculous' (*FGH* 1 F1).[39] Hecataeus is credited with being one of the first, if not the first, to practice rationalizing mythical material, part of an earlier 'Ionic intellectual revolution'.[40]

Apollodoros' treatment of myth is starkly different to the rationalizing aspects seen here in historiography. However, what the two genres have in common is the methodical style and genealogical structures. The *Bibliotheke* is built around genealogical structures, placed in accordance to a fixed scheme of Apollodoros'. Throughout this work, this aspect will be highlighted with examples from the text; Apollodoros' structuring scheme has interesting implications for mythic variants. The methodical style present throughout is fairly typical of mythography, however Apollodoros' particular efforts in fixing a solid timeline for Herakles should be noted.[41]

Author of the *Bibliotheke*

On the long list of things unknown about the *Bibliotheke* is the identity of the author. Attribution was originally given to Apollodoros of Athens, also known as Apollodoros the Grammarian (180 BCE- after 120 BCE).[42] Dating issues and comparisons to authentic texts have disproven this idea for most if not all scholars who study the *Bibliotheke*. As a result, the author is often referred to as Pseudo-Apollodoros to distinguish from authentic works of Apollodoros of Athens. However since this discussion focuses upon the author of the *Bibliotheke*, I shall follow in the style of previous scholars and simply refer to him as Apollodoros.[43] To prevent any ensuing confusion between the two, any reference to the grammarian Apollodoros will be written as 'Apollodoros of Athens'. Carrière and Massonie highlight a good point regarding the use of Pseudo-Apollodoros. Such a term brings with it disdain and contempt as it underscore the 'false' attribution. This disdain colours the impression of a valuable work and may prevent further study. This would be most unfortunate and reinforces the decision here to simply refer to the author as Apollodoros.[44]

Aubrey Diller in 1935 wrote a lengthy discussion on the history of the text of the *Bibliotheke*; in this he presented an argument regarding the attribution of the *Bibliotheke* to 'Apollodoros of Athens'. His argument may be summarized as follows.[45] The *Scholia Minora*, of which Diller speaks, is Homeric scholia which displays a selection of

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[39] Walbank (1960) 222.
[40] Gehrke (2011) 51.
[41] Stafford (2012) 63.
[42] Oxford Classical Dictionary (2005) 124.
[43] Scott Smith & Trzaskoma (2007) xxix.
[44] Carrière and Massonie (1991) 8.
[45] Diller (1935) 297-299.

'mythological narratives'. Some of these are attributed to certain authors with a brief note; these authors included Hesiod, Pherecydes and Callimachus. On a side note, Diller suggests the cited authors are not the immediate sources used, but rather references that probably came from another 'collateral' text.[46] A number of these narratives display close agreement with the *Bibliotheke* of Apollodoros; six of these narratives cite an Apollodoros. However there are twelve passages that have similarities to the *Bibliotheke*, not simply the ones that refer to an Apollodoros; some of these passages cite other authors, like Hellanicus, Euripides and Callimachus.[47] Another issue lies with the passages cited to Apollodoros; not all of them match the *Bibliotheke* and they can possess irrelevant material. The citations to Apollodoros also refer to the work as being structured into three books; this division did not exist in the manuscripts of the *Bibliotheke* but did cause the later structuring of the work. The conclusion drawn by Diller at this stage suggests that the citations to Apollodoros actually refer to Apollodoros of Athens, not the author of the *Bibliotheke*.[48] The reasoning here was the frequency of citations to him in other Homeric scholia and the presence of passages clearly alien to the *Bibliotheke* itself.[49] Cameron, in his work on later Greek mythography, also highlights this attribution to Apollodoros of Athens. He points out the lack of later sources in the Scholia, of which the *Bibliotheke* would be one, stating that none are later than the Hellenistic period. Diller draws from this a potential explanation for the attribution of the *Bibliotheke* to Apollodoros of Athens. He suggests the Scholia Minora's author(s) used a work similar in nature and form to the *Bibliotheke* and took some of the narratives from this. Later, additions hypothetically made included some attributions, including those to Apollodoros of Athens.[50] At a later point than this, a scholar noticed the similarities between some of the narratives and an unnamed handbook (the *Bibliotheke*), noticing the attribution of six narratives to Apollodoros of Athens. He thus concluded the work must be by the grammarian, ignoring other citations and attributed the *Bibliotheke* as a whole to Apollodoros; this attribution is identical in form to the ones given in the Scholia.[51]

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[46] Diller (1935) 298.
[47] For these and other examples from the Scholia Minora, see Diller (1935).
[48] Diller (1935) 299. Cameron (2004) agrees with this suggestion.
[49] Diller (1935) 298.
[50] Diller (1935) 299-300.
[51] Diller (1935) 300; also due to the later reference of the work by Photius, this attribution must have occurred before 858 CE.

Dating of the *Bibliotheke*

Dating of the *Bibliotheke* is almost as vague as the author's identity. Modern scholars attribute this work anywhere from 1st century BCE to 3rd century CE.[52] Dating is difficult due to a lack of contemporary works of this style and study on Greek used during this period.[53] Frazer does however suggest that the Greek used by Apollodoros is indicative of a 1st or 2nd century date; he describes it as 'generally pure and always clear, simple, and unaffected'.[54] A *terminus post quem* can be found in the form of a citation; the *Bibliotheke* cites 'the annalist (chronicler) Castor' (Ap. Bib. 2.1.1-3). This refers to Castor of Rhodes and his work *The Chronica*;[55] general dating puts this work sometime after 61/60 BCE and this places the *Bibliotheke* after this date.[56]

Some arguments for a 2nd-3rd century CE date revolve around the idea that the *Bibliotheke* displays traits of the movement known as the Second Sophistic. Flavius Philostratus coined this term in the 2nd century CE, when writing his work, *The Lives of the Sophists*, which tells of a revival of Greek culture through oratory.[57] In modern scholarship, the 'Second Sophistic' usually refers to a wider cultural movement that occurred from mid 1st century to mid 3rd century CE (approximately).[58] Swain considers this extension of the term acceptable on the grounds of the cultural aspects that Philostratus speaks of with regularity in the *Lives*: wealth and status are regarded as significant due to the social importance of these elements in the lives of the Sophists themselves.[59] Fletcher discusses the possibility of a Second Sophistic dating due to the absence of Rome in the work; he does however also use the absence as evidence for his theory on the genealogical system present in the *Bibliotheke*.[60] The Second Sophistic was a movement present in Greece during the early Roman Empire. It is at its most basic level, a revival of Greek Culture from its Golden Age (5th century BCE). Scholarship produces a few explanations for this revival and its resulting popularity. Cultural identities in this period were shifting and changing as native cultures attempted to deal with the overwhelming presence of the

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[52] Authors give a range of dates, from the 1st century CE to the 3rd century CE. More specifically: Robert (1873) 39-41, 2nd century CE; Carrière and Massonie (1991) 11, 180 – 230 CE; van Rossum-Steenbeek (1998) 26, 1st - 3rd centuries CE; Scott Smith & Trzaskoma (2007) xxix, 1st-3rd centuries CE; Fletcher (2008) 63, 2nd-3rd centuries CE.
[53] Scott Smith & Trzaskoma (2007) xxix.
[54] Frazer (1921) xv-xvi.
[55] Fletcher (2008) 63.
[56] Scott Smith & Trzaskoma (2007) xxix.
[57] Swain (1996) 2; Bowersock (1969) 2; Whitmarsh (2005) 1.
[58] Swain (1996) 2.
[59] Swain (1996) 2.
[60] Fletcher (2008); this will be discussed later in this chapter.

Roman Empire.[61] However not all scholars attribute this cultural shift to the Romans, but rather to the Greeks. Goldhill provides the idea that the redefinition of Greek identity was not caused by the Roman Empire but rather it was caused by the spread of Greek culture through the medium of the Roman Empire.[62] Whatever method caused the shift, few if any seem to oppose the idea that it actually occurred. As a result, many modern scholars investigate what Greek identity was during the Second Sophistic.[63] This question prompted the unearthing of many modern ideas regarding Greek identity, including the re-establishment of Greek identity through the medium of literature in ancient times.[64]

Attempts to redefine cultural identity caused a shift in Greek literature back to the style of the 5th century BCE; rhetoric and other forms appeared not in demotic Greek as was the language of the times, but rather in the more archaic Attic Greek.[65] This form of Greek was treated as the language of the Greek academic elite of the period.[66] It was through cultural proliferation that many things of the Attic style came back into fashion. Other than differing forms of Greek used, subject matters also presented an opportunity for cultural identity; shifting back to topics like Greek myth allowed for the solidification of identity through culturally fixed subjects. The *Bibliotheke* demonstrates a number of these traits, supporting the idea of a date during the Second Sophistic.

Absence of Rome

Scholars discuss a concept of 'dissent or acquiescence' in regards to the acceptance of Roman rule and the resulting impact that this had on Greek literature of the period.[67] Bowie discusses Apollodoros' probable position in the 2nd century as the *Bibliotheke* displays elements of the Second Sophistic through the absence of Rome. This was a regular occurring theme in contemporary works of this period; it allowed the author to overlook Rome in an appropriate medium, like Greek myth.[68] Bowersock produced the idea of 'dissent or acquiescence' and the relationship between the Roman and Greek cultural identities in the Second Sophistic.[69] Due to the close relationship between the two, an intellectual might exist in both worlds without loss of original identity. These intellectuals formed important parts of the Roman world, while still identifying with their Greek roots.

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[61] Whitmarsh (2001b) 273; Bowersock (in Whitmarsh [2001b] 2) saw a shift of Greek 'values' into Roman.
[62] Goldhill (2009) 108.
[63] Whitmarsh (2001a), (2001b), Goldhill (2009).
[64] Whitmarsh (2001a) 2.
[65] Whitmarsh (2001b) 272.
[66] Whitmarsh (2001a) 6.
[67] Bowersock (1969) in Whitmarsh (2001a) 2.
[68] Bowie (1970) 24.
[69] Bowersock (1969) 1, 15-16.

Bowersock disagrees with the idea of forced segregation of Greek and Roman identities, claiming this balance between the two is an important aspect of the Sophistic.[70] Swain does not put forward the idea of 'dissent or acquiescence', instead arguing that each society had a sphere of importance: Rome, as the dominant power of the age had identity in the political domain; Greeks were subject to Roman rule and could not establish identity here, instead solidifying it in the 'cultural domain'.[71] Connections with Rome were good for political elements like position and citizenship; this latter came with solid benefits.[72] Swain suggests that by the time of Cassius Dio (163/4-229 onwards), Roman identity to a Greek held nothing much more than political importance.[73]

Apollodoros' *Bibliotheke* can be seen as an example of 'dissent' or simply a representation of Greek cultural identity from this period. The author of this work avoids presenting any material regarding Rome, even in places where it would have been 'commonly' expected by this time.[74] Two missing examples from the text are the travels of Herakles across Italy and that of Aeneas who, according to popular myth by this time, left Troy and eventually founded the Roman race. The journey of Herakles across Italy is summarized quickly by Apollodoros, merely telling of the hero's pursuit of a missing bull from the cattle of Geryon and little more than that (2.5.10). Other ancient authors by this period told of Herakles' journey through Italy, including a visit to Rome itself (Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.200*);* Diodorus Siculus 6.20-22). Mention of Rome is also conspicuously absent when regarding Aeneas; Apollodoros tells of Aeneas' birth by the goddess Aphrodite and his mortal father Anchises (3.12.2). The hero's flight from Troy is also, briefly, mentioned in the *Epitomes*; however it simply says he fled, nothing of his eventual destination or the future founding of the Romans (*E*.5.21). A mention of Italy does occur when Apollodoros tells of Philoctetes' arrival in Campania, Italy (*E*.6.15-15b). However Frazer mentions in his notes that this section was not taken from manuscripts of the *Bibliotheke* but rather from the Byzantine scholar Tzetzes. [75] He is believed to have copied parts of Apollodoros' *Bibliotheke* for his own work, the *Scholia on Lycophron*; they have been thus re-added with notes telling of their origins. In his introduction to the work Frazer gives examples of where mention of Rome is conspicuously neglected. Fletcher uses the genealogical structure of the work as a method to explain the absence of Rome; this theory also

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[70] Bowersock (1969) 15-16.
[71] Swain (1996) 89.
[72] Swain (1996) 88.
[73] Swain (1996) 404.
[74] Bowie (1970) 23-24.
[75] Frazer (1921) xii, 259, n 5.

supports a Second Sophistic date.[76] Goldhill uses the format of the *Bibliotheke* to date the work to the same period. This format discussed describes the material as presented in an anecdotal form. This anecdotal format describes the mythographical method of compiling material and assimilating it into a structured and easy to use form. [77] It is suggested that presentation of the material in the form of the mythographical handbook represents the change of or threat to Greek identity.[78] Goldhill explains this by suggesting that 'Handbooks are the archetypal way of packaging a culture under threat, circulating knowledge in restricted units as a gesture toward tradition, as that tradition feels increasing need to use such garments to bolster against ruin'.[79] This anecdotal form helps indicate the Second Sophistic date as it becomes increasingly prevalent in this time.[80]

Due to the form of writing in the *Bibliotheke*, some methods of identifying the author or any aspects of personality in the text are not viable. Roberts, in his translation of the *Bibliotheke*, suggests that Apollodoros was actually an Athenian; the author mentions familiarity with the 'sea of Erechtheus' and the sacred olive tree on the Acropolis (3.14.1).[81] However the third person narrative that is ever present displays a more distant, alien narrator, as it lacks the personal elements that might otherwise creep through. This idea of distance between narrator and subject matter, due to the use of the third person, was presented by Claude Calame and is used by Fowler to analyse forms in writings of myth.[82] The idea was that a shift occurred from a first person perspective to a third, provoking a 'critical attitude' towards the work. The third person narrative enables what Calame terms a 'partial shifting-out' of the author. This occurs through the distance between the narrator and the material as the author becomes more impersonal and hidden behind the text.[83] Calame suggests personal elements are removed from the discourse to smooth over the shifting-out; these elements might otherwise provide external interruption.[84] This shifting out is also displayed in a lack of 'direct discourse'. Speeches and other such forms of direct discourse are not a common aspect in mythography; however, as Fowler highlights, this effort to remove a medium in which the author's personality can be displayed, in fact draws attention to the shifting out attempt itself.[85] Calame discusses Plato's forms of narrative; however for this discussion, we are

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[76] Fletcher (2008) 59.
[77] Goldhill (2009) 108.
[78] Goldhill (2009) 110-111.
[79] Goldhill (2009) 110-111.
[80] Goldhill (2009) 111-112.
[81] Robert (1873) in Frazer (1921) xvii.
[82] Fowler (2006) 36; Calame (1995).
[83] Fowler (2006) 36.
[84] Calame (1995) 5.
[85] Fowler (2006) 41.

only interested in what is termed the 'mimetic' narrative. This is a dialogue based narrative where the poet speaks through his characters in the discourse. This later version displays the shifting-out of the author; it produces a distance between the poet (narrator) and the speaker (enunciator), thus it becomes difficult to identify the poet in the text.[86]

Some scholars suggest that an author cannot disappear from a text completely, that we need to take into account hidden agendas and purposes. In a discussion on genealogical structuring and the exclusion of Rome from the *Bibliotheke*, Fletcher discusses the intent of the author.[87] Through a theory of inclusion and exclusion, it is suggested something of the author exists in the work. While it seems easier to hide personality in the text, it seems some of it can still exist in the structuring of the work. This structure, Fletcher suggests, is specifically designed to highlight the importance of civilizations like Persia and Egypt while downplaying that of Rome.[88] While this displays a trait of the Second Sophistic through the exclusion of Rome,[89] Fletcher argues that this is also just the view of one man. This view comes with his own purposes and beliefs that cannot be fully disguised.[90] Apollodoros' intent is visible in the *Bibliotheke* as will be shown throughout the mythic episodes analysed in this work. In choosing and eliminating certain aspects of the myths involved, we can see his handiwork and intended purpose; in eliminating certain aspects, he changes the light in which the characters are viewed.

Structure of the *Bibliotheke*

A certain number of theories are made about the *Bibliotheke* and the sources used in the compilation of the work.[91] Some of these theories attempt to answer problematic and lingering issues about the work. These issues raised provoke questions about prior sources and to what degree these may have been used. Discussions surrounding these sources also call into question the unusual elements of the *Bibliotheke* and whether they are unique to the work or elements copied from a previous handbook.[92] Aspects or motifs that have been derived from earlier sources can exist in both the material and the structuring system; some of these also possess the potential to be traced back to well known works and older

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[86] Calame (1995) 7.
[87] Fletcher (2008).
[88] Fletcher (2008) 63-75, 80-88.
[89] Fletcher (2008) 88.
[90] Fletcher (2008) 89.
[91] For further information on the sources and predecessors of Apollodoros, I refer the reader to the works of Scott Smith & Trzaskoma (2007), Robert (1873), van der Valk (1958), Kylintirea (2002), Cameron (2004), Carrière and Massonie (1991) and Fowler (2000).
[92] Cameron (2004) vii; Fletcher (2008) 62; Kylintirea (2002) 22-23; Scott Smith & Trzaskoma (2007) xxv – xxxvii.

myths. A discussion on the material used and origins of story variants will appear in a following chapter.

Like much of the information surrounding the work the original structure of the work is lost to us. The current structuring of modern copies of the *Bibliotheke* presents the work divided into three separate books, with the Vatican and Sabbaitic Epitomes attached to the end; this division seems to be installed in a manner that is agreeable to the work.[93] The first book establishes the gods and then provides an outline of the lineage of Deucalion. The work then jumps back to a chronologically earlier point and Book Two displays the descendants of Inachos; the myths of Herakles appear in this section. Book Three again jumps back and gives us various lineages: descendants of Agenor, Pelasgos, Atlas, Electra, Aiakos and then tells of Theseus before breaking off. The two epitomes fit in roughly here, with some cross-over to Book Three and each other. [94]

The structuring system for the *Bibliotheke* actually provides more information than it presents at face value. Once broken down, it presents a complex matter of hidden agendas and purposeful modifications. Various scholars view this system in different manners and for different reasons. Some examples of this will be presented in this chapter. One scholar highlights elements of the structure as an example of a previous work, seeking an earlier model for the *Bibliotheke*. Another reads into the structure itself, presenting a theory regarding purposes within and how these elements may demonstrate the hidden agenda of the author.

Fletcher, in his 2008 article on Apollodoros' structuring system, presents a theory based on deliberate inclusion and exclusion of civilizations through genealogical structuring. He argues that Apollodoros displayed a network of connections based on perceived importance of Greece's neighbours in the ancient world.[95] It is through this method that civilizations like Persia and Egypt are treated with importance and Rome is visibly excluded.

According to Fletcher's system, the more important the neighbour, the closer its genealogical connection to Greece, because only through a connection to Greece could such a country become great. This 'cultural egotism' is displayed in the differing degrees of importance allocated to the countries.[96] In the case of important neighbours like Egypt

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[93] As stated previously in this chapter this division was based on narratives in the Scholia Minora after the *Bibliotheke* was misattributed to Apollodoros of Athens.
[94] Ken Dowden presents a useful table, breaking down the various books (2011; 67-70).
[95] Fletcher (2008) 59, 65-76.
[96] Fletcher (2008) 71.

or Persia, mingling of the bloodlines occurred to produce offspring born of both civilizations. The Persian connection is displayed through the birth of the first child of Perseus and Andromeda. This birth occurred in Andromache's homeland before she and Perseus returned to Greece, producing more 'Greek' offspring there. Perses, the aforementioned child, was left in the care of Cephalus, father of Andromeda. Apollodoros tells the reader that all of the kings of Persia were descendants of this Perses [2.4.5]. Another example of a connection occurs earlier in Book One. After fleeing Jason, Medea settled in Athens, married Aegeis and the two produced a child, Medus. Both mother and child were banished from Athens after Medea was caught plotting against Aegeis' son Theseus. Apollodoros informs us Medus would become a conqueror and would form the country known as Medea [1.9.28]. These bloodlines demonstrate the incorporation of foreign civilizations into the aspect of 'Greekness' displayed in the *Bibliotheke*; through this argument and display of 'cultural egotism', this connection with Greece is a requirement for doing anything of importance in Apollodoros' idealized world. Both of these examples clearly display the elements of one Greek and one foreigner; however Apollodoros had other combinations to display lesser connections.

Connections to cultures of lesser importance usually involved inheritance of a foreign throne by a Greek and the production of an heir with a Greek woman. This idea is demonstrated through two examples in the *Bibliotheke*. Cadmus, having left Thebes with Harmonia, eventually became king of the Illyrians and there produced a son, Illyrius [3.5.4].[97] Neptolemus, in his travels with Helenus, defeated the Molossians and became their king; his son Molossus was produced here by Andromache [E.6.12-13]. Both examples possess names obviously taken from their places or people of birth and are created by Apollodoros.[98] This allowed the foreign peoples a Greek connection, but not too much importance. It is from this system that Rome is excluded and denied any cultural importance in Apollodoros' world. This is suggested by some to be evidence of a date during the Second Sophistic.[99]

The Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* is one of the works often associated with the *Bibliotheke*, due to a belief that the latter text derives certain elements from the Catalogue. In a discussion on the *Catalogue*, West discusses the possible derivation of the

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[97] As Fletcher (2008) states, Harmonia is not specifically stated as the mother, however this is usually inferred from the text; 74.
[98] Fletcher (2008) 75.
[99] Dating of the *Bibliotheke* p.14.

Bibliotheke from the Hesiodic work, claiming similarities in structure.[100] Even in its fragmented state, there are clear comparisons between the two works.

West, like Theodor Bergk, believes the *Bibliotheke* is a useful tool for potential reconstruction of the fragmented *Catalogue*; Bergk noted particularly the similarities between both accounts of Hellen's family.[101] Carl Robert, a well known translator of the *Bibliotheke*, also displays awareness of this comparison, although 'certain discrepancies' let him to conclude the fact that Apollodoros did not assimilate directly from the *Catalogue*.[102] West himself admits the similarities are not constant. There are some sections that do not have direct correspondents; these are, to mention a few, the accomplishments of Herakles, those of Theseus and an in-depth version of the Trojan War and Nostoi.[103] Despite this he also claims a close connection between the genealogical details in the two works.[104]

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[100] West (1985) 44-45.
[101] Bergk, *Griech. Literaturgeschichte* (1872-94) i.1002, n.83 in West (1985) 32.
[102] Robert (1873) 71; West (1985) 32.
[103] West (1985) 44.
[104] West (1985) 45.

Descendants of	Deukalion	Books 1–2
,,	Io: Belids	Book 2
	Agenorids	Book 3
,,	Pelasgos and Arkas	Book 3 or 4
,,	Atlas	Book 3 or 4
,,	Pelops	Book 4
Twilight of the Heroes		Book 5.

Now compare with this the structure of Apollodorus' *Bibliotheke*:

(Genealogies and short narratives)		(Extended narratives)
Theogony	1.1–44	
Desc. of Deukalion	1.45–109	
(Aiolos' daughters:	53–79	
his sons:	80–109)	
	1.110–147	Argonautica
Desc. of Inachos & Io:		
Belids	2.1–61	
	2.62–160	Deeds of Herakles
	2.161–180	Desc. of Herakles
Agenorids	3.1–56	
	3.57–95	Theban Wars
Desc. of Pelasgos & Arkas	3.96–109	
Desc. of Atlas	3.110–155	
Desc. of Asopos	3.156–176	
Attic heroes	3.177–215	
	3.216–epit.1	Deeds of Theseus
Desc. of Tantalos & Pelops	epit. 2	
	epit. 3–5	Trojan War
	epit. 6–7	Nostoi, Odyssey, Telegony.

West demonstrates in this table a close and obvious structural similarity.[105] With the current evidence, it is difficult to take this idea further. I agree with West's claim of a close association with the *Catalogue*; however why this exists or how they may be used for more information on each other is a discussion for another work.

Fletcher's arguments of inclusion and exclusion, and also his idea of information on author through intent certainly have their merits. They will be used throughout this work to explain changes or inconsistencies with other versions of myth.

Purpose and Audience

A version of the Apollodoros' *Bibliotheke* was discovered later by a ninth century scholar/patriarch, Photius; this was bound together in a volume with Conon's *Diegeseis*[106].

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[105] Table from West (1985) 44.
[106] Photius, *Bibliotheca* codex 186, 142 a-b.

This does not appear to be the copy of the *Bibliotheke* that we are familiar with today, however our versions are still incomplete.[107] With his copy Photius also found an epigram which appears to outline an intended purpose of the work; this letter does not seem to have survived with our modern copies, however we do have a copy reprinted by Photius in his own *Bibliotheca*[108].

> By gathering the coils of time from my learning,
> come to know the myths of ancient times.
> Look not into the pages of Homer or of elegy,
> nor to the tragic Muse or the lyric,
> nor seek clamorous verse of the Cyclic poets. Look into me
> and you will find in me all the cosmos holds.[109]

It boldly claims the *Bibliotheke* exists to render previous mythological volumes obsolete and to possess all the information the reader might require on the subject of mythology; note the specific mention of Homer and vaguer references to other ancient poets or authors. Such a letter would be a point of debate as its validity and authenticity are called into question. This letter, authentic or not, highlights an aspect of discussion amongst scholars of the *Bibliotheke* regarding the intended purpose of the work.

While we know very little about this epigram, a few things are deducible. Cameron suggests the epigram is pre-Byzantine as their style of epigram was not elegiac.[110] Griffiths suggest that the epigram was not written by a Christian; this is due to the lack of negativity towards the mythic material.[111] As a result, Kylintirea suggests this epigram was written by a non-Christian during a non-Christian period. She also theorizes that it may have been written by the actual author himself;[112] however there is a lack of evidence to support this claim.

This discussion of purpose ties in closely with any intended audiences; after all what is the purpose but a method of describing how the work will be useful to the target audience. While suggestions are common regarding audience, general conclusive agreement is elusive without further evidence and decisiveness on the part of scholars can be negatively received. It should also be pointed out here that due to lack of solid information, discussions on audience or purpose are speculation at best. A variety of audience suggestions demonstrates the wide potential of the *Bibliotheke* and as

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[107] Book 3 came down to us incomplete but have since been supplemented with the Sabbaitic and Vatican epitomes. Scott Smith & Trzaskoma (2007) xxxviii.
[108] Photius, *Bibliotheca* codex 186, 142 a-b.
[109] Epigram translated by Scott Smith & Trzaskoma (2007) 1.
[110] Cameron (1995) *Callimachus and His Critics* in Kylintirea (2002) 11, n.10.
[111] Kylintirea (2002) 10, citing a personal communication with A. Griffiths (1997).
[112] Kylintirea (2002) 11.

mentioned by Scott Smith and Trzaskoma, the acceptance of one does not mean the dismissal of the others.[113] Some scholars discuss the potential of the *Bibliotheke* as a source of reference; the structured system of this work enables easy use and finding of required information. [114] Also suggested is the use of the *Bibliotheke* as a reference or handbook for the learned. This idea, while potentially valid, is the most likely to be dismissed due to the simpler style of the work.[115]

The audience suggestion that is the most common is that the work would have been used for school or lower educational use. The features of a structured system, yet simply written text has led many scholars to assign this work to this purpose.[116] While this has been commonly suggested, it is not without contention. Van der Valk argued that this text was designed for use by young readers in this situation; his argument for this was based upon the idea of censorship and decency in the *Bibliotheke*. He claimed Apollodoros censored inappropriate pieces in various passages.[117] His argument is made difficult and flawed due to a lack of consistency in this censorship; the mere attempt to argue censorship in a subject like Greek myth is problematical. This flaw is highlighted in a discussion by van Rossum-Steenbeek. She discusses the inconsistency of the censorship and van der Valk's own contradictory arguments.[118] One author provides a different perspective on the idea of school use by suggesting that it is not necessarily incorrect but rather that it is too restrictive. Fletcher dismisses this view of school use, arguing that the reader would require a certain level of knowledge and education on the subject matter of Greek myth to use the work.[119]

Conclusion

This chapter highlights the various aspects of the background to the author and the *Bibliotheke* and of the genre of mythography. These are all important aspects when comprehending the *Bibliotheke*; one needs to understand where a work comes from in order to understand why certain aspects exist within it. The origins of mythography provide a valuable foundation for the understanding of the work; the comprehension of what mythography is proves to be vital to Apollodoros' writing system. The origins and connections of mythography aid in the comprehension. The information about the author known as Apollodoros is brief and elusive. However we can gain insight into what his

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[113] Scott Smith & Trzaskoma (2007) xxxi.
[114] Scott Smith & Trzaskoma (2007) xxxi; Fowler (2006) 44.
[115] Scott Smith & Trzaskoma (2007) 2.
[116] Scott Smith & Trzaskoma (2007) xxxi; Fowler (2006) 44; van der Valk (1958) 102.
[117] For more information on this see van der Valk (1958) 103.
[118] van Rossum-Steenbeek (1998) 168-69.
[119] Fletcher (2008) 62-63.

intentions are and what he designed his structural system to do. An analysis of the potential social and political system illuminates aspects such as the desire to ignore Rome within the work. The attempt by the author to remove himself from the text also proves to be highly useful. Perhaps the most valuable aspect to take away from this chapter is the structural system Apollodoros uses and how he manipulates his information in the final portrayal. This idea will be a reoccurring point throughout the rest of this thesis.

Chapter Two - The Punishment of Hera

The episodes displaying important aspects of the relationship between the three key figures of Herakles, Hera and Zeus are presented by Apollodoros in an interesting order. The first relevant episode encountered in the work is chronologically displaced from the life of Herakles. This is not in error but rather exists as a deliberate sample of Apollodoros' structuring method. The reasons for the placement of this and other episodes will be discussed as they arise. In regards to the punishment of Hera, its placement here is due to the primary emphasis of this section on the interactions between the Olympians. Herakles is relevant to this passage as he is a target and instrument of Hera's malice; this relevance is not of primary importance to Apollodoros, thus the placement of the episode in the Olympian myth section of the *Bibliotheke*.

Location in the *Bibliotheke*

The punishment of Hera depicts some interesting and unusual aspects of the relationship between Hera and Zeus, and the resulting impact that these have on Herakles here. There is also some potential subtext here; later in this chapter, we will see how the punishment of Hera may be linked to the events of the Gigantomachy. The punishment of Hera is primarily located early in the work (1.3.5); its secondary mention is in the life of Herakles (2.7.1).

> Him [Hephaistos] Zeus cast out of heaven, because he came to the rescue of Hera in her bonds. For when Herakles had taken Troy and was at sea, Hera sent a storm after him; so Zeus hung her from Olympos. Hephaistos fell on Lemnos and was lamed of his legs…
> (Bibliotheke 1.3.5)

This first example presents three different actions. Firstly we have the actions of Hephaistos, which would be irrelevant to this discussion, except that it dictates the placement of the episode in this location. The origin of the lameness of Hephaistos is Apollodoros' current topic here. Hephaistos attempts to aid his mother Hera and is punished by Zeus for his interference; he is physically evicted from Olympos and is crippled as a result of landing on Lemnos. The next action that is presented is of greater importance to this discussion. Hera, for unspecified reasons, targets Herakles as he is at sea and sends him a storm after him. Unlike the account in the *Iliad* (15.16ff), Apollodoros does not explicitly state that Hera sent Herakles off course with her storms. Here Hera is the primary action taker, Herakles the recipient of said action; however this rapidly changes as we see Zeus' reaction. The third action presented is Zeus' response to Hera's mischief. Simply described by Apollodoros as 'so Zeus hung her from Olympos' (1.3.5), we

do not get the full impact of this punishment. When we view the same episode in the *Iliad*, Hera's reaction to a reminder is enlightening; we see the true fear of the goddess which emphasizes the severity of the punishment (15.16ff).[120]

The second occurrence of this episode is placed in the bulk of the Herakles myths, serving as a place marker for the episode and to demonstrate how it relates for Herakles to the other events of his life. It is placed between the sack of Troy by Herakles (2.6.4) and the sack of Kos which will lead up to the events of the Gigantomachy.

> When Herakles was sailing from Troy, Hera sent grievous storms, which so vexed Zeus that he hung her from Olympus. Herakles sailed to Kos…
> (Bibliotheke 2.7.1)

In this account of events, the major focus returns to the three figures; Hephaistos' valiant attempts are neglected as the focus is upon the life of Herakles now. We receive similar details as the earlier version; Hera is hung from Olympos by Zeus for her actions against Herakles. The difference here is the anger of Zeus is described in an explicit manner, rather than the previously implicit inference. The placement of these excerpts in the work and the general placement of this myth demonstrate deliberate choices on the part of the author. Through this choice of placement, we can gather information about the intent of the author and his general structure. In this case we have a split episode to fit several purposes that Apollodoros will reinforce throughout the text.

The first example of this episode is chronologically displaced from our main focus on Herakles, appearing after the parentage of Hephaistos (1.3.5). The emphasis lies on Hephaistos which means the actions of Hera against Herakles are merely a sub-plot feature. Apollodoros does not place great emphasis on this punishment; this missing emphasis displays a lack of importance to the mythographer. The second mention of this event occurs much later in the work, during the life of Herakles; this transpires for several reasons. This mention prompts memory of the earlier passage, provoking a link in the readers' mind to connect events across the work. The position of the excerpt also provides new context for the myth; this time it is relevant to the life of Herakles, not the laming of Hephaistos. This is a recurring aspect of Apollodoros' work and structure. The mythographical and methodological style of the author is often demonstrated in the life of Herakles; he locks down events that were previously vague in location.[121] The last reason

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[120] One could theorize that Apollodoros removed any such action either as a result of the mythographical style, or more likely, it was irrelevant to the primary emphasis of this section, which is on Hephaistos.

[121] For example, see the Gigantomachy episode (*Bibliotheke* 1.6.1, 2.7.1), to be further discussed in Chapter Three.

for the placement of this event here lies in its proximity to the events of the Gigantomachy. The hero arrives in Kos after the storms, perhaps sent off course, and after destroying this city, he is whisked off by Athena to participate in this cosmic battle (2.7.1). I will return to this link later.

The meddling of Hera

While this example of Hera's malice appears first in the work, it is not, chronologically, the first in the life of Herakles. This is a recurring feature of their relationship, starting with the pregnancy of Alkmene and continuing until the events of the Gigantomachy.[122] While this appears to be of minor significant to this passage, this is the first appearance of the three figures together. We also have the establishment of Zeus as protector of Herakles (or rather avenger of wrongs done to him); this is a role which he does not fulfil elsewhere, apparently allowing Hera free reign. It is therefore doubly important that his care for Herakles is noted at the outset; we can then see the tribulations that Hera inflicts in Herakles as tests of Herakles' mettle and chances for him to prove himself. Herakles does not exist in this section as a direct participant but rather as the recipient for the actions of Hera. Thus his own response is absent as the emphasis lies on the goddess. In the events prior to this one in the life of Herakles, Zeus demonstrates a lack of interaction, which is starkly contrasting with his proactive behaviour here. He takes action against Hera, and goes further to reverse her meddling, removing Herakles from Kos when he is in danger (2.7.1). The actions are unusual, and the punishment is surprisingly harsh for what appears to be a minor offence. Yasumura also discusses the unusual form of the punishment itself. Other options, from physical eviction to smiting were possible outcomes; the hanging suggests a longer time period for the punishment, more severe in nature.[123]

In the context of the *Bibliotheke*, this episode provides a unique view on the relationship between Hera and Zeus. Nowhere else in the work do we have such an example of punishment by Zeus against Hera; it also displays Herakles not so much as a mythic figure here but as a tool to be used by either party. What the goddess achieves from meddling with Herakles here is vague in the text. Neither excerpt gives any indication of her purpose or what she was striving to achieve through this. While a lack of information here is detrimental to the analysis of Hera's actions, it also leaves options available and cautious suggestions can be put forward. This punishment also provides an interesting comparison and discussion point for later episodes when Hera commits much greater travesties against Herakles and escapes repercussions. Zeus' lack of action in other

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[122] For details on the suggested end point of Hera's wrath in the Bibliotheke, see the reconciliation discussion in Chapter Six.
[123] Yasumura (2011) 48.

episodes is starkly in contrast to this particular one. Why does Hera not get punished for inflicting madness on Herakles or for trying to kill him as an infant? Perhaps the question here is better phrased as: why *does* Hera get punished here? What is so significant about her behaviour here that it warrants harsh punishment at the hands of Zeus himself? To answer this, it is useful to look at the version of this myth that is present in the *Iliad*. What we can gather about the portrayal of relationships between the key figures in these excerpts is brief in nature but valuable for the overall analysis. These brief aspects can be bolstered by other versions of this myth, like one present in the *Iliad*. While this latter version is short in context to the larger work, it provides a few more details on the punishment that Apollodoros omits; potential reasons for the absence of these details is also a noted aspect of this discussion.

The *Iliad* Version

This myth occurs briefly in the *Iliad*, cited as a warning to Hera by Zeus, reminding her of her past actions that warranted punishment.

> I do not know, perhaps for this contrivance of evil and pain you will win first reward when I lash you with whip strokes. Do you not remember that time you hung from high and on your feet I slung two anvils, and about your hands drove a golden chain, unbreakable. You among the clouds and the bright sky hung, nor could the gods about tall Olympos endure it and stood about, but could not set you free. If I caught one I would seize and throw him from the threshold, until he landed stunned on the earth, yet even so the weariless agony for Herakles the godlike would not let go my spirit. You with the north winds and winning over the stormwinds drove him on across the desolate sea in evil intention and then on these swept him away to Kos, the strong founded… He spoke, and the lady the ox-eyed goddess Hera was frightened…
> (Homer, Iliad 15.16ff)

This excerpt is present in the work after the seduction of Zeus and exists as a reminder to Hera for how Zeus can punish her. This particular version of the punishment contains details that are absent in the *Bibliotheke* version. It does also refer to the situation we see in the first *Bibliotheke* excerpt (1.3.5) where Hephaistos attempted to aid his mother; it does not however mention the god by name. Herakles maintains his position as the target of Hera's actions. Zeus describes the pain he felt at this treatment, but as Herakles is not actually present in this 'flashback,' we have no reaction from him again. Another element of the story that is present here but not emphasized in the *Bibliotheke* is the purpose of the storm sent by Hera. Here it states that Herakles was swept away off course to Kos; the end location is the same as the *Bibliotheke*. Thus we can conclude that the storm most probably sent Herakles off course (rather than hurrying him in his intended direction) in the *Bibliotheke*, despite this not being explicitly stated. A general aspect present in the *Iliad* version is the reaction of Hera to her past punishment. The poet tells us that Hera

was frightened; her following speech serves to convince Zeus of her loyalty and contains a promise to improve her behaviour in future (*Il*.15.35ff.). The importance this particular aspect is the lack of it in the *Bibliotheke* version; the emphasis on Hera's punishment itself is slight, due to the focus lying elsewhere and we are given no further information on her reaction. This absent element is of note when considering connections to the Gigantomachy.[124]

These two accounts of the same myth both contain the basic elements that make the myth. Herakles is at sea when Hera plots against him and a storm is sent after the hero by her. Zeus displays his anger against Hera, through a hanging punishment; Herakles ends up in Kos, probably sent off course by the storm. From here the *Bibliotheke* version adds few details; the hanging is explicitly said to take place from Olympos, as stated in both excerpts (1.3.5; 2.7.1). There are certainly more specific details given in the *Iliad* version. Hera is hung from high among clouds and sky, while two anvils are slung on her ankles and an unbreakable golden chain is driven around her hands. As for the persecution of Herakles, it explicitly states he was driven off course to Kos, the 'strong founded' and Hera's intentions in the matter were of an evil nature. These details are left out of the *Bibliotheke* version; before we consider why, it might be useful to figure out what these details add to the myth.

The elements present here in the persecution of Herakles serve as a way of confirming ideas. Hera's attempt to cause trouble for Herakles is clear, however her 'evil intention' does emphasize the malice Hera holds for him. The description of 'Kos, the strong founded' while existing as a poetic epithet, also hints at the danger that Herakles will encounter in that city (2.7.1). The elements of the punishment of Hera serve a slightly different purpose. Scholars, when viewing this version, focus on the details of the anvil and golden chain. To many, these details are representations of older versions in which a very different story is told.[125]

Scholarly Theories on the Punishment

The most basic idea of what these might tell us lies in the comparison of this myth to slave punishment in the ancient world. In his commentary on this passage, Janko lists two similar examples from ancient literature. The first tells of the punishment of Melathios in Homer's *Odyssey*; Odysseus has the man hung in bonds on a pillar (*Od*. 22.180ff).[126] The second example, refers to slave punishment in Plautus' *Asinaria* where a slave is attached

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[124] This will be focussed upon later in this chapter.
[125] Whitman (1970), O'Brien (1993a), Aloni-Ronen (1998), Yasumura (2011).
[126] This idea is present by Leaf (1971) *The Iliad* in Janko (1992) 229.

to a beam with weights on his feet (Pl. As. 2.2).[127] O'Brien also compares the punishment here to that of a slave, describing Hera as a 'cosmic slave'.[128] In comparison back to the *Bibliotheke* version, the lack of such details has effectively removed potential associations with slave punishment. In eliminating such details, even if for mythographical purposes, Apollodoros reduced the associated baggage that this myth can contain.

Along a similar strain, scholars like O'Brien, Renehan and Whitman consider this myth as evidence of Hera's potential origins as an earth goddess.[129] Hera, the earth goddess, receives punishment from the reigning sky god Zeus, supposedly due to insurrection attempts. This theory is triggered by attempts to explain the brutal example of 'marital affection'. An important idea to take from this theory is the idea of incomplete motifs that may linger in myths long after their original context is gone.[130] Often elements like this can be seen in the *Bibliotheke*; for example the behaviour of Zeus in the Gigantomachy does seem out of place.

Another point that O'Brien emphasizes does have relevance to Hera's behaviour in the *Bibliotheke*; she discusses connections with dangerous and monstrous creatures Hera's associations with monstrous or serpentine creatures is a recurring element in Greek myth, however it is nearly completely filtered out of the *Bibliotheke*. Despite this attempt, the work still displays myths in which Hera sends the Sphinx to terrorize Thebes (13.5.8), and the serpentine assassins which she inflicts upon the infant Herakles (2.4.8),[131] both of these examples will be discussed in further depth later in this work.[132]

The physical depiction of the punishment, with or without the additional *Iliad* details, has given rise to a theory regarding the balance and measurement of truth. Enright and Papalas present in this idea in relation to the *Iliad* version, however the discussion is also valid for the *Bibliotheke* depiction as the base details remain the same. The idea presented here is that the hanging punishment portrays a measuring tool, a plumb-line.[133] Visually this plumb-line, in this episode, is Hera hanging from the sky by Zeus, complete with anvils and chain in Homer's version. In this case the plumb-line concept is present as a way of measuring the truthfulness of the goddess. As described in the original discussion, Hera 'is herself the tool whereby her degree of variance from the truth can be perfectly

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[127] This idea is present by Willcock (1978-1984) *The Iliad of Homer* in Janko (1992) 229.
[128] O'Brien (1993a) 100.
[129] O'Brien (1993a), Whitman (1970), Renehan (1974).
[130] Whitman (1970) 40, 42.
[131] O'Brien (1993b).
[132] See Chapters Four, Five and Six for Hera's associations with such creatures.
[133] Used by ancient craftsmen, this tool was designed to measure a straight line.

established'.[134] This idea of the plumb-line as a method to divine truth or 'straightness' is suggested by the authors to be a reasonable concept that 'is fundamental to Greek concepts of law and right judgement'[135] This concept of 'straightness' provided by the plumb-line idea also connects to the concept of justice, or δίκη. Several scholars highlight the idea of δίκη as translatable to the concept of 'straightness' or 'crookedness' depending on the context; this links in to the concept of the plumb-line as a measurement of truth.[136] This concept of justice aids in answering questions brought forth by the unusual style of Hera's punishment. It also clarifies the seemingly harsh actions of Zeus. While the *Bibliotheke* does not contain as many details as the *Iliad* version, such elements of justice linger beneath the surface of the myth, existing in the base details.[137]

Yasumura provides an interesting idea, regarding the purpose of Hera's negative attentions to Herakles in this myth.[138] The author puts forth a theory linking Hera's actions towards Herakles here to an attempt on the order of the cosmos. While this may retain aspects of the earth goddess theory through the rebellion characteristic, Yasumura links this to the Gigantomachy and Herakles' participation in this. The theory suggests Hera plotted against Zeus, desiring victory for the gigantes in this cosmic battle.[139] She attempted to bring this about by depriving Zeus of his mortal ally;[140] the *Bibliotheke* states the necessity of Herakles in this battle (1.6.1). In sending Herakles off course to Kos, the goddess put the hero in danger as well as physically moving him away; Zeus had to intervene to prevent harm and Athena was required in the transportation of the hero to Phlegra/Pallene.[141]

Conclusion

The relationships depicted here by Apollodoros are puzzling and provoke more questions than they can satisfy. Hera's actions against Herakles are without intent and Zeus' reaction on the matter seems extreme and cruel. While the relationships themselves still remain perplexing at this point, we are able to use this episode to ascertain a number of

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[134] Enright and Papalas (2002) 22.
[135] Enright and Papalas (2002) 23 -26. Evidence for this theory is provided based on discussions of plumb-lines in works by Sophocles, Euripides, Theognis and Solon. The authors provide examples in which the concept of a plumb-line to measure the truth is either fairly obvious in text or at least a tangible concept to apply.
[136] Palmer (1950) "The Indo-European Origins of Greek Justice" as mentioned in Yasumura (2011) 23; Lloyd-Jones (1971) 6.
[137] Such details are the hanging punishment itself and the righteous anger of Zeus.
[138] This is again a theory based on the *Iliad* version, however it is very connectable to the *Bibliotheke* version, especially as the punishment of Hera and the Gigantomachy occur in quick succession in the life of Herakles (2.7.1).
[139] The reasons for this will be discussed in Chapter Three.
[140] Yasumura (2011) 53-54.
[141] Chapter Three discusses the multiple locations of the Gigantomachy.

other ideas and theories on Apollodoros' treatment of myth and structural scheme. The punishment of Hera links in well to the events of the Gigantomachy. The actions of Hera here can indicate a willingness to prevent the participation of Herakles in the Gigantomachy. This explanation aids in shedding light on an otherwise confounding punishment.

This episode enables us to view the scheme of Apollodoros in action. The varied details between the *Bibliotheke* and *Iliad* myths are obvious and the removal of such details impacts the passage in several ways. Firstly it eliminates a number of scholarly disagreements on the topic; these theories are often based on very few details. The omission of such details can however have an impact on the analysis of punishment; with fewer details that may hint at older myths, we are left with more questions than answers.

While finding more definitive answers becomes more difficult, we are able to ascertain other ideas through the change of details. Using both examples of this punishment of Hera, in the *Bibliotheke* and the *Iliad*, we are able to view the progression of the mythic details over time. The difference in details between the *Iliad* and the *Bibliotheke* prove the idea that elements of the myth can change or vanish over time. If one finds the *Iliad*'s episode difficult to comprehend, the much later depiction in the *Bibliotheke* proves to be of an even more perplexing nature. As can be seen through here, motifs can remain even after the original myth has been absorbed.[142] It is quite possible this is the case with the version of this myth in Apollodoros' *Bibliotheke*. The original myth, while long gone, survived in some motifs, picked up by Homer, then passed on to other works like the *Bibliotheke*. This would explain the harsh punishment for a lesser 'crime' against Herakles, when other, much greater offences exist in the work.

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[142] Whitman (1970) 40, 42.

Chapter Three - The Gigantomachy

The Gigantomachy presents us with another challenge to the reign of Zeus. The gigantes,[143] born of Ge and Ouranos present the second to last cosmic challenge, like the Titanomachy before and the challenge of Typhon afterwards.[144] Unlike other challenges, we are presented with a new aspect here as the gods are unable to meet this undertaking without the aid of a mortal.

> Now the gods had an oracle that none of the giants could perish at the hand of gods, but that with the help of a mortal they would be made an end of.
> (Bibliotheke 1.6.1)

This introduces a new participant to the Gigantomachy: Herakles, son of Zeus and Alkmene.[145] Herakles' contribution to this event presents a series of questions in regards to his relationships with his divine father and step-mother. All three are present in the battle, but while Zeus and Herakles acquit themselves with impressive deeds, Hera's role is basically that of a damsel in distress, present to be saved by her male relations. These interactions will be looked at in depth later in this chapter. First it will be useful to look at the actual events of the Gigantomachy itself.

The Gigantomachy in the *Bibliotheke* is triggered by the wrath of Ge in reaction to the previous events of the Titanomachy.[146] The gigantes, born of a union with Ouranos were brought forth in their autochthonous glory; Porphyrion and Alcyoneus are mentioned as the greatest of these. The gods are given an oracle foretelling the defeat of the gigantes but only with the aid of a mortal. Ge attempts to use a *pharmakon* to prevent this; Zeus, however, effectively stops time itself and destroys the *pharmakon*. The mortal Herakles is summoned by Zeus through Athene and the battle begins.

> But Zeus forbade the Dawn and the Moon and the Sun to shine, and then, before anybody else could get it, he culled the simple [*pharmakon*] himself, and by means of Athene summoned Herakles to his help.
> (*Bibliotheke* 1.6.1)

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[143] I have chosen to use the term 'gigantes' over the usual 'giants' as the modern connotations of the word detracts from the portrayal of these creatures.

[144] Kylintirea suggests that the Gigantomachy and the fight against Typhon should be seen as related, complementary works; Kylintirea (2002) 112.

[145] This implies that the Gigantomachy took place, at least in this work, quite late in the grand scheme of things. Herakles is certainly born after a few generations and quite a bit later than other primordial conflicts.

[146] According to Herakles' participation in the Gigantomachy, quite a bit of time must have passed between these events. This reaction from Ge is quite delayed but in keeping with the idea of rebellious earth goddesses; Loraux (1992) 40-41.

Apollodoros proceeds to list, with much detail, the various gigantes and the deaths they receive at the hands of the gods and Herakles. The gigantomachy ends with victory on that part of the Olympians and Apollodoros continues his work with the fight against Typhon (1.6.1-3).

The location of this event is suggested by Apollodoros to be either Phlegra or Pallene (1.6.1); Apollodoros is obviously combining conflicting sources here and gives us both options. He continues to refer to both locations throughout the text. When Herakles defeats the autochthonous Alcyoneus, with the aid of Athene, Apollodoros tells us that the gigas is dragged from Pallene (1.6.2).[147] Later in the work, Apollodoros tells us again that it took place in Phlegra.

> And having laid waste to Cos, he came through Athene's agency to Phlegra, and sided with the gods in their victorious war on the giants.
> (*Bibliotheke* 2.7.1)

Frazer makes note of this briefly suggesting that Phlegra was believed to have been a former name of Pallene;[148] it seems then that Apollodoros was using both names for variation sake.

This episode is remarkably detailed considering the mythographical style of the work; this could be due to better source access or the importance of the event in Apollodoros' scheme. Apollodoros gives us a detailed account of the battle, listing a number of gigantes and the various ways in which the gods (with the aid of Herakles) eliminate them (summarized in the table below); he is very clear on the point of the aid of Herakles, making it clear that all of the gigantes were shot with the arrows of Herakles while dying (1.6.2).

> The other giants Zeus smote and destroyed with thunderbolts and all of them Herakles shot with arrows as they were dying.
> (*Bibliotheke* 1.6.2)

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[147] This was due to Alcyoneus' immortality on his homeland of Pallene. Athene advised Herakles that he could not die on his home soil and was thus dragged from it by the hero. (*Bibliotheke* 1.7.1-2.); Frazer (1921) 44, n.1.

[148] Frazer (1921) 43, n.3 cites Stephanius Byzantuus (*s.v.* φλέγρα) on the matter.

antes	Slayer	Method of Death/Weapon
...oneus	Herakles (aid of Athene)	Arrows, removal from homeland
...hyrion	Zeus, Herakles	Thunderbolt, arrows
...ialtes	Apollo, Herakles	Arrows in left and right eyes respectively
...ytos	Dionysos	Thyrsus
...ius	Hekate	Torches
...ias	Hephaistos	Missiles of red hot metal
...elados	Athene	Thrown island of Sicily
...as	Athene	Flayed
...botes	Poseidon	Thrown island of Nisyrum
...polytos	Hermes	-
...tion	Artemis	-
...ius/Thoas	Moirae (The Fates)	Brazen clubs
...er unnamed gigantes	Zeus, Herakles	Thunderbolt, arrows.

Other Ancient Sources

As with many accounts of Apollodoros, he leaves us posing questions about his sources. Few literary accounts exist of the Gigantomachy to compare this particular version to. It is a common theme in art, usually celebrating the victory of order over chaos.[149]

Pindar presented our first recorded version of the Gigantomachy in his *Nemean Odes*. It occurs during Teiresias' prophecy of Herakles' life.

> And furthermore, when the gods would meet the Giants
>   in battle on the plain of Phlegra,
> he said that beneath a volley of arrows
>   their bright hair would be fouled
> with earth
> (*Nem* 1.67-69)

The examples of the Gigantomachy in other works, like this one, helpfully confirm the regularity of Herakles' participation in the event; various depictions in art also reinforced the participation.[150] The Gigantomachy also appears elsewhere in literature, albeit only in brief mentions. Often these snippets will present conflicting information suggesting that if

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[149] Stafford (2009) 429; See *LIMC* Gigantes for an encompassing account of images.
[150] Artistic evidence for Herakles' contribution to the Gigantomachy can be found as early as the mid-sixth century BCE. Stafford (2012) 63.

Apollodoros did know of them, he deliberately excluded them in preference for the versions given.[151]

Pindar in his *Pythian Odes* mentions the Gigantomachy again, claiming it was Apollo who took down the gigas Porphyrion; the *Bibliotheke* claims it was a combined effort of Zeus and Herakles (*Pyth*. 8. 12ff; *Bib* 1.7.1-2.)[152] Apollonius Rhodius, in the *Argonautica*, made a brief mention of a corset given to Aeetes by Ares after the latter killed the 'Phlegraean Mimas' (*Arg*. 3.1225-1227). Mimas comes up again briefly in the work of Euripides who tells of the gigas' death, this time at the hands of Zeus himself (*Ion* 210ff). This version of the Gigantomachy also makes mention of the participation of Dionysus, who is mentioned occasionally as the other 'mortal' helper of the gods in this battle.[153] The *Bibliotheke* incorporates Dionysus into the Gigantomachy also but under the Olympians, not as a mortal; the work also attributes the death of Mimas to Hephaistos. Strabo however mentions of story in is in keeping with versions in the *Bibliotheke*; Poseidon broke off a piece of Kos and hurled it at the gigas Polybotes, which then proceeded to become the island Nisyros with the gigas lying beneath (Strabo 10.5.16). This is the only account of these that matches up to our version including the detail of the thrown island. This tells us that Apollodoros is either drawing on sources unknown to us or on a series of different authors for this myth.

Gigantomachy in Art

The comparison of details from Apollodoros' Gigantomachy need not stop at literature. Art is a far more common form for surviving depictions of the Gigantomachy; the Gigantomachy was a popular choice for temples and commemorative works due to the victorious theme of order over chaos, which has led to its incorporation into many works.[154] An example of such a work is the Siphnian Treasury (c.530 BCE) (Fig. 1 and 2).[155] Early depictions of the gigantes presented them as anthropomorphic warriors, often dressed as hoplites, 'civilized' in appearance.[156] Depictions of the gigantes on the Siphnian Treasury present organized and militarily attired creatures; they are armoured, including

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[151] Kylintirea (2002) 19. She suggested Apollodoros would change elements of the story to accommodate his preferred source, which would usually be an earlier one (as was also his preferred type).
[152] This attribution of the death of Porphyrion to Zeus and Herakles is an important aspect to the Gigantomachy in the *Bibliotheke*. This will be address later in the chapter.
[153] Dowden (2006) 38; he cites scholion on Pindar as the source for Dionysus as a mortal helper in the Gigantomachy.
[154] Pollitt (1986) 101; Dowden (1992) 160; Stafford (2009) 429-430.
[155] Left section of the north frieze of the Siphnian Treasury, c. 530 BCE. Delphi, Delphi Museum. Gigantomachy with Dionysos and Themis.
[156] Woodford (2003) 122; Stafford (2009) 428.

helms and shields, and are marching in phalanx formation (Fig. 2).[157] Examples of gigantes in hoplite attire are also seen in vase painting (Fig. 3). [158] As time and art progressed, the gigantes became more barbaric in nature and appearance. They acquired skins and rocks replacing their armour and proper weapons, although there were usually one or two armed figures among the others, even in later items.[159] The later depictions of gigantes were usually wilder, combining the earlier elements of the skins and rocks with autochthonous attributes also; these later gigantes often had serpentine legs or wings.[160] The first depiction of a gigas with serpentine legs appeared on an Apulian lekythos, around 380 BCE (Fig. 4);[161] it is the first to be confirmed as a gigas.[162] However this form of depiction of the gigantes becomes more popular later and by the Hellenistic period, it is quite common.[163] The Great Altar at Pergamon, while being of Hellenistic origins (ca. 180 BCE onwards), provides an excellent depiction of these autochthonous beings (Fig. 5).[164] Some of the gigantes are presented with serpentine legs and wings, while others appear to be anthropomorphic and armoured (Fig. 6).[165]This gigantomachy also included a depiction of Herakles fighting at the side of Zeus (Fig. 7).[166]

This brief overview of the depictions of gigantes in art provides a basis for comparison between their appearances and those of Apollodoros' own gigantes.

> These were matchless in the bulk of their bodies and invincible in their might; terrible of aspect did they appear, with long locks dropping from their head and chin, and with the scales of dragons for feet.
> (*Bibliotheke* 1.6.1).

These gigantes described by Apollodoros seem to match later depictions of gigantes. The autochthonous attributes, the serpentine legs and the barbaric hair, hint at a later source of inspiration for Apollodoros. He also mentions 'rocks and burning oaks' as their weapons

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[157] Woodford (2003) 123.

[158] Attic red-figure hydria shoulder, Tyszkiewicz Painter, c.480 BCE, London, British Museum E 165. Gigantomachy with Athena and Zeus.

[159] Woodford (2003) 123, 126.

[160] Woodford (2003) 125-126; Stafford (2009) 430. See the Great Altar at Pergamon for such depictions.

[161] Apulian red-figure lekythos, c. 380 BCE. Berlin, Staatliche Museum, V. 1.3375. Herakles, serpentine gigas and Dionysos.

[162] Kylintirea (2002) 136.

[163] Woodford (2003) 126.

[164] Northern frieze of the Great Altar at Pergamon, c. 180 BCE onwards. Berlin, Pergamon Museum. Moirai.

[165] Eastern frieze of the Great Altar at Pergamon, c. 180 BCE. Berlin, Pergamon Museum. Hekate and Artemis groups.

[166] The figure of Herakles is almost damaged beyond recognition. We have one remaining lion paw hanging above the shield of the gigas to mark his place. An inscription of the name of Herakles is also present at this location (east frieze), helping to prove his participation in the event. Schmidt (1965) 11-12. Eastern frieze of the Great Altar at Pergamon, c. 180 BCE onwards. Berlin, Pergamon Museum. Herakles and Zeus.

of choice. Kylinetirea briefly discusses the idea that this depiction of the gigantes is reminiscent of an older world, in which no-anthropomorphic beings were more common; she argues that Apollodoros eliminates the non-anthropomorphic creatures, such as the primordial chaos we often see in theogonies (*Theog.* 116ff).[167] However the serpentine depictions of the gigantes here are far more likely to be of a later origin; there is general agreement on attributing serpentine aspects to later depictions.[168] Unless strong evidence to the contrary arises, it is safe to assume the serpentine elements of Apollodoros' gigantes are born of a later influence.

The Actions of Herakles, Hera and Zeus

The behaviour of our three key figures in this episode is quite remarkable, especially in regards to their interactions with each other. As mentioned previously, the actions of both Herakles and Zeus, against the gigantes, are notable, especially for the former, a mortal partaking in battle for order in the cosmos. Hera's depiction, however, is unusual here. Normally portrayed as a powerful goddess not to be trifled with, she is depicted here as the victim of attempted rape, only present to be rescued by her husband and loathed step-son.

Actions of Herakles

Herakles is the mortal upon whom the fate of the Gigantomachy rests, chosen specifically by Zeus to participate. The role of Herakles in this battle is a busy one; the implications dictated in the prophecy required Herakles to take part in the death of every gigas.

> Now the gods had an oracle that none of the giants could perish at the hand of gods, but that with the help of a mortal they would be made an end of…The other giants Zeus smote and destroyed with thunderbolts and all of them Herakles shot with arrows as they were dying.
> (*Bibliotheke* 1.7.1-2)

The prophecy element of this episode is unique, as it has not arisen in other cosmic battles.[169] This prophecy is also nonspecific as to whom the mortal may be, thus reinforcing the importance of Zeus' decision; there is also evidence of a choice by Apollodoros here.[170] As noted above, Herakles' participation in the Gigantomachy is not unique to this work; the hero's contribution is mentioned in Pindar's Nemean Ode 1.67-69 as well as being attested to in Euripides' *Herakles* (177-180).

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[167] Kylintirea (2002) 111, n.229.
[168] Gardiner (1909) 318-319; Woodford (2003) 123-126; Stafford (2009) 428.
[169] See Titanomachy (1.2.1) and battle against Typhon (1.6.3).
[170] In other versions of this myth, usually brief in nature, Dionysus is also a mortal helper to the gods in this battle. We have evidence of this in scholia on Pindar (Σ *Nem* 1.101).

While Herakles brings with him vast experiences regarding monster slaying, this battle is on a different level of importance. The hero's past actions have been against creatures that threaten the lives and peace of human civilizations.[171] The Gigantomachy, however, presents a series of enemies who threaten the order of the cosmos itself, not just humanity. Along with this pressure, there is the additional aspect of how vital his role is to this event. Along with new enemies, Herakles' interactions with the gods change. Usually Herakles takes part in small squabbles with the gods; here he joins their side in a major conflict and fights with them, not against.[172] The implications of this event for Herakles are vast in Apollodoros' grand scheme. Herakles' actions against the gigantes and his aid to Hera brings with it consequences that will ultimately affect his life after death.[173]

Actions of Zeus

Zeus, in this struggle and other such cosmic battles, can be regarded as the participant with the most to lose. As the reigning deity and personification of cosmic order, Zeus' actions in this Gigantomachy are both normal and perplexing. The god demonstrates his almighty powers when Ge discovers a *pharmakon* that could prevent the destruction of her latest progeny, the gigantes.

> Now the gods had an oracle that none of the giants could perish at the hand of gods, but that with the help of a mortal they would be made an end of…Learning of this, Ge sought for a simple to prevent the giants from being destroyed even by a mortal. But Zeus forbade the Dawn and the Moon and the Sun to shine, and then, before anybody else could get to it, he culled the simple himself, and by means of Athene summoned Herakles to his help.
> (*Bibliotheke* 1.7.1-2)

So desperate to destroy this dangerous plant, Zeus forces the universe to stop functioning briefly. This desperation is well merited considering the consequences otherwise but his determination to win here highlights some of his more strange actions during the battle itself.

Part way through his description of the gigantes and their various forms of death, Apollodoros takes a moment to describe the death of Porphyrion in a bit more detail, or rather what the gigas did to merit destruction by both Herakles and Zeus.

> But in the battle Porphyrion attacked Herakles and Hera. Nevertheless Zeus inspired him with lust for Hera, and when he tore her robes and would have forced her, she called for help, and Zeus smote him with a thunderbolt, and Herakles shot

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[171] In the *Bibliotheke*, Herakles also already completed his tasks and other ventures.
[172] Stafford (2010) 238.
[173] See Chapter Six for the Gigantomachy as an influencing point for Herakles' apotheosis and his reconciliation with Hera.

him dead with an arrow.
(*Bibliotheke* 1.7.1-2)

In the middle of this struggle with the gigantes, a battle for cosmic order, Zeus makes a perplexing decision to encourage a gigas to try and rape his wife, the Queen of the gods.[174] After doing so, he then left it to the last minute, or until she begged for aid, to save her; he and Herakles then punish the gigas for what Zeus encouraged him to do in the first place. At this point one must question what was going on here. Looking at the evidence provided here in the text and elsewhere, three tentative theories may be offered.

The first possibility is that this was an ill-intended distraction attempt on the part of Zeus. According to the text, Porphyrion was first attacking both Hera and Herakles. One could theorize that Herakles was simply struggling to deal with this gigas. It could also tentatively be suggested that Herakles was already protecting Hera from Porphyrion, which would be in keeping with her state of general helplessness here, and he was struggling to protect and defeat. In distracting the gigas with tempting bait, Zeus freed Herakles up to aid the god in both saving Hera and destroying Porphyrion. The need for extra help against one mere gigas is reinforced by Frazer's notes, reminding us that in other versions, Porphyrion was not just a gigas but was the king of the gigantes themselves.[175]

A second theory produced here is the idea of reconciliation between Hera and Herakles. Scholars have previously suggested Herakles' participation in the Gigantomachy is the event that caused the perplexing reconciliation between the goddess and her step-son.[176] One could then take that theory a tentative step further and suggest that it was specifically Herakles' aid to Hera during this battle that provoked it. Whether or not this is valid as an intention of Zeus, Herakles is specifically named as both a participant in the struggle with the gigas and as one of his two killers. It is possible to argue against this idea, stating that Herakles' aid here was merely part of the general role of gigas slayer. Yet if this was the implication then we would not have received the specific mention of Herakles here; Apollodoros could have just left us to assume Porphyrion was shot along with all of the others (1.7.2).

> The other giants Zeus smote and destroyed with thunderbolts and all of them
> Herakles shot with arrows as they were dying.
> (*Bibliotheke* 1.6.2)

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[174] The only note Frazer (1921) makes at this point is to tell us who killed Porphyrion in other versions; 45, n. 2.

[175] Frazer (1921) 45. Tells us that in Pindar Pyth.8.12(15) Apollo killed Porphyrion with arrows. He also tells us that Tzetzes agrees with Apollodoros' version.

[176] Stafford (2012) 63.

The third and most tentative theory on Zeus' perplexing behaviour is offered by the suggestion that this attempted rape is a remnant of an older or lesser known myth; however this idea is more speculative. Yasumura highlights a note by a scholiast to the *Iliad*, telling of a story in which Hera was the lover of a gigas, Eurymedon.[177]

> Some say that Hera, when she was a maiden, fell in love with Eurymedon, one of the Gigantes, and by him bore Prometheus. Zeus, knowing this, hurled Eurymedon into Tartarus, and on the pretext of the stolen fire, chained up Prometheus. (schol. T ad *Il.* 14. 296).

While most of this is irrelevant to our current passage, Yasumura also mentions a record of an alternate version in which Hera was raped by a gigas.[178] This ties into a reference Pindar makes in his 8th *Pythian* Ode (8.12-18). He suggests that Porphyrion provoked Zeus, by 'taking more than his due', as Gantz puts it.[179] This idea is rather applicable to the version of the myth depicted in the *Bibliotheke*. It is possible Hera's interactions here are a remnant of an older myth. In keeping with his usual style, Apollodoros may have discarded this version, preferring to keep Hera unsullied by other influences. One could cautiously suggest that this brief mention in Apollodoros is perhaps a throwback to another version, of which the author was unaware, where Hera either willingly or unwillingly slept with a gigas.

Actions of Hera

Hera's role in this version of the Gigantomachy seems to be simple; she is presented as a victim of attempted rape and is there to be rescued by Zeus and Herakles. Despite this simplistic view, it may not be the entire story. As briefly mentioned in Chapter Two, Hera's attempt to interfere with Herakles by sending him off course may have been to prevent his participation in the Gigantomachy, which in turn could have resulted in the destruction of the current cosmic order. However this idea of an active attempt to overthrow Zeus' regime is not exactly in harmony with Hera's more submissive role in this Gigantomachy. Despite this these two roles can be, arguably, reconciled by careful placement of events. If one were to place Apollodoros' Hera into the role of a dominant instigator of chaos as she would need to appear, for this theory, then 'pre-punishment' Hera would fit this idea in the closest manner. Assuming we can fit the goddess into this role, what would her motivations be for desiring a regime change? Several suggestions are presented in the following paragraphs.

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[177] Yasumura (2011) 54. Eurymedon is not present in Apollodoros' list of gigantes; he is mentioned as the King of the Gigantes in *Od.*7.56.
[178] Dindorf (1875), *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem, Tomus I & II,* ad 14. 295 (MS A) in Yasumura (2011) 54. Hera was raped by Eurymedon and again produces Prometheus.
[179] Gantz (1993) 447.

Scholars such as Renehan and O'Brien have in the past drawn attention to chthonic connections for Hera, suggesting her anger is resentment from a formerly powerful earth goddess towards a reigning sky god.[180] However this theory, while still a potential concept, often is not supported by enough evidence. This does not mean we should dismiss her chthonic connections completely; these connections are helpful while trying to map out Hera's potential motivations. Ge, producer of many chthonic monstrosities, takes on the earth goddess' rebellious role to the reigning sky god, Zeus, as she did against her husband and as Rhea did to Kronos (1.1.4; 1.1.5−7) . Yasumura, in her discussion on challenges against Zeus, emphasizes Hera's connection to both Ge and the gigantes; she argues that considering her previous 'relationships' with gigantes and her existing connection to Ge, the goddess would be inclined to side with them in a battle.[181] So Hera, with her chthonic connections and links to Ge, could have considered the gigantes as a viable choice to remove Zeus from power. As revealed by the prophecy, Herakles was a threat as the potential mortal helper in this war, thus Hera attempted to thwart Zeus by preventing his participation; meanwhile Ge searched for her drug to prevent the destruction of the gigantes.

Hera's motivations could also be boosted by her own past inadequacies. She, the last of a line of powerful mother goddesses, does not live up to her prestigious bloodline; she does not produce an heir to rival his father. Zeus, the personification of cosmic order, prevented such a rivalry by producing powerful sons and daughters outside of his primary relationship and making them loyal to him.[182] Ares is sometimes considered a son of both Zeus and Hera, as he is in the *Bibliotheke* (1.3.1), but is never considered a potential rival to his father. Hera even attempts parthenogenesis in an attempt to provide a rival to Zeus (1.3.5).[183] Parthenogenesis was of course primarily an attribute of early earth goddesses like Ge; in failing to produce a worthy heir by herself, she is again failing her bloodline.[184] Hera receives the role of sister-wife but is denied the role of a true mother like Ge and Rhea. Usually the mother attempts to overthrow the reigning god as the result of a slight against the offspring; Hera's own grievance with Zeus is personal, not maternal.[185] Hera's recurring resentment against Herakles also comes into play here; he is another powerful

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[180] Renehan (1974), O'Brien (1993a).
[181] Yasumura (2011) 54. This same author produces evidence to suggest Hera was either a lover of or raped by Eurymedon, as mentioned previously.
[182] Kylintirea (2002) 52-53.
[183] Birth of Hephaistos.
[184] Kylintirea (2002) 53.
[185] Kylintirea (2002) 53-54.

son, albeit mortal, of her husband, threatening to be more prestigious than her own progeny.[186]

These theories of chthonic and maternal resentments could be motivations for Hera to desire the overthrow of Zeus. Such motivations then can lead to mapping out a hypothetical timeline of events, both before and during the Gigantomachy. Hera, angry at her inability to produce powerful offspring to rival their father, returns to her ancestral chthonic connections when Ge produces the gigantes (1.6.1). They pose a serious threat to Zeus, if Herakles is eliminated from the equation. Thus Hera attempts to prevent his participation in the Gigantomachy by sending him off course to Kos (1.3.5-6; 2.7.1). Zeus eventually rescues him from there after his life is endangered. One could easily theorize that the punishment took place at this point; the timeline given is vague about the placement of the punishment, making it impossible to either prove or disprove.[187] If the punishment took place here then both Hera and Hephaistos would suffer their fates while Herakles is still occupied at Kos. By the time he is summoned to Phlegra, both goddess and son could reasonably have recovered physically.[188] Hera's appearance in the Gigantomachy does not show us a dominant persona as before; this could be a result of a cowed or damaged goddess, fearful of Zeus or perhaps a goddess who was unable to partake in action against or willingly help her former allies? One could also tentatively suggest that Zeus' encouragement of the gigas Porphyrion could be tied to this insubordination and was intended maliciously.

Location of Gigantomachy in the text

The Gigantomachy is an event mentioned several times in Apollodoros' *Bibliotheke*; the author often includes both an event and another mention elsewhere in the text, for various purposes. According to the bulk of the Herakles myths in the work, the main event of the Gigantomachy exists outside the saga, before the life of Herakles begins (1.6.1). This first mention details the battle in its complete form, listing off various gigantes and more importantly to us, the participation of Herakles and what results from this. As all things in the *Bibliotheke* appear according to the grand scheme of Apollodoros, the placement here is specific and intended.

Apollodoros could have left this Gigantomachy until later in his work, where it occurs in Herakles' own life. This would have made sense chronologically in the Herakles saga and

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[186] Watson (1955) 29, 34, 242.
[187] Yasumura (2011) 56. She suggests other placement for the punishment, based on her own outline of the Gigantomachy, placing it after the battle.
[188] The *Iliad* (5.416-7) provides us with an example of instantaneous healing used by the gods when Dione heals her daughter Aphrodite.

perhaps given the reader a better understanding of the impact of such an event in this time period. As Herakles' participation in the battle causes the timeline to be thrown off rather considerably,[189] however in the *Bibliotheke* his participation in the event is also crucial to its success. Despite this, it is his 'participation' that is the key aspect here. This is an event threatening the balance of order in the cosmos, not one of Herakles' usual tasks against lesser monstrosities.[190]

The placement of the Gigantomachy, while chronologically distant, means it is placed in context with the other challenges to Zeus' rule; it is also the first of two challenges levelled at the god by Ge. This allows the reader to compare the events of the Titanomachy, the Gigantomachy and the Typhonomachy in the context of Olympian power and order. The second mention of this event does occur in the life of Herakles. However it is merely that, a mention, not an unnecessary repetition of the event itself.

> And having laid waste to Cos,[191] he came through Athene's agency to Phlegra, and sided with the gods in their victorious war on the giants.
> (*Bibliotheke* 2.7.1)

This snippet reminds the reader of the earlier event in the work. It highlights the important aspects of location, Herakles' own participation and the ultimate victory against the gigantes. In the *Bibliotheke*, the Gigantomachy occurs after Herakles' battle at Kos (2.7.1) but before he marches an army against Augeas (2.7.2). Here Apollodoros presents us with a link to an earlier section of the *Bibliotheke*. It highlights his use of links and place holders across the work; this second mention of the Gigantomachy also fixes the event at a specific point in the life of Herakles. Apollodoros attempts to do this, unlike many authors before him. However this is not just limited to the Gigantomachy; Apollodoros places all events in the life of Herakles deliberately and carefully and gives the hero a fixed timeline.[192] We have two externally mentioned episodes, the Punishment (1.3.5) and the Gigantomachy (1.6.1); these are mentioned primarily outside the life of Herakles, yet Apollodoros diligently specifies where these take place for the hero. In emphasizing a chronological series of events for Herakles, the author demonstrates his

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[189] If one attempted to place the challenges against Zeus on some kind of timeline, there would be a rather large gap between the Titanomachy and the Gigantomachy.

[190] On the issue of cosmic battles, the chronologically later Gigantomachy would have also pushed back the Typhonomachy, which is usually treated as the later of the two. There seem to be some inconsistencies with Apollodoros' thinking if these two world shaping events were supposed to take place during the height of this period of human existence and activity.

[191] When Herakles was sent off course to Kos by Hera's storm, the inhabitants believed he was leading a piratical expedition and attempted to prevent his entry. Herakles forced entry and laid waste to the city (2.7.1).

[192] Stafford (2012) 63. She mentions the vague references to and a general lack of placement of the Gigantomachy in the life of Herakles.

attempt to prevent inconsistencies, as is quite validly suggested to be a desire of his.[193] This concept of specific placement of events is very much in keeping with Apollodoros' ambition to create a methodical and holistic view of Greek myth.

Conclusion

This episode contains within it an intriguing representation of the characters of Herakles, Hera and Zeus. The behaviour of two of the characters seems rather inconsistent with other depictions. Zeus demonstrates questionable actions when he inflicts the gigas Porphyrion on Hera. While there are several explanations for this, Apollodoros leaves us limited information in his text to back any theories. Hera's response to this attempted rape is also unusual considering the passivity of her reaction. When the Gigantomachy (1.6.1) is viewed in conjunction with the Punishment of Hera (1.3.5), then Hera's passivity could have been brought on by the severity of the punishment. Considering her lack of action in the Gigantomachy, the idea that she may be still cowed as a result is not beyond belief. Herakles here at least keeps with his 'heroic' stereotype; however the scale of his heroism changes as he joins in against cosmos-threatening gigantes. Using the evidence presented by Apollodoros in the text, it is also not a stretch to suggest this event influenced his apotheosis and reconciliation with Hera.[194]

Apollodoros' portrayal of the Gigantomachy is valuable as there is a lack of surviving works on this myth. His account does appear to be of later influences; at least this does appear to be the case when compared to the gigantomachy tradition in art. The serpentine aspect is introduced later to the existing anthropomorphic gigantes and we sometimes see a collection of both types; the serpentine depictions in the *Bibliotheke* do seem to be in keeping with this later tradition. Apollodoros also provides us with another example of his structuring technique. Like that of the Punishment of Hera (1.3.5; 2.7.1), the Gigantomachy has a dual existence in the text (1.6.1; 2.7.1). This enables Apollodoros to keep the Gigantomachy in the Olympian myth section, while locking down Herakles' elusive timeline. We will see further examples of this scheme as we view more examples from the life of Herakles.

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[193] Kylintirea (2002) 19.
[194] This point is elaborated on in Chapter Six.

Chapter Four - The Births of Eurystheus and Herakles, and Hera's Serpentine Assassins

The births of Eurystheus and Herakles are intrinsically linked, both through fate and genealogy. These two descendants of Perseus are born into their worlds, already burdened by fates inflicted upon them by external sources, divine in nature. The birth of Herakles, especially, is rife with divine influences, from conception to labour. Hera's meddling also continues throughout his life, next attempting to eliminate the hero at a mere eight months of age. This attempt gives us another glimpse into the darker side of the goddess Hera and her connections to chthonic powers, through her serpentine assassins.

Stolen Birthright

The birth of Eurystheus is important to this discussion, not so much for the character of Eurystheus himself, but rather for what impact his earlier birth has on the life of Herakles. It also demonstrates the first example of Hera's ire directed at Herakles, while still in the womb of Alkmene. Apollodoros tells us of the birth of Eurystheus prior to his relation, Herakles, before we even know of his conception or even the banishment of Amphitryon. This birth occurs first due to the genealogical scheme; Apollodoros lays out the genealogical connections for the children of Perseus and their resulting offspring. When the author mentions Eurystheus as the offspring of Sthenelus, son of Perseus, he briefly digresses with further details.

> For when Herakles was about to be born, Zeus declared among the gods that the descendant of Perseus about to be born would reign over Mycenae… (*Bibliotheke* 2.4.5).

This prophecy incites Hera to take action against the unborn Herakles and indirectly get some vengeance upon her philandering husband.[195] In other versions of the myth, Hera forces an oath out of Zeus before she plans her interference, to prevent him from thwarting her future plans.[196] However there is no mention of this in Apollodoros' version; Hera takes immediate action, or so the text suggest.

> …and Hera out of jealousy persuaded the Ilithyias to retard Alcmena's delivery and contrived that Eurystheus, son of Sthenelus, should be born a seven-month child. (*Bibliotheke* 2.4.5)

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[195] Suhr (1953) 258; Watson (1955) 242.
[196] *Il*.19.90ff.

Hera uses her influence here over 'the Ilithyias', goddesses of childbirth to interfere; these goddesses are the daughters of Hera and Zeus in the *Bibliotheke*.[197] This interference in childbirth is not a unique activity for Hera; she also interferes with the birth of Artemis and Apollo, delaying the childbirth of Leto. In the *Iliad*'s mention of Herakles' birth, Zeus displays his anger openly, inflicting punishment on the goddess Delusion for the deception.

> He caught by the shining hair of her head the goddess Delusion in the anger of his heart, and swore a strong oath; that never after this might Delusion, who deludes all, come back to Olympos and the starry sky. So speaking, he whirled her about in his hand and slung her out of the starry heaven…
> (*Iliad* 19. 126ff)

This intense reaction is missing from Apollodorus' version, which is curious considering the lengths Zeus took to cause the birth of Herakles. It appears to demonstrate early on Zeus' tendency to display a lack of reaction to a major issue in the life of Herakles.[198] This is an aspect that will be investigated more thoroughly in Chapter Five. So Herakles is reduced to an inferior status and life unworthy of a god-born child, even before his own birth is recorded in the text. Hera's later interference, causing his madness, forces Herakles thereafter to work in the service of the cousin who stole his birthright, completing his famous labours.

Between the birth of Eurystheus and the conception of Herakles, Apollodoros returns to the previous generation, to lay the context down for said conception. Amphitryon, mortal father of Herakles, accidentally killed his father-in-law and was then banished by his uncle, Sthenelus, from Argos, while the latter claimed the thrones of Mycenae and Tiryns (2.4.6). Once purified of Electryon's death, Alkmene informed Amphitryon of her willingness to marry him, provided he first avenged the untimely deaths of her brothers (2.4.6); they died earlier in the text at the hands of the Teleboans (2.4.6). It is during his absence and on the eve of his return, that Zeus, disguised as Amphitryon, deceives Alkmene and conceives Herakles.

> But before Amphitryon reached Thebes, Zeus came by night and prolonging the one night threefold he assumed the likeness of Amphitryon and bedded with Alcmena

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[197] 'The Ilithyias' (Ε λειθυίας) are treated here in a plural form, referring to a group of goddess. Earlier in the text (1.3.1) Ilithyia is described as a daughter of Hera and Zeus and is referred to in the singular (Ε λείθυιαν).

[198] Slater (1968) 341, points out Zeus' indifference in the protection of his son 'against the pathogenic demands of the mother'.

and related what had happened concerning the Teleboans.
(*Bibliotheke* 2.4.8)

This deception is discovered shortly afterwards when Alkmene fails to greet her husband on his actual return. It is the prophet Tiresias who informs Amphitryon of his wife's immortal lover. Amphitryon also slept with his wife, to conceive Iphikles, twin of Herakles, one night after Zeus (2.4.8). The concept of twin children born to different fathers is a pre-existing idea in Greek mythology; Kastor and Polydeuces, Helen and Klytemnestra also share a similar conception. Ogden terms it 'parallel insemination', a belief that was at the very least held in Sparta if not other places also;[199] thus Zeus is the father of Herakles and Amphitryon is the father of Iphikles.

> And Alkmena bore two sons, to wit, Herakles, whom she had by Zeus and who was the elder by one night, and Iphikles, whom she had by Amphitryon.
> (*Bibliotheke* 2.4.8)

Birth of Herakles

The birth of Herakles heralded the beginning of a number of events, including of course the career of he who was called 'the best of all men on earth' (Soph. *Trachiniai*. 811). While the deception of Hera at the birth of Herakles made Zeus' plans for his son harder, all hope was not diminished; the declaration of Zeus before the birth of Herakles shows us this.

> For when Herakles was about to be born, Zeus declared among the gods that the descendant of Perseus about to be born would reign over Mycenae…
> (*Bibliotheke* 2.4.5).

Similar events occur in the fragmented *Catalogue of Women*. In an article on Herakles in the *Catalogue*, Haubold attempted to piece together the hero's life; one of the aspects of the life that he highlights is Zeus' plan for this destiny, and how this changes through Herakles' life. [200] A similar prophecy is referred to in a *Catalogue* fragment that has survived in *The Shield of Herakles*.

> But the father of men and of gods was weaving a different scheme in his spirit, to produce a protector against ruin for gods and for men who live on bread.
> (*The Shield of Herakles* 27-29; *Catalogue of Women* F195 M-W)

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[199] Ogden (1996) 234.
[200] Haubold (2005) 89.

The pattern of the life of Herakles in the *Catalogue* is suggested by Haubold to start with the birth filled with glorious purpose, and then it declines through the hero's own mistakes and Hera's anger;[201] this decline does not exist in such an obvious fashion in the *Bibliotheke*. Haubold also argues that Herakles is not the master of his own destiny. This destiny is often governed by females in his life, Hera being the prime example.[202] Haubold separates the roles of Herakles into two: Zeus' Herakles and Hera's Herakles. The former is the champion of men and gods, glorious as the child of Zeus should be.[203] Hera's Herakles on the other hand, is best described as the one who suffers and causes suffering.[204] Both of these demonstrate the lack of control Herakles possesses over his own life; these roles are also present in the *Bibliotheke*. We see Zeus' Herakles in the actions of the Gigantomachy (1.6.1) and the Labours (2.5.1-2.5.12), while Hera's Herakles is depicted in the slaughter of his family (2.4.12) or in the death of Hippolyta (2.5.9) Loraux's work on Herakles seems to agree with this. She emphasizes a need to view Herakles not as a character, but as a figure, one who is empty and controlled by his destiny.[205] This idea of Herakles as the recipient, not instigator of action is a reoccurring theme in his life and is investigated in several locations in this thesis.[206]

Hera as the Stepmother

Despite gathering her ire while still in his mother's womb, Herakles' destructive relationship with Hera accelerates from the moment of his birth onwards. This relationship is comparable to troublesome relationships between step-mothers and step-child. Hera, while technically a step-mother by modern standards (standards of our modern society) does not usually get labelled as such by the customs of ancient Greek society. Watson, in her discussion on ancient step-mothers, rightly highlights Hera as having traits of the 'step-mother', without the usual social motivations or responsibilities.[207]

The list of stepmother traits, suggested by Watson, is by no means absolute or concrete in application, however many actions of Hera resemble such examples. Watson suggests the stereotypical stepmother may be evil and self-centred, prone to jealousy or cunning and treacherous. Many of these attributes lead to attempts to destroy the unwanted

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[201] Haubold (2005) 89-92.
[202] Loraux (1990) 27.
[203] Haubold (2005) 95; Burkert (1985) 183.
[204] Haubold (2005) 95.
[205] Lourax (1990) 22-23.; while this discussion was originally in the context of tragic Herakles, it also applicable here.
[206] See Chapters Two, Five and Six.
[207] Watson (1955) 24. These motivations/responsibilities involve rearing and living with stepchildren, and inheritance issues.

stepchildren.[208] There are many examples of Hera's attempts to eliminate Herakles or at the very least hinder his life with difficulties. This work highlights the destructive nature of the relationship between Herakles, Hera, and Zeus but by no means exhausts the number of examples present across the life of Herakles. The destructive attempts usually fail and this can lead to punishment of the stepmother, an example which is discussed in chapter two of this work.[209] Attempts can also be made by the stepmother through a third party, for example serpents sent to kill the infant Herakles, or an attempt though a 'water serpent', the Hydra.[210] Hera's connections to serpentine creatures will be discussed in more depth later in this chapter. However Slater reminds us that along with the other things such serpents can represent, they can also display malevolence on the part of the mother types and the actions they take against their step-children.[211]

Other authors also emphasize stepchildren as a threat to maternal power and what this can mean for the father. While talking in the context of natural mothers in myth killing their children, Loraux describes another aspect of Hera's usual behaviour, indirectly targeting the father through his child.[212] Hera's vengeance usually takes form against Zeus' illegitimate children or their mothers as she is unable to take direct action against Zeus himself.[213] This vengeance is well described by Loraux, when she said that 'feminine wrath threatens the son, because he stands in for the father'.[214]

Before moving on from this aspect of step-mothers, it would be worthwhile to briefly mention Amphitryon, the step-father or foster father of Herakles. The step-father role differs greatly from the step-mother, lacking both in malice and jealous envy. The step-father, Amphitryon, does not attempt to eliminate his step-son Herakles, even though he was effectively cuckolded by Zeus. Amphitryon, learning the parentage of the unborn Herakles, simply moves on and raises the child as his own (2.4.9). Watson pinpoints the reason for the step-father's ease with the step-child, the inheritance claim. The step-father may choose his heir, while the step-mother has no control. In the case of Herakles, Amphitryon is unconcerned that the former is greater than his own son, Iphikles, whereas Hera bitterly resents Zeus' bestowal of prestige upon his mortal son.[215]

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[208] Watson (1955) 23-29.
[209] Watson (1955) 31-32.
[210] Watson (1955) 29. Both of these attempts will be discussed in the course of this work: Serpents attacking infant Herakles (Chapter 4); connection to Hydra (Chapter 6).
[211] Slater (1968) 346 mentions both Herakles and Apollo as examples of this.
[212] Loraux (1998) 52.
[213] For examples of this see the treatment of Leto through the births of Artemis and Apollo (1.4.1); also see the treatment of Semele (3.4.3).
[214] Loraux (1998) 52.
[215] Watson (1955) 28-29.

The location of these two episodes in the work is separated for the continued genealogy of the descendants of Perseus. The children of Perseus and their resulting offspring is the theme of this particular section of the work. Chart 1 depicts the important figures of Herakles' family tree and their relationships to each other.
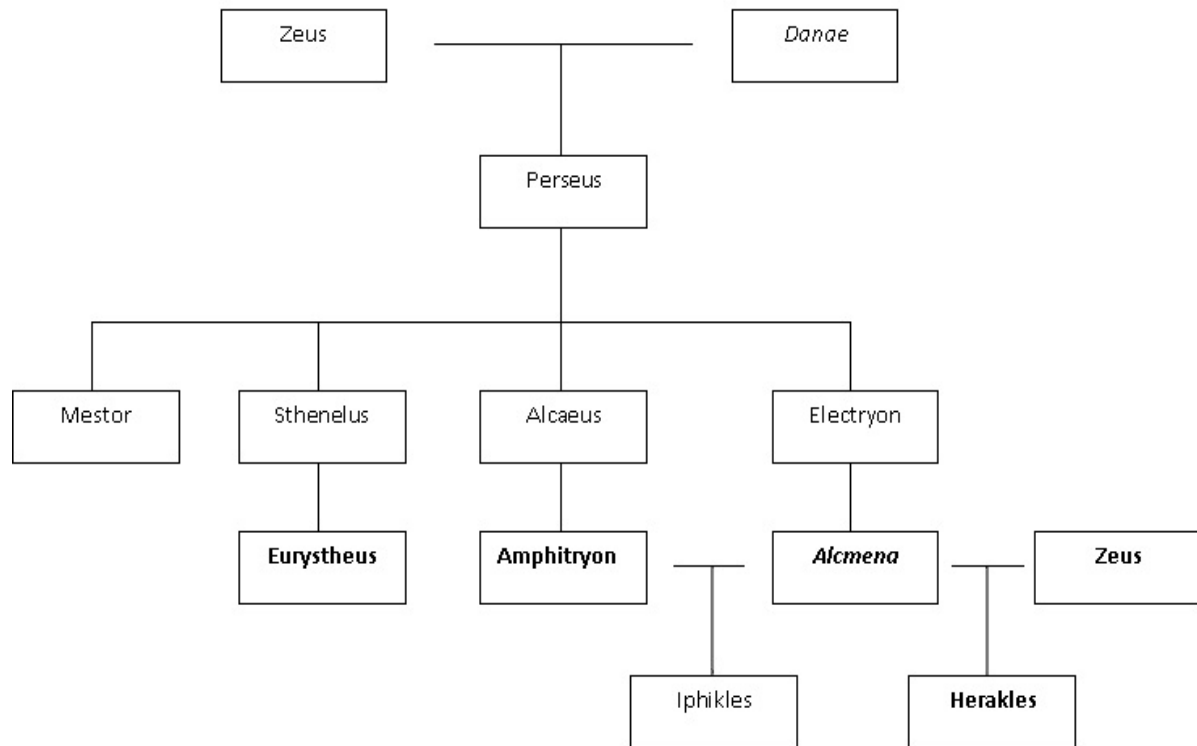
Chart 1
(Based off the master chart in Newman, H., (2003) *Genealogical chart of Greek mythology*)

At this point in the text, Apollodoros finishes outlining the progeny of Alcaeus, Mestor, Electryon and Sthenelus respectively. When he speaks of the birth of Eurystheus, he suddenly digresses to tell of the prophecy that would make him king of Mycenae. This is before he even tells further of Electryon, grandfather of Herakles, and his reign at Mycenae. He gives us the details for the future rule, and then moves back again to a previous point in time to explain how we will reach this conclusion; the placement of these two episodes here exists as an example of Apollodoros' genealogical structuring.

Hera's Serpentine Assassins and Negative Associations

Monsters of various forms appear with regularity in the life of Herakles; the hero rids the world of many dangerous creatures, before succumbing indirectly to one of them. The first contact Herakles had with monsters was at the tender age of eight months old. These

monsters, monstrous serpents, were sent to eliminate the infant but were swiftly foiled by his unusual abilities.

> When the babe was eight months old, Hera desired the destruction of the babe and sent two huge serpents to the bed.
> (*Bibliotheke* 2.4. 8.)

Considering the age of the child, it should be surprising that he survived the encounter; however due to our foreknowledge of the life of Herakles, this was a brief hindrance. Born as the son of Zeus, destined to be glorious and strong, baby Herakles made swift work of his serpentine foes.

> Alcmena called Amphitryon to her help, but Herakles arose and killed the serpents by strangling them with both his hands.
> (*Bibliotheke* 2.4.8.)

In this version of the myth, we get a brief glimpse into the reactions of Herakles' mortal parents. Alkmene calls to her husband Amphitryon, who one assumes in within earshot or in close proximity; based on other depictions of this story, we can probably safely assume Amphitryon was rushing to aid Alkmene and the twins when Herakles dispatches the serpents. Several other versions of this story exist but most notable would be where it first appears in Pindar's *Nemean Odes*.

> ...he did not escape the notice of Hera on her golden throne
> when he lay down in his yellow swaddling clothes,
> but the queen of the gods
> with anger in her heart immediately sent snakes.
> When the doors had been opened
> they went into the deep recess of the bedroom,
>   eager to wrap their darting jaws
> around the babies. But the boy lifted
>   his head straight up and engaged in his first battle
> grasping the two snakes by their necks
> in his two inescapable hands,
> and as they were being strangled, the passage of time
> exhaled the life from their monstrous bodies.
> (Pindar. *Nem*. 1.35 ff)

Pindar claims before this passage to have learned of this tale from others; however Ogden suggests he created the story as a predecessor to other serpentine encounters later in Herakles' life.[216] In this version of events, we get more detail but the most notable change is the time that has passed since the birth of the twins. In the *Bibliotheke*, Herakles and Iphikles are both eight months old, yet in Pindar, he describes Alkmene's condition, as if fresh from childbirth (Pindar *Nem*. 1.50); the tone of immediacy used when describing Hera's decision to act also suggests the birth was rather recent. This just shows a shift of details over time, creating various options for the placement of this attack.

The behaviour of Alkmene and Amphitryon in these two accounts is also worth mentioning. In Apollodoros, both are referred to briefly; Alkmene cries out for Amphitryon, who we assume comes to their aid, but this is not explicitly told. This brief mention seems to be present to satisfy an audience inquiring about the behaviour of worried parents but is quickly dismissed by Apollodoros, who moves the focus back to Herakles swiftly. In Pindar's account of the myth, there is extreme concern on the parts of both Alkmene and Amphitryon (*Nem*. 47-55). Amphitryon is described as 'stricken with piercing anguish' while it is insinuated that Alkmene is so unconcerned with herself that she ignores common decency while rushing to aid the infants, forgetting her robe. This version, unlike that in the *Bibliotheke*, displays considerable concern for the children and the desperate need to protect them; our version displays Apollodoros' interest in the behaviour of Herakles, not that of his mortal parents.

Apollodoros also includes mention of another version of this myth, attributed in text to Pherekydes. It tells of an account in which it is not the stepmother who is responsible for the serpents, but rather it is the stepfather Amphitryon.

> However, Pherekydes says that it was Amphitryon who put the serpents in the bed, because he would know which of the two children was his, and that when Iphikles fled, and Herakles stood his ground, he knew that Iphikles was begotten of his body. (Pherekydes in *Bibliotheke* 2.4.8)

In this rather remarkable version, Amphitryon decides to endanger both children simply to learn which child was his; this is a distinction one assumes would have easily been revealed over time as they grew, if it was not apparent already. Apollodoros clearly chooses to mention it, but prefers the malevolence of Hera over the curiosity of Amphitryon as the focus. If as Kylintirea suggests, Apollodoros does prefer the earlier versions of his myths, then based on that one could suggest Apollodoros' preferred version

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[216] Ogden (2013) 46.

comes from an earlier source than Pherekydes; however this is a relatively tentative assumption and should be treated as such.[217]

Ogden, when discussing this version of the myth, displays surprise at the Pherekydes mention here. He found it to be unusual that the early mythographer was credited with 'a mythical variant that did not become canonical';[218] either Ogden is expressing genuine surprise here or he questions the integrity of Apollodoros' attribution. Another element of this myth is suggested, also attributed to Pherekydes. The description by Apollodoros of Zeus 'prolonging the one night threefold' is argued to be a variant potentially created by Pherekydes, or at the very least, he is the first source to mention it.[219] However Apollodoros is clearly incorporating other sources into this account. Gantz records several versions of this myth in which gifts from Zeus became involved. This includes a suggestion that Zeus may not have taken Amphitryon's form but rather won over Alkmene's affections with a gift;[220] this story is attributed to Pherekydes by Athenaios.[221] While this seems generally irrelevant to this discussion, it does support the suggestion that Apollodoros correctly attributed an alternative variant to Pherekydes and that not every version of the early mythographer's work became canonical.

Following Apollodoros' main account of the myth, it is Hera who sends the serpents to eliminate baby Herakles. This serpentine element here should be unusual and bizarre behaviour for the goddess of marriage and wife of Olympian Zeus. However in general myth and in Apollodoros, this aspect, chthonic in nature, is more common than one might think. Throughout various canonical works of myth, Hera is seen supporting, nurturing or connecting in some nature to monstrous and serpentine creatures. These examples are present in the *Iliad, Theogony, and Homeric Hymn to Apollo* and briefly in the *Bibliotheke*. I believe the examples from these other works, however brief in nature, will provide mythical context for this attempt on Herakles.

Two examples of Hera's suspected chthonic nature exist in close proximity to each other in the *Iliad* (14.271-247; 14.301-303). These demonstrate her early connections to chthonic and primordial beings. The first we shall discuss is in the Seduction of Zeus, when Hera is placing her trap. Hera speaks of visiting Okeanos and Tethys to re-kindle their love

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[217] Kylintirea (2002) 19.
[218] Ogden (2013) 49.
[219] Frazer (1921) 175, n.1; Gantz (1993) 375.
[220] Gantz (1993) 375; this suggestion is based off the wording of Athenaios, where it lacks direct mention of a disguise or deception.
[221] Athenaios (11.47 F = 3F13a, 31F16) in Gantz (1993) 375.

and affection for each other. How she describes their relationship to her is of interest here.

> I am going to the ends of the generous earth, on a visit to Okeanos, whence the gods have risen, and Tethys our mother, who brought me up kindly in their own house and cared for me.
>
> (*Iliad* 14.301-303)

This relationship with such primordial, non-Olympian beings is taken further by viewing the interaction between Hypnos and Hera a few passages earlier. Hypnos is tempted by Hera's offer of one of the Muses, Pasithea, as a reward for aiding her in the deception of Zeus. However, he is unconvinced without an oath.

> Swear it to me on Styx's ineluctable water. With one hand take hold of the prospering earth, with the other take hold of the shining salt sea, so that all the undergods who gather about Kronos may be witness to us.
>
> (*Iliad* 14. 271-274.)

This relationship to Okeanos and his family displays an interesting connection that one does not expect of an Olympian deity, let alone Hera, wife of almighty Zeus.[222] Using this oath upon Styx, O'Brien also suggests that such a connection with the 'serpentine Styx' and the invocation of titans brings with it chthonic associations.[223] However this idea is placing too much weight on the oath, which actually follows a relatively normal form. Styx was the first to join Zeus when he summoned the gods to fight the titans; for this, among other things, he made her the oath of the gods (*Theog.*389-401). Janko tells us that an oath must invoke powers greater than that of the oathtaker; thus Hera as a goddess must invoke older gods, the titans. He also suggests that by invoking Styx here, the goddess must keep her promise otherwise her falsehood could threaten divine order.[224] There is also the point that Hera is the only person in the *Iliad* to swear by Styx and she even does again later (15.35 ff); however in light of the information provided by Janko, swearing by Styx is still common behaviour.

Now keeping these examples in mind, Hera's role in Hesiod's *Theogony* will continue to build this unusual image of Hera. The goddess' role here is described appropriately by

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[222] O'Brien (1993b) 110.
[223] O'Brien (1993a) 114.
[224] Janko (1992) 194.

O'Brien as 'Nurse of Monsters'.[225] Hesiod describes Hera's participation in the raising or nurturing of the various creatures born of Typhon and Echidna, or Echidna and Orthus.

> …she then gave birth to the evil-minded Hydra of Lerna, which the goddess, white-armed Hera, raised, dreadfully wrathful against Herakles' force.
> (*Theogony* 313-315.)

> Overpowered by Orthus, she bore the deadly Sphinx, destruction for the Cadmeans, and the Nemean Lion, which Hera, Zeus' illustrious consort, raised and settled among the hills of Nemea, a woe for human beings. For dwelling there it destroyed the tribes of human beings and lorded over Tretus in Nemea and Apesas; but the strength of Herakles' force overpowered it.
> (*Theogony* 326-332.)

These passages describe the terrible offspring of monstrous parents and how Olympian Hera, 'Zeus' illustrious consort' raised these creatures to be the bane of Herakles. The raising of the Hydra is perhaps the most interesting considering the implications of Herakles' agonising death.[226] Here in the *Theogony*, Hera not only has connections to such creatures, she actively takes part in the nurture and development of them with the intent of causing harm.[227]

I intend to look at one more example before returning to this idea in the *Bibliotheke* and the implications for Hera's serpentine assassins. Hera's role in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* is perhaps the most unusual depiction of the goddess and her chthonic connections. This hymn describes the conception and birth of Typhon by Hera herself, who is not the usual mother; it is also the method of conception that should be noted here.

> So saying, she went apart from the gods, angry at heart. Then straight away she prayed, did the mild-eyed lady Hera, and struck the earth with the flat of her hand and said, 'Hear me now, Ge and broad Ouranos above, and you Titan gods who dwell below the earth around great Tartaros, and from whom gods and men descend: all of you now in person, hear me and grant me a son without Zeus' help, in no way falling short of him in strength, but as much superior as wide-sounding Zeus is to Kronos'. So saying, she beat the ground with her stout hand, and the life-giving earth shifted.
> (*Hom. Hymn. Apollo.* 330-341)

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[225] O'Brien (1993b) 95.
[226] This idea will be considered in depth in Chapter Six.
[227] O'Brien (1993a), O'Brien (1993b).

The birth of Typhon through parthenogenesis is unusual due to both this method of conception and the mother in question. Ge is usually depicted as the mother, conceiving the serpentine creature with Tartarus (*Bib*. 1.6.2-3; *Theog*. 820 ff). Hera, here conceives Typhon, as a method of revenge for Zeus' own parthenogenetic production of Athena. The goddess in her anger declares she will be absent from Olympos (310ff), from Zeus in particular and bears a child to cause great difficulties for him. This attribution of Typhon to Hera is unusual considering her general inability to produce a threat to Zeus, however the bitter vengeance aspect does seem appropriate.

In contrast, such mentions of Hera's monstrous and chthonic connections are generally lacking in the *Bibliotheke*. However there is a small aspect of it present in Apollodoros' mention of the Theban Sphinx. Some of the offspring attributed in other works to Echidna and Typhon are lacking that parental connection; however this is not the case with the Sphinx.[228]

> For Hera sent the Sphinx, whose mother was Echidna and her father Typhon; and she had the face of a woman, the breast and feet and tail of a lion, and the wings of a bird.
>
> (*Bibliotheke* 3.5.7-8)

This gives us a brief glimpse into the Hera that appears in other works as an ally of monstrous creatures. In the *Bibliotheke* we have this example and that of Hera's serpentine assassins. When placed in such a mythical context, these connections to serpents and the Sphinx seem to be part of a larger tradition that is largely avoided in the *Bibliotheke*. This hypothetical tradition sees Hera as a deity with chthonic connections who nurses and nurtures monstrous creatures to cause trouble for or wreck vengeance upon those who have wronged her. This vengeful nature is very much in keeping with depictions of Hera. Tradition also sees many of these creatures connected in some manner to Herakles, the majority of which cause him harm or present great difficulties.[229] This representation of Hera as the 'nurse of monsters' is filtered out of mythology over time, [230] modifying Hera to better fit the Olympian mould. [231] These few examples found in Apollodoros appear to be remnants of this older tradition; in this they are similar to other motifs already found to be missing their original context. [232]

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228 Unfortunately for later discussion on this matter, the Hydra's parentage is not given in this work.
229 Nemean Lion (2.5.1), the Lernean Hydra (2.5.2), and Kerberos (2.5.12).
230 O'Brien (1993a) 94.
231 O'Brien (1993b) 111.
232 Like the Punishment of Hera (1.3.5; 2.7.1). See the discussion in Chapter Two for misplaced motifs and remnants of older myths.

The purpose of the serpents was to kill the infant Herakles, removing a beloved son of Zeus to please an irate stepmother.[233] These actions between stepmother and stepchild may have more implications beneath the surface. Later in the life of Herakles, Hera inflicts a terrible madness upon the hero which causes him to slaughter his own children. However this may not be the first attempt by Hera to inflict madness of some form on her stepson. Slater highlights an aspect of the serpentine nature, in which it can represent a form of madness. Snakes were often seen as having such associations with madness and this serpentine aspect also had maternal connotations; maternal hatred could be presented through serpents.[234] This idea has very tentative connections here and is merely an interesting idea to keep in mind when viewing this serpentine episode. The later slaughter by Herakles of his offspring is seen by some as a female's crime and this has interesting connotations for Herakles as madness itself, has been described as a 'maternally induced disease'.[235] This investigation of Herakles' madness will continue in Chapter Five.

Conclusion

These myths focussed on in this chapter depict the beginning of many recurring elements in the life of Herakles. The first example of Hera's wrath, present against the hero even before he is born, is followed swiftly by an attempt on his life via giant serpents. Such activities also demonstrate the beginnings of Zeus' general non-interference policy in regards to the interactions of Hera and Herakles; he leaves his son to his new, lesser mortal destiny. These mythic episodes also demonstrate aspects of Hera's chthonic nature which will arise in connection to the life of Herakles several times.

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[233] Watson (1955) 29.
[234] Slater (1968) 364-65.
[235] Loraux (1990) 28; Slater (1968) 364-65.

Chapter Five - The Madness of Herakles

This episode depicts the darkest example of Hera's enmity against Herakles. The goddess, out of jealousy, inflicts a terrible madness on the figure of Herakles, causing the hero to slaughter his own offspring and several of his brother's. While the main passage in Apollodoros is relatively brief, there are several other excerpts elsewhere in the text that gives us more information on those involved and what happens to them.

Other examples of this myth exist briefly in other texts and of course a more detailed, expanded version was produced by Euripides. These other versions display varying details that demonstrate the variability of this myth; the change in these details highlights some of Apollodoros' own choices when it came to aspects of this myth and its placement in the work.

The main depiction of this in the *Bibliotheke* is brief in nature but provides us with the necessary details.

> Now it came to pass that after the battle with the Minyans Herakles was driven
> mad through the jealousy of Hera and flung his own children, whom he had by
> Megara, and two children of Iphikles into the fire.
> (*Bib* 2.4.12)

Apollodoros very concisely tells us when this event occurs in the life of Herakles, who died and the method of death.[236] What this excerpt does not tell us is how many died and what happened to Megara; this latter point is relevant considering that she is often mentioned among the deceased here. These other details can be found scattered throughout the life of Herakles; the repetition of such details serve as reminders for the audience.

The children of Herakles and Megara are first mentioned after Herakles wins his wife as a prize from her father Kreon; at the same time Iphikles wins the younger daughter.

> And Herakles received from Kreon his eldest daughter Megara as a prize of valour,
> and by her he had three sons, Therimakhos, Kreontiades, and Deikoön
> (*Bib* 2.4.2)

This excerpt answers the question of how many children would later be killed and also provides the names of the victims. The ages of these children is left unmentioned,

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[236] Pindar (*Isthm*.4.60ff) is the only person to cloud the matter of the killer of the children of Herakles; usually Herakles is the standard murderer. The young ages of the children are also cast in doubt in this example. These points will be discussed later in this chapter.

although we can assume they are still young. Herakles receives Megara as a prize for freeing the Thebans from the demands of the Minyans, through a successful battle. The only placement Apollodoros gives us for the madness is after this battle with the Minyans, but before he begins his famous tasks. We can safely assume enough time passes to produce three children but they would still be relatively young.[237]

The Madness in other Literary Works

The details surrounding the children of Herakles and Megara vary from text to text. Here in the *Bibliotheke*, Herakles has three sons who die at a relatively young age. Pindar also relates the death of these offspring in question; however the details are quite starkly in contrast to our account. In this 4th *Isthmian Ode*, Pindar describes a feast held in Thebes, honouring Herakles and the deceased progeny.

> In his honor, above the Elektran Gates
>   we citizens prepare a feast
> and a newly built circle of altars and multiply
> burnt offerings for the eight bronze-clad men who died,
> the sons that Megara, Kreon's daughter, bore to him.
> (Pin. *Isthm*. 4. 60ff)

This particular example is strikingly different to the *Bibliotheke*. Here we are given the number of offspring, eight, as opposed to three; the number in this myth is fairly variable in nature as few accounts register the same details.[238] An unusual detail here lies in the age of the eight sons who are described as men, grown adults clad in bronze. Pindar breaks away from tradition here as the children of Herakles by Megara are otherwise described as young children, an element present in the myth to exacerbate the horror of Herakles' actions. This account in Pindar removes this aspect along with another more subtle touch. The deaths of the sons are glazed over, merely stating they died, with a lack of circumstances and context. However it is suggested that due to the description of the men as 'bronze-clad', they may have died fighting in a battle of some nature.[239] This idea is in keeping with the minor censorship Pindar is associated with.[240] Pike describes some of Pindar's usual attempts to censor some of the more horrific elements of the Herakles myths; this is a prime example as it is Herakles' most heinous of crimes.[241] However an

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[237] This becomes relevant later when comparing the details in Pindar. This is also the usual tradition; see Pache (2004) 51.
[238] Euripides' *Herakles* (977ff) has the same number of children as the *Bibliotheke*.
[239] Pache (2004) 51.
[240] Pike (1984) 18, 21.
[241] Pike (1984) 16-21; Pache (2004) 51.

alternative cause of death has been suggested, through a different interpretation of the word χαλκοαρᾶν (bronze-clad).[242] This translation was originally offered by Farnell,[243] however Kerenyi later suggested it could be taken to mean 'those upon whom a curse of bronze fell';[244] as Pike explains, both are linguistically correct. He also later takes this idea further, suggesting that one might be a subtle reference to the murderous part Herakles usually takes in the myth.[245]

A brief reference to this account is also made by Pherekydes, recorded in scholia on Pindar's 4th *Isthmian* ode.

> About the children of Herakles and Megara…Pherekydes in Book Two says Antimakhos, Klymenes, Glenos, Therimakhos, Kreontiades, saying that they were thrown in to the fire by their father.
> (Schol. Pindar. *Isthm*. 4.104g)[246]

This account again varies in the number of children produced; it also helpfully provides us with the names of said offspring, two of which match the account in the *Bibliotheke*. This does not come as a surprise considering Pherekydes was a named source of Apollodoros;[247] however he is clearly not the only source here, although who another might be is unclear. What is perhaps the most interesting match of details here is the method of death. The death of the children by fire is not a common element of this myth, however it is the same method used in the *Bibliotheke* (2.4.12). This theme also recurs in later art. A Paestan red-figure calyx krater by Asteas from the late fourth century BCE depicts this myth (Fig. 8).[248] The hero is present in the middle of the scene, holding a child who is either struggling or supplicating his father; on the left, we have a makeshift pyre of destroyed furniture, towards which he is moving. On the right we glimpse Megara fleeing, while clutching her head in a typical mourning pose.[249] This method of death by fire is one that will be revisited later in greater depth.[250] However it is worth noting briefly here the

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[242] Pache (2004) 51.
[243] Farnell (1932) *Critical Commentary to the Works of Pindar* 355 in Pike (1984) 22, n.15.
[244] Kerenyi (1959) 186.
[245] Pike (1984) 18, footnote 15. It is also unclear what this might mean for the age of the children if they were not bronze-clad.
[246] Pher. Fr. 14 in Fowler (2000) 284.
[247] West (1985) 45. Pherekydes is referenced by Apollodoros thirteen times.
[248] Paestan red-figure calyx krater, Asteas Painter, 4th century BCE. Madrid, National Archaeological Museum of Spain, 11094. Herakles throwing children on makeshift fire.
[249] Pache (2004) 57-58, fig. 15.
[250] See the discussion on the death of Herakles by fire in Chapter Six.

symbolism of fire. Fire was seen to have purification properties, both in myth and real life.[251]

A number of details differ in the Euripidean account of this myth; this is for a number of reasons, not least the change in genre. Euripides used this myth to provoke thought about the relationship between the gods and the myths in which they are portrayed.[252] As a result, he manipulated the elements to suit his intended purposes. Euripides keeps Amphitryon alive to act as a protector of the children of Herakles and he uses the old man to direct challenges at Zeus, based on the grounds of fatherhood. In the *Bibliotheke*, such a role is unnecessary so Amphitryon dies earlier in the battle against the Minyans, the same battle that gains Herakles his new wife Megara (2.4.2). A brief point of interest exists in the play after the madness is completed, when Herakles questions his existence and whether it should continue.

> Shall I not burn their father's flesh with fire and thrust from myself the ignominy
> that awaits me in my life?
> (*Herakles* 1151-1152).

Present here in the text is a brief reference to the end in which Herakles will die in the pyre; however it is also suggested that this may be a reference to earlier forms of the myth in which Herakles kindles a fire upon his return home and, as in the *Bibliotheke*, uses it to slaughter his three children.[253]

The other missing detail in the *Bibliotheke* is the fate of Megara. Apollodoros leaves this detail until relatively later in the text (2.6.1). Unlike the Euripidean account of this myth, we assume Megara survives due to a lack of reference to her death; it is suggested that Euripides may have invented the element of Megara's death for his play.[254] Despite this being a well known element of the myth, thanks to Euripides, Megara's death does not seem to be a regularly attested aspect of the Madness.[255] However, possessing knowledge of Herakles' next marriage, we know Apollodoros must tie up this loose end that is Megara's fate. After the labours and Herakles' service to Eurystheus is complete, Apollodoros ties it all back to the incident that caused such servitude, through his mention of Megara.

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[251] Parker (1983) 227. Herakles, in murdering his children via fire, displays the masculine use of fire, resulting in destruction; Pache (2004) 52-53. This idea will be discussed further in Chapter Six.
[252] Mikalson (1986) 96-97; this is present in the conversation that takes place later between Herakles and Theseus regarding the gods (1311ff).
[253] Kerenyi (1959) 187.
[254] Pike (1978) 4.
[255] Gantz (1993) 380.

> After his labours Herakles went to Thebes and gave Megara to Iolaus.
>
> (2.6.1)

So after completing his labours, Herakles returned to the location of his madness and gave his wife to his nephew; one could suggest this was a reward for Iolaus' aid and his companionship throughout Herakles' service to Eurystheus. The unusual elements of this situation aside, it clears up the question of the fate of Megara.

The scattering of these details appears as a normal occurrence in the *Bibliotheke* but is also a representation of the system in which various myths are tied together. One of Apollodoros' most useful accomplishments in this work is the strict fixture of events in the life of Herakles. Careful placement of events around each other and deliberate mentions of past events, like 'after the battle with the Minyans', fixes the event in the context of Herakles' life. Seemingly minor details like the names of children or the fate of Megara are placed in varying locations but provoke memory of other elements they are tied to.

The main event of the madness is placed in proximity to Herakles' service to Eurystheus, or rather the service to Eurystheus happens as a result of the madness.[256] This madness leads onto the labours, which are treated in the *Bibliotheke* as atonement for the slaughter, as well as the means to immortality (2.4.12). The marriage to Megara is placed via its link to the battle against the Minyans; it also provides us with a fixed point at which to estimate the rough age of the children. The later appearance of Megara is interesting due to its delayed arrival; we are left wondering about the fate of Megara throughout the labours. Apollodoros' mention of her post-labours provokes memory of events that occurred before. This ring composition exists to remind the reader of the dark reason why Herakles was required to perform the tasks, yet allows this part of his life to come to a more optimistic end. It also enables Apollodoros to remove Megara from the picture, preparing the way for the introduction to Iole (2.6.1-2) and the later marriage to Deianeira (2.7.4-5).

Behaviour of Key Characters – Herakles, Hera and Zeus.

With such a brief excerpt, it is difficult to ascertain enough about the characters of Hera and Herakles here, however it is not impossible to theorize based on the details given. The absence of Zeus and what this means for Herakles is also noted here. The madness of

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[256] The madness is an important aspect of the life of Herakles, however due to the popularity of the labours, the latter were probably viewed as more important aspects, with other episodes placed around them.

Herakles is a pivotal event in the hero's life. It destroys his current family and sets him off on a path that will lead to his immortality. It is unlikely Hera intended this when she inflicted it upon him; her goals seem much more short term here. This madness is attributed to Hera's jealousy in the text of the *Bibliotheke*. However scholars often suggest the figure of Herakles would be naturally prone to madness of this description. The excesses that are demonstrated by Herakles, often physical or sexual in nature, are highlighted as symptoms that will lead to madness.[257] Loraux describes it as 'excessive menos' which can lead to violent or insane rages.[258] These attributes often turn up in 'supermen' type figures in various world mythologies and are generally detrimental to human relationships in the hero's life.[259] There are several examples of this excessive behaviour that led to physical violence in the *Bibliotheke*.[260]

The first in Herakles' life is the death of Linos, his lyre instructor. The teacher struck Herakles, who 'flew into a rage and slew him' (2.4.9-10). A much later example exists in the story of Deianeira's poisoned robe. The poor victim was Lichas, the herald who produced the robe on the orders of Deianeira; in violent anger Herakles 'lifted Lichas by the feet, hurled him down from the headland' (2.7.7). So while Apollodoros does state the madness was a product of Hera's jealousy, Herakles was clearly primed for such an affliction as he demonstrates elsewhere in the text.

Perhaps the most interesting example of Herakles' excessive rage is the murder of Iphitos. Several examples of this story exist in ancient texts and scholia, however Apollodoros treats it a little differently. Iphitos, son of Eurytos, did not believe his father when he assumed his missing cattle were taking by the disgruntled Herakles; the text states they were taken by Autolycus (2.6.2). Iphitos sought Herakles and proposed they seek the creatures together; Herakles accepted this and took him in as a guest. Iphitos is killed by Herakles here, as usually occurs in this myth, however Apollodoros attributes this sacrilege to another madness, instead of bloodlust.

> Herakles promised to do so and entertained him, but going mad again he threw him from the walls of Tiryns.
>
> (2.6.2)

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[257] Kirk (1974) 205; Pike (1978) 1; Pike (1977) 73; Loraux (1990) 28.
[258] Loraux (1990) 28.
[259] Pike (1977) 73.
[260] Pike (1978) 2.

This is an unusual treatment of the myth by Apollodoros;[261] it is a madness provided by the author to excuse brutal impious behaviour on the part of Herakles.[262] It suggests Apollodoros believed such behaviour must be more excusable under the influence of madness. This justification process is suggested to have also taken place with the slaughter of Herakles' family. Several authors suggest the madness existed in several different forms or not at all. Pike suggests the element of Hera's jealousy was a later addition to the myth in Euripides' *Herakles*; before this Herakles was merely mad and no external forces were involved.[263] Nilsson, as mentioned by Slater, suggested the madness was a later introduced element itself, existing as a way to excuse the brutality of Herakles; however Slater himself disagrees with this, claiming origins in post-Homeric epics.[264]

Hera's behaviour in this episode is absolutely necessary but also rather vague. She inflicts madness, due to jealousy but nothing more is given to us. We do, of course, naturally assume this jealousy is related to the philandering of Zeus and is merely part of the general lifelong resentment. However this raises the question of why here and now. What does inflicting madness on Herakles here accomplish? It certainly deprives Herakles of his own legitimate children and causes him further difficulties later when he attempts to acquire Iole as a wife.[265] However it is difficult to suggest Hera intended her punishment to have long term effects; if one assumes such foreknowledge is in her grasp, then why would she start Herakles on the path that leads to immortality and the hero making his home on Olympos?[266] It seems this is another example of Hera attempting to make the life of Herakles difficult, but it is worth investigating what the deprivation of his children means here. Madness and infanticide are often seen as feminine or maternal traits, as demonstrated by examples in myth and modern scholarship.[267] However some of these elements in such discussions are potentially relevant to the destruction of Herakles' sons. Loraux, discussing vengeful mothers, tells of the attempt to deprive the father of his power by destroying his offspring; generally such offspring are male. This power is installed in the sons as the presentation of the father's lineage and legacy.[268] Using this idea, one could theorize the meaning of the destruction of the sons of Herakles. Could

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[261] Pike (1978) 2.
[262] Other authors such as Homer (*Od.* 21.25ff) leave out any explanation, leaving the implication that these are the actions of a selfish, cold-blooded man; Pike (1978) 2.
[263] Pike (1978) 4.
[264] Nilsson (1932) *The Mycenaean Origins of Greek Mythology*, 199, 205 in Slater (1968) 386.
[265] He wins her but is refused his prize as her family believed he would slaughter any children they had (2.6.1-2).
[266] This is the case in the *Bibliotheke* as the madness led to the labours for which he was promised immortality.
[267] Slater (1968) 364-5; Loraux (1998) 51.
[268] Loraux (1998) 51-52.

Herakles, through his slaughter, be depriving himself of some form of power that is displayed in his legitimate sons? These three sons, his only legitimate children at this point, represent the future legacy of Herakles; through an even more tentative connection, such slaughter could affect Zeus, watching his mortal son suffer this loss. Hera's infliction of madness causes not just a loss of power to Herakles but the hero is forced to deprive himself of his own offspring.

While this infliction of madness and massacre of family occurs, there is a substantial hole left in the action: the question of Zeus' lack of involvement. We could claim this absence is noted by a modern society, horrified at such abandonment, but such questions arose even in antiquity. Euripides, in the *Herakles*, has Amphitryon question Zeus' parenthood, claiming to be the superior father (339-347). This absence of Zeus is also starkly in contrast to his other actions, namely his interference after Hera sent Herakles off course before the Gigantomachy.[269]

While there are no true actions we can reach regarding Zeus' absence, as they struggled with this idea even in antiquity, we can suggest a couple of theories. When Herakles was deprived of his intended destiny by Hera inducing the birth of Eurystheus, he was started down a path that would lead to great suffering and he would be the cause of similar suffering to others.[270] Zeus was from this point onwards unable to change the destiny of Herakles, even if his son's suffering was painful to him; as Loraux mentions, he was able to aid occasionally through Athene, but she also had to bow to Hera's hostility.[271] One might then pose the question of why Zeus interfered with Herakles at Kos and punished Hera for her actions. As previously discussed in chapters Two and Three, Hera's behaviour regarding Herakles, and sending him off course, had connections to earth goddess insurrections and threatened the cosmic balance. Zeus required Herakles' participation in the Gigantomachy and as a result had to interfere to preserve his own cosmic order. This episode, the massacre of Herakles' sons, while of an unpleasant nature, is a resoundingly mortal issue, even if caused by an immortal foe and thus Zeus' participation is absent.

One can also suggest foreknowledge on the part of Zeus, knowing such sufferings like these will eventually lead to the immortality of his son, a greater destiny than the one he was deprived on at birth.

Another brief note here regards the concept of Zeus' justice and when exactly punishment is usually meted out. While discussing Homer's Zeus, Lloyd-Jones highlights some general

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[269] See Chapter 2.
[270] See Chapter 4 for the discussion regarding the aspect of Herakles that causes suffering.
[271] Loraux (1990) 40.

points on the regularity of Zeus' justice, as well as more specific ones to Zeus' roles in the *Iliad* itself.[272] Lloyd-Jones reminds us of the different concepts of justice for gods versus immortals and the concepts of morality laws.[273] One could argue that such infliction of madness upon Herakles is a morality issue[274]. The gods do not enforce such morality issues; that usually belongs to human society and is enforceable by them.[275]

The behaviour of Zeus in this situation was an issue raised in Euripides' *Herakles*. This perplexing situation and the reaction to it are clearly exhibited in the work as Euripides demonstrates how difficult reconciling myths and the concept of the gods is.[276] There is conflict in the text regarding the proper role that Zeus should demonstrate and Zeus is even issued a challenge by the mortal father of Herakles, Amphitryon. This initial challenge is raised as a result of Zeus' earlier inaction when the family of Herakles is threatened by Lykos.

> Zeus, it does no good that you were my wife's lover, no good that I have called you sharer in my son's begetting. You were, it now appears, not as near a friend as I thought. In goodness I, though mortal, surpass you, a mighty god. I have not abandoned the children of Herakles. But you, though you know well enough how to slip secretly into bed and take other men's wives when no one has given you permission, do not know how to save the lives of your nearest and dearest. Either you are a fool of a god or there is not justice in your nature.
> (*Herakles* 339-347).

This direct accusing speech highlights several points of aggravation for Amphitryon; however it is the concept of the challenge itself that is of important here. This challenge, issued towards the beginning of the play, falters and is nearly dismissed upon the return of Herakles, who is fresh from the underworld.[277] It comes back into the minds of the audience after Herakles summarily slaughters his family, including Megara.[278] After such an occurrence, issues brought up through the lack of interference by Zeus intensify. After the realization of his misdeeds has struck, Herakles himself vents anger at Zeus' lack of involvement regarding Hera's inflictions; he also accuses Hera.

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[272] Lloyd-Jones (1971) 5.
[273] Lloyd-Jones (1971) 1-2.
[274] Chantraine (1952) 75-76, 81 in Lloyd-Jones (1971) 1-2.
[275] Lloyd-Jones (1971) 1-5.
[276] Mikalson (1986) 97.
[277] The tasks occur before the madness in Euripides' version.
[278] Mikalson (1986) 93-95.

> Then Zeus – whoever Zeus is – begot me as an object of Hera's hatred (no, old sir, do not take offense; I regard you, not Zeus, as my father)… So let Zeus' glorious wife dance for joy, striking the bright floor of Olympos with her slipper. She has brought to fulfilment the desire she conceived and has utterly overturned, foundations and all, the best man in Greece! To such a goddess what man would offer prayer? Because she felt grudging ill towards Zeus for his love of a mortal woman, she destroyed a man who had benefited Greece, though he was guiltless. (*Herakles* 1263 ff).

Both of these challenges demonstrated the perplexed reaction with which this madness myth must have been received. Such behaviour, inflicting madness and ignoring its repercussions, hardly resounds well in mortal society.[279] Myth often disturbs the moral compass, yet here are several examples of documented discomfort. The issues of reconciling the actions of the gods with mortal reckoning remain in later texts like the *Bibliotheke*; this is intensified when one first considers the punishment of Hera and the repercussions involved with it. The saving grace for Zeus and the gods in the *Bibliotheke* is the eventual immortality which will result from this madness. Euripides' version places the labours prior to the madness; in deliberately placing the labours post-madness, Apollodoros allows the progression of events and this heinous crime to result in the divinity of Herakles.

Conclusion

This most heinous example of Hera's wrath against Herakles highlights several aspects of their relationship; the stark absence of Zeus in this myth is also noted here and in other versions. The text of the *Bibliotheke* demonstrates Herakles' role as a madness prone figure; several examples, Linos (2.4.9-10), Iphitos (2.6.1-2) and Lichas (2.7.7) represent, to a lesser extent, Herakles' loss of control with tragic results. Hera's actions here, inflicting madness on Herakles is also perplexing; there is a lack of explanation by Apollodoros, other than attributing it to the jealousy of Hera (2.4.12). The implications for Herakles, being the slayer of his own offspring, suggest the destruction of his own mortal legacy, or at least as it stands at this point in time. The only positive repercussion to come from this madness lies in the link between this and labours. The text tells us the provocation for the labours comes from the events surrounding the madness (2.4.12); these labours will result in the apotheosis of the hero (2.4.12).

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[279] Mikalson (1986) 96-97.

Chapter Six - Demise of a hero and his divine afterlife

The sequence of events that lead up to the death of Herakles are tied back to various aspects of the life that came before; events occurring in the life of Herakles lead to his apotheosis and divine marriage. The tragic death of Herakles in the *Bibliotheke* seems to follow what we see as the commonly known chain of events. This chain starts further back in the work when Herakles is denied Iole, the daughter of Eurytos, as a bride prize; the majority of her family feared Herakles would go mad again and slaughter any new children produced (2.6.1-2). Herakles' connection to the family continued when the hero was again deprived of his sense and he murdered his guest-friend Iphitos, brother of Iole. After punishment for this and many events in between, including the placement of the Gigantomachy, Herakles settled in Trachis and mustered an army; his reason is given as a desire to punish Eurytos (2.7.7). Oechalia, city of Eurytos, fell to Herakles, who took the king's daughter prisoner. It was at this point that Deianeira, wife of Herakles, learned of her husband's victory and of Iole.

> Intending to offer sacrifice, he sent the herald Lichas to Trachis to fetch fine raiment. From him Deianeira learned about Iole, and fearing that Herakles might love that damsel more than herself, she supposed that the split blood of Nessos was in truth a love-charm, and with it she smeared the tunic.[280]
> (*Bibliotheke* 2.7.7)

This garment was a sacrificial garment Herakles had requested so he could honour Cenean Zeus. The hero put on the garment and it swiftly began to erode his skin; he threw the deliverer of said garment, the herald Lichas, off a cliff in anger. Herakles, dying, was returned to Trachis where his wife discovered the truth and hung herself. Herakles issued a dying command to Hyllos, his eldest legitimate son, to marry Iole. The actual death of Herakles took place on a pyre, built at his command on Mount Oeta. All hesitated to light the pyre until a wandering shepherd, Poias, agreed to assist. As a result, Herakles gave him his famed bow (2.7.7). Poias was the father of Philoktetes who would eventually use the bow in question to assist in the fall of Troy.[281] Most of these details are fairly consistent with other examples of this myth. In comparison to the Sophoclean account, *The Trachiniai*, very few major details other than the method of Deianeira's suicide are inconsistent; the play ends before the apotheosis but this missing aspect will be discussed later in this chapter.

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[280] See *Bibliotheke* 2.7.6-7. The centaur Nessos attempted to carry Deianeira away but was killed by Herakles. While dying Nessos informed Deianeira that his split semen and blood would act as a love potion to use on Herakles.
[281] Frazer (1921) 270, n.1; Kereyni (1959) 203; Gantz (1993) 459.

Immortalization by Fire

Herakles' death on a burning pyre sounds fairly horrible and is realistically not the most effective way of a quick dispatch. As Stinton points out, suicide through burning was not a common practise for the Greeks.[282] Despite this, suicide by fire can be a feature of myth,[283] although it is uncommon. Its use in the Herakles myth, in particular this version,[284] raises questions of what specific symbolism it represents here. It is also worth making a connection here between the fiery death of Herakles and his prior massacre of his children through fire.[285] Fire is often treated as a purifying agent both in Greek myth and reality.[286] There are several mythic examples of this purification or attempts at it; the following two examples differ from that of Herakles' as the attempts are made during infancy.

Apollodoros provides us with our first example much later in the *Bibliotheke*. Demeter, grief-stricken by the loss of her daughter Persephone, attempted to bestow immortality upon the child Demophon, son of Celeus and Metanira. The method used was a combination of ambrosia anointing and fire. Metanira discovered Demeter's actions when Demophon was present in the flames. In this version of events, the child did not survive the failed process.[287]

> But Metanira, wife of Celeus, had a child and Demeter received it to nurse, and wishing to make it immortal she set the babe of nights on the fire and stripped off its mortal flesh. But as Demophon – for that was the child's name – grew marvellously by day, Praxithea[288] watched, and discovering him buried in the fire she cried out; wherefore the babe was consumed by the fire and the goddess revealed herself.
> (*Bibliotheke* 1.5.1-2)

The second example presents Thetis' attempt to give her son Achilleus immortality.[289] This method also depicts an ambrosia and fire combination.

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[282] Stinton (1987) 8. Farnell (1921) 172 also notes this.

[283] Evadne throws herself on her husband Capaneus' funeral pyre, Euripides *Suppliant Women* 1065-1075.

[284] As this version also displays assistance from Zeus.

[285] See Chapter Five for the discussion on purpose and meaning of fire.

[286] Parker (1983) 227, used to purify people or rooms.

[287] This is unlike the version in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* 263a-240, where the child did not obtain immortality and his continued existence is not made clear.

[288] Her identity and connection to the family is unknown; for discussion on the matter see Frazer (1921) Appendix 1, 312.

[289] This myth is also present in *Argonautica* 4. 869-872

> When Thetis had got a babe by Peleus, she wished to make it immortal, and
> unknown to Peleus she used to hide it in the fire by night in order to destroy the
> mortal element which the child inherited from its father, but by day she anointed
> him with ambrosia.
> (*Bibliotheke* 3.13.6)

These examples of immortalization through fire always fail; it is suggested by Stinton that the lightning bolt is the required aspect for the success of Herakles' apotheosis. The lightning bolt is also successful in the cases of Semele and Asclepius;[290] however I cannot say what this means for the prior version of the myth before the introduction of the lightning bolt.[291]

Both of these examples, while not truly comparable to Herakles' fiery death, still demonstrate certain uses and symbolisms of fire in Greek myth. The mother or nurse attempts to burn away the mortal elements from the babes, leaving behind immortal aspects, produced either from the immortal parentage or immortal fosterage. If one takes this idea and applies it to the Herakles myth, then arguments could be made to suggest the mortal parts of Herakles were burnt away by the flames of the pyre, while the immortal aspect rose to Olympos.[292] Pache expands on this idea further, suggesting gender differences may have an impact on the purpose and end result of fire usage. She suggests that, like in the previous examples, fire is useful for purification purposes when used by a female figure. However fire in the hands of a male is used for destructive means.[293] If one relates this idea to the pyre myth, arguments, pro or con, can be made. As previously suggested the pyre could burn away the mortal elements and purify the immortal aspect. However an argument could also be made for the destruction of Herakles here. In the case of the purification attempts of Demeter and Thetis, they attempted to strengthen the body itself; the goal of immortality but in the same physical form. For Herakles, the fire destroys the mortal aspect and his immortality takes place away from the mortal world. Thus the fire could be said to purify through the destruction of the mortal husk.

As well as being the method for gaining immortality, the pyre death contains other important aspects vital to Herakles' death. Suicide through fire prevents a shameful death at the hands of a woman, Deianeira, but also fulfils the usual heroic death through violent means. Death by fire and the lightning bolt may also demonstrate the only means of killing

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[290] Stinton (1987) 3.
[291] See Burton (1996) 143 on the later addition of the lightning bolt.
[292] Kirk (1974) 201, 227; Shapiro (1983) 16.
[293] Pache (2004) 53-54.

the mighty hero and freeing him from his mortal agony.[294] As highlighted by Burton, this indestructible aspect of Herakles may have resulted in the later introduction of the lightning bolt to the pre-existing pyre myth. This bolt also provides a dramatic air to the scene, as well as demonstrating honour for Herakles from his immortal father.[295] The blame for the death of Herakles rest on several shoulders, including on the hero's himself. Usually the chain of blame goes back as far as Nessos, who while dying, convinced a naive Deianeira of his 'love-charm'.

> She [Deianeira] cried out, Herakles heard her, and shot Nessos to the heart when he emerged from the river. Being at the point of death, Nessos called Deianeira to him and said that if she would have a love charm to operate on Herakles she should mix the seed he had dropped on the ground with the blood that flowed from the wound inflicted by the barb. She did so and kept it by her.
> (*Bibliotheke* 2.7.6)

However we must remember that the arrows used to kill the river centaur are the arrows Herakles prepares earlier in the myths, after his battle with the Lernean Hydra.

> But the body of the hydra he slit up and dipped his arrows in the gall.
> (*Bibliotheke* 2.5.2)

Later at the death of Herakles, Apollodoros reminds us of the hydra connection as the poison takes effect on the hero.

> But no sooner was the tunic warmed than the poison of the hydra began to corrode his skin.
> (*Bibliotheke* 2.7.7)

So the true poison on Deianeira's garment came from a beast Herakles destroyed in a time long past. A further step in this analysis of blame could be taken, however this can only be a tentative suggestion as the link does not exist fully in the *Bibliotheke*, only a brief connection.

In the *Theogony*, Hera's connection to serpentine creatures and non-Olympian creatures is strongly displayed, as discussed in previous chapters. The link that is of importance here is Hera's role as a nurse or protector of the offspring of Echidna and Typhon.[296]

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[294] Stinton (1987) 4.
[295] Burton (1996) 143.
[296] O'Brien (1993B) 94-95, 103-04.

> Third she [Echidna] gave birth to the evil-minded Hydra of Lerna, which the
> goddess, white-armed Hera, raised, dreadfully wrathful against Herakles' force.
> (*Theog*. 313-315)

This creature, along with the Nemean Lion (*Theog*. 379-29), are but two of the offspring of Echidna and Typhon that Hera has associations with. The goddess demonstrates connections with other creatures born of Echidna. In the *Theogony*, the Theban Sphinx is a child of Echidna and Orthos (326-327). In Apollodoros, we received a slightly different genealogy but we are also given a connection to Hera.

> For Hera sent the Sphinx, whose mother was Echidna and her father Typhon.
> (*Bibliotheke* 3.5.7-8)

Unfortunately for us, Apollodoros decides not to give us the genealogy of the Hydra. However he displays knowledge of the genealogy of the Nemean Lion (2.5.1), the Chimera (2.3.1) and Orthos (2.5.10) all of whom are children of Echidna as listed in the Theogony. Considering this awareness, it seems unlikely that he was ignorant of the genealogy of the Hydra. If Apollodoros had included this and Hera's connection to it, then the death of Herakles would be easily traceable to the goddess. This is not the case in this work, as demonstrated, however it seems that this may have been a conscious decision on the part of Apollodoros to neglect the connection.[297] Reasons for this can be suggested to be along similar lines to the removal of Hera's major chthonic aspects by Apollodoros;[298] this could be a continuation of such a motivation. In removing the connection to the Hydra, Apollodoros reduces the non-Olympic behaviour of Hera further. He may also be demonstrating an unwillingness to link Hera to the death of Herakles. This is an important suggestion when regarding the apotheosis and reconciliation between Hera and Herakles. This last point will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter.

The Apotheosis Story

The apotheosis of Herakles is the climatic point of his career and life; many events that occurred in his life were contributing factors to this becoming an actuality. Such events can be informative when looking for reasons as to why Herakles achieves immortality. The *Bibliotheke* describes the apotheosis process concisely but it also provides valuable details.

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[297] Apollodoros attributes a number of myths to Hesiod, naming him in text. A few select examples of this are: *Bibliotheke* 2.1.2, 2.2.2, 3.5.6, 3.14.4. Apollodoros does clearly display knowledge of his works.
[298] O'Brien (1993B) discusses the removal of similar details from the *Iliad*, reducing the non-Olympian aspect of Hera.

> While the pyre was burning, it is said that a cloud passed under Herakles and with
> a peal of thunder wafted him up to heaven.
> (*Bibliotheke* 2.7.7)

There are several aspects of this apotheosis to analyse. The method of immortalization is clear here in the text, however there are significant details which merit discussion. These details lie in the method of the apotheosis. As discussed previously in this chapter, it can be argued that the fire burned away the mortal aspects of Herakles and left his immortal aspects pure, which existed due to the divine parentage of Zeus. However the apotheosis process appears to have taken more than this, as demonstrated in the text. There is visible assistance from Zeus present in this particular version. The over determination by Apollodoros here is clear; every possible aspect of the sky god's power is present. The cloud that passes beneath the hero and the peal of thunder, both aspects of the sky god's power, represent Zeus' part in Herakles apotheosis. There are examples throughout Greek myth of Zeus granting immortality to mortals; each case does come with its own context and reasons for the immortality, or attempted immortality.[299] Like the thunderbolt often mentioned in the apotheosis of Herakles, these aspects of the sky god's power provide a more impressive scene and are especially relevant considering Herakles' parentage.[300] The thunderbolt, represented by the peal of thunder and cloud, is viewed as the actual act of granting of the immortality in question.[301] Stinton argues that the lightning bolt is also highlighted as the cause of death, as the hero proves to be too strong to kill by mortal means.[302]

Sources are not usually specific as to the reason why the immortalization was granted. Apollodoros, helpfully, provides us with a solid reason, which is in keeping with his general attempts to pinpoint and secure the more vague details of the life of Herakles. The hero receives several opportunities throughout his life to achieve greatness. The first is of course, the birthright spoken of by Zeus, prior to the hero's birth, which is ultimately denied to him through the meddling of Hera. This birthright would have bestowed greatness of a mortal nature upon him but may have resulted in an ordinary death. Herakles' chance for immortal glory is provided much later, after the travesty that is his madness. It seems strange that Herakles' chance for immortality should come from such a

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[299] Tithonos, *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* 218ff; Ganymede, *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* 203ff; attempted immortality of Tydeus, *Bibliotheke* 3.6.8.
[300] Burton (1996) 143.
[301] Nagy (1979) 203.
[302] Stinton (1987) 4.

transgression, however this clearly the choice of the author who positioned the two relevant aspects this way.[303]

After Herakles slaughtered his family, he required purification,[304] and received it at the hands of Thespius (2.4.12). This lead to a visit to Delphi where the hero inquired of the oracle where he should live from here onwards; it is through this that he is given a new purpose for his life.

> And she told him to dwell in Tiryns, serving Eurystheus for twelve years and to perform the ten labours imposed on him, and so, she said, when the tasks were accomplished, he would be immortal.
> (*Bibliotheke* 2.4.12)

This is not mentioned again in text, even in the passages near the death of Herakles and his apotheosis. Despite this, a single reference to it in the text is all that is required; it clearly attributes the justification of the apotheosis to the famous labours of Herakles. Other works are less helpful when suggesting reasons for the apotheosis. Hesiod's *Theogony* provides a brief mention when describing the life of Herakles upon Olympos.

> After he had completed his painful tasks – happy he, for after having accomplished his great work among the immortals he dwells unharmed and ageless for all his days.
> (*Theog*. 953 -955)

This particular example does mention the tasks in the same passage, however it places greater emphasis on the 'great work among the immortals'. This great task, could actually refer to Herakles' participation in the Gigantomachy. Farnell suggests Pindar accepted this view and incorporated it into his own mention of Herakles' apotheosis.[305]

> And furthermore, when the gods would meet the Giants
>> in battle on the plain of Phlegra
> he said that beneath a volley of his arrows
>> their bright hair would be fouled.
>
> with earth, but that he himself
>> in continual peace for all time

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[303] For alternative placements of the Madness and the Labours, see Euripides' *Herakles*.
[304] There are several examples throughout the life of Herakles in which he required purification for accidental or deliberate murders; murder of Iphitos *Bibliotheke* 2.6.2, Slaughter of centaurs and the resulting initiation into the Eleusinian mysteries *Bibliotheke* 2.5.12.
[305] Farnell (1921) 171.

>would be allotted tranquillity as the choicest
>
>>recompense for his great labours
>
>in a blissful home.
>
>(Pin. *Nem*. 1.65ff)

In this view, Pindar talks of unspecific labours first, but speaks of the Gigantomachy before Herakles' apotheosis, linking the two. Farnell also agrees that this was probably the 'great deed' to which Hesiod was referring.[306] It seems perfectly valid that deeds such as helping the gods maintain the cosmic order could result in immortality. However Apollodoros clearly chooses to associate the apotheosis with the labours; he could have several reasons for this, but it is possible he had other purposes in mind for the Gigantomachy.[307]

Herakles has an unusual status in Greek myth. Despite fulfilling the usual heroic criteria of immortal parentage, Zeus, he exists as a slightly ambiguous figure, the greatest Greek hero, therefore godlike but not a god. His apotheosis in the *Bibliotheke* finalizes the status change not just from mortal to immortal, but also from hero to god; he is unique in this status change, both in this text and in general Greek myth.[308] The status of Herakles' godhood and the granting of such, while firmed down by the production of this work, is one that is more elusive in cult and earlier literature.

The hero, possessing both a divine father and a mortal step-father is regarded as a liminal figure during his life, [309] neither fully divine nor fully mortal.[310] This is considered to be a dangerous position and is used by some to explain negative aspects of Herakles' life. Silk highlights examples which represent this liminality well.[311]

He also presents an excerpt of Mary Douglas' discussion on the interstitial figures. She has the following to say on the matter; 'danger lies in transitional states, simply because transition is neither one state not the next, it is indefinable. The person who must pass from one to another is himself in danger and emanates danger to others.'[312] From the moment of his birth, Herakles exists in such a liminal state, not quite mortal, not divine yet. He accomplishes great works but is also persecuted by his stepmother on the basis of

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[306] Farnell (1921) 171.
[307] This will be discussed in relation to the reconciliation with Hera.
[308] Burton (1996) 141; Stafford (2010) 239.
[309] The birth of Herakles is an example of parallel insemination, Ogden (1996) 234. See Chapter Four for this discussion.
[310] Ogden (1996) 234; Silk (1985) 6.
[311] Silk (1985) 6.
[312] Douglas (1969) 95-96, 104 in Silk (1985) 6.

his divine parentage. This persecution has flow-on effects to those around him, most notably his family.

The liminal stage of Herakles is demonstrated not just in the *Bibliotheke*, but in other forms of literature, most notably in the form of textual interpolations. Certain sections of well known texts display oddities and passages that seem at odds with other phrases around them. Two such examples exist in Homer's *Odyssey* and Hesiod's *Theogony*.

> And after him I became aware of the mighty Herakles - his phantom; for he himself among the immortal gods takes his joy in the feasts, and has for wife Hebe of the beautiful ankles, daughter of great Zeus and of Hera, of the golden sandals.
> (Hom. *Od.* 11.601ff).

> The strong son of beautiful-ankled Alcmene, Herakles' strength, made Hebe, the daughter of great Zeus and of golden-sandaled Hera, his reverend wife on snowy Olympus… happy he, for after having accomplished great work among the immortals he dwells unharmed and ageless for all his days.
> (Hes. *Theog*. 950ff).

Both of these examples are generally regarded as later interpolations into the texts, but as Silk aptly highlights, the mere existence of these demonstrates Herakles' uncomfortable position.[313] Herakles exists both as a mortal and an immortal and efforts have clearly been made to demonstrate this in well known texts.[314]

The struggle for distinction also exists in the cult of Herakles. Appropriately termed *heros theos* by Pindar [Nem. 3.22], Herakles received worship and sacrifice both as a god and as a hero.[315] Early on in his labours, Herakles makes mention of possible hero worship.

> On his way to attack the lion he came to Cleonae and lodged at the house of a day-labourer, Molorchus; and when his host would have offered a victim in sacrifice, Herakles told him to wait for thirty days, and then, if he had returned safe from the hunt, to sacrifice to Savior Zeus, but if he were dead, to sacrifice to him as to a hero.
> (*Bibliotheke* 2.5.1)

The idea of hero worship for Herakles at his actual death is interesting as there is no established hero grave for Herakles; his body was burnt on the pyre.[316] However

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[313] Silk (1985) 7.
[314] Kirk (1974) 178; Silk (1985) 7; Holt (1992) 40.
[315] Kirk (1974) 176; Holt (1989) 71.

archaeological evidence has shown there was a cult site to Herakles on Mt Oeta;[317] in this case it appears the 'death location' was sufficient for a cult site. The dual worship came about through the changes in the status of Herakles in cult and religion; it is believed he was first a hero who was then elevated to godhood.[318] This belief is well demonstrated through the interpolations in the *Odyssey* and *Theogony*. Herodotus discusses the issue of the split aspects of Herakles, suggesting that there were two, one divine Herakles and one mortal Herakles (2.44.5).[319] These also demonstrate how well established and integral to the myths the apotheosis was.[320] General scholarship agrees that this apotheosis of Herakles was well established from the 6th century BCE onwards; this is supported through evidence of depictions in art and literature.[321]

These discussions display relevance to the *Bibliotheke* as they establish the tradition that occurs prior to the work. They also aid with the clarification of certain elements present in this text; for example the aggression and danger of the hero due to his liminal state. The final apotheosis is deliberate and carefully placed in the *Bibliotheke* but the long tradition it becomes a part of demonstrates this acceptance was not always canonical; the establishment in the past has been of a vague and uncertain nature.

Divine Afterlife

The divine marriage of Herakles to the goddess Hebe is the final step in the saga of the hero. Having achieved immortality through his famous tasks (2.4.12), Herakles was granted a life on Olympos and the daughter of the king and queen of the gods for his wife. Aside from what in particular Hebe represents, she is also an aspect of the reconciliation between Herakles and Hera; this enmity caused great issues for Herakles from before his birth onwards. The end event for this enmity is the reconciliation between the two; however this is prompted by certain events that occur during the life of Herakles. The final marriage of Herakles is the last step in the process of the hero from the pyre to divine contentment.

> Thereafter he obtained immortality, and being reconciled to Hera he married her daughter Hebe, by whom he had sons, Alexiares and Anicetus.
> (*Bibliotheke* 2.7.7).

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[316] Farnell (1921) 89; Kirk (1974) 177.
[317] Shapiro (1983) 15.
[318] Farnell (1921) 98; Parker (2011) 110.
[319] Parker (2011) 110.
[320] Holt (1992) 40.
[321] Kirk (1974) 179; Philips (1978) 439; Burton (1996) 141.

There are several parts of this passage that merit attention. The reconciliation of Hera and Herakles is the strangest of these, considering the conflict between them in this work. All the episodes discussed to date in have highlighted various aspects of this dangerous relationship, mostly of a negative nature.[322] So in viewing these episodes, how does all of that negativity result in reconciliation and the bestowal of a bride? I believe the answer to this lies in the events of the Gigantomachy and will discuss this with evidence from the text.

In the previous discussion of the events of the Gigantomachy, we saw an unusual situation displayed between Hera, Herakles and Zeus.

> But in the battle Porphyrion attacked Herakles and Hera. Nevertheless Zeus inspired him with lust for Hera, and when he tore her robes and would have forced her, she called for help, and Zeus smote him with a thunderbolt, and Herakles shot him dead with an arrow.
> (*Bibliotheke* 1.7.1-2)

The behaviour displayed here is surprising considering Hera's general treatment of the hero throughout his life. Herakles' actions are certainly of a heroic nature and perhaps impacted his life more than originally realized in the text. The Gigantomachy is often treated by ancient authors as the reason for the apotheosis, [323] however in the case of the *Bibliotheke*, it is clearly stated the apotheosis is a result of the labours undertaken by Herakles (2.4.12). It is possible that Apollodoros had other purposes in mind for the Gigantomachy, such as the turning point for the relationship between Hera and Herakles. There is no specific declaration of this intent in the work but the behaviour of Hera changes from this point onwards; it should be noted that her behaviour changes from where the event occurs in the life of Herakles (2.7.1), not where the event occurs in the work as a whole (1.6.1). There are no specific references that can be given for this as it is an absence rather than an example; the text between 2.7.2 through to 2.7.7 where Herakles dies and is deified is clear of any examples of Hera's enmity.

This is difficult to contrast to other examples of the life of Herakles as there are no such 'holistic' accounts as this one present in the *Bibliotheke*. There is a brief mention of Hera in Herakles' rant in Sophokles' *Trachniai*. Nonetheless, it merely informs us that none of Hera's actions or the actions of any in the list he recites of past enemies were in comparison to the mistaken actions of Deianeira (1046ff). However as we are reminded

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[322] However Apollodoros does eliminate any possible connection Hera may have had to the death of Herakles.
[323] Hesiod *Theog*. 953 -955; Pin. *Nem*. 1.65ff.

earlier in the text, the potion applied to the garment contained 'the poison's black gall, the creation of the hydra of Lerna' (573-74). There is no definite blame as the raising of the hydra is not associated in the text, yet there is the possibility that an educated audience of Sophocles may have been aware of the connection. However as this particular connection is quite tenuous, it should handled carefully.

This reconciliation with Hera is referred to in several works however like the account in the *Bibliotheke*, no specific reason is given. Pindar implies a reconciliation when describing Herakles as the 'son-in-law' of Hera.

> But now he lives with the Aegis-Bearer, enjoying
> the noblest happiness: he is honoured as a friend
> by the immortals, he is married to Hebe,
> he is lord of a golden home and son-in-law to Hera.
> (*Isthm*. 4. 56ff)

The dual parentage of Hebe is not mentioned here;[324] one assumes Hebe would not be given by her mother to Herakles willingly if enmity still existed here. Herakles is specifically linked to Hera by name.[325] Hesiod's *Theogony* also refers to Herakles' divinity and residence upon Olympos; here Herakles is described as 'happy' and 'unharmed' (*Theog*. 950ff). There is brief mention in Kallimakhos' *Hymn to Artemis* in which the goddess Hera displays great amusement at the behaviour of Herakles (148–51);[326] while this does not mention the reconciliation, it does display a jovial relationship between the two, as opposed to previous malevolence. As a regularly missing element, the reason for the reconciliation is open for debate. However, here in the text of the *Bibliotheke*, I consider the actions of the Gigantomachy to be a feasible cause of the reconciliation between Hera and Herakles.

Marriage to Hebe

The marriage of Herakles to the goddess Hebe is a regularly occurring feature of his divine afterlife. This is a vitally important feature of Herakles' godhood considering what the goddess represents.

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[324] As in *Bibliotheke* 2.3.1 and *Theogony* 950ff.
[325] Gantz (1993) 82 supports this idea, suggesting Hebe's relationship to Hera reinforces the reconciliation of the goddess to Herakles.
[326] Loraux (1990) 41.

> Thereafter he obtained immortality, and being reconciled to Hera he married her
> daughter Hebe, by whom he had sons, Alexiares and Anicetus.
> (*Bibliotheke* 2.7.7).

Hebe is regularly mentioned as the wife of Herakles but her parentage is varied. She is usually treated as the daughter of both Hera and Zeus or simply the daughter of Hera alone. Cook, in a rather outdated article, argued that the relationship between Hera and Zeus should be regarded as unproductive, claiming the attribution of children to this is false.[327] This particular argument demonstrates some rather vehement discussions on the parentage of Hebe. He does highlight Pindar as an example of reference to the singular parentage by Hera (Pin. *Nem*. 1. 70ff, 7. 1-5, 10. 15-20; *Isthm*. 4. 56ff). However it should be pointed out here that Apollodoros twice refers to Hebe; once as the daughter of Zeus and Hera (1.3.1) and the later, in our current passage (2.7.7) as the daughter of Hera. Apollodoros just seems to be placing emphasis on the fact that Herakles will be the son-in-law of Hera.

Hebe is Youth personified; this reference often comes up in the texts, reminding us of the goddess' general purpose.[328] Her purpose in the marriage to Herakles is certainly along these lines but is more vital than one might immediately realize. Immortality and agelessness among those born divine are aspects taken for granted.[329] However in the case of certain figures that are granted divinity after possessing a mortal form, agelessness is not always automatically granted. I refer of course to the example of Tithonos, paramour of Eos, goddess of the Dawn. This goddess begged Zeus for immortality for her love but failed to include youth into this request. As a result, Tithonos was immortal in the sense that time would not kill him, but it did take its toll on his previously mortal flesh (*Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* 218ff). The missing aspect of youth is essential to the immorality of Herakles; it is present in the physical form of Hebe. Thus Herakles need not fear old age in the physical sense nor would he suffer another mortal death.

Hebe's status as the personification of youth is reinforced by the mention of children produced in this marriage.[330] The two sons, Alexiares and Anicetus, are unique to this account; they do not appear in other accounts of the divine marriage.[331] The reason for

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[327] Cook (1906) 366. Hebe is considered, by him, to be just the daughter of Hera. The reference to Hera and Zeus producing children, including Hebe, comes from Hesiod (*Theog.* 921-923) and as is such is summarily dismissed by Cook; he also states that any authors who mention this, like Apollodoros, are merely drawing on Hesiod's account.
[328] Gantz (1993) 81-82; Burton (1996) 138, n. 117.
[329] Clay (1981/1982) 112.
[330] Stafford (2005) 84.
[331] Gantz (1993) 463.

the reinforcement of personifications is their presence in the text as representations of specific aspects themselves. Alexiares translates to 'he who wards off war/Ares' and Anicetus means 'unconquered'. Both are very clearly representations of Herakles' life achievements and his apotheosis.[332] They tie in nicely with the personification of youth that is a vital aspect to Herakles' immortality. Svenbro broaches the topic of children as media for their parents' glory. His theory suggests a belief in the ability to gain a form of immortality through two means: generational (*genesis*) or renown (*kleos*). The first refers to the ability to gain immortality through the production of future generations.[333] This aspect is demonstrated through the naming of children or grandchildren for the progenitor. An example of this is present in the name of Telemakhos, son of Odysseus, whose name translates to 'he who fights far away'; this is not applicable to Telemakhos but rather to Odysseus.[334] Other examples can be found in the names of Astyanax, son of Hektor and in the names of the sons of Nestor.[335] In naming the offspring for fathers or grandfathers, they exist as a living memorial.[336] However in the case of Herakles, one must question the need for such a practice, which aims at a form of immortality. The hero/god, having just attained immortality and having married the personification of youth herself, surely does not require such a memorial. In this case it seems be another case of over determination on the part of Apollodoros.

Conclusion

The death of Herakles brings with it many links for the hero to other events that occurred prior in his life. However the striking element here is the absence of the influence of Hera in his death. This element or any connection to it appears to have been removed by Apollodoros through his exclusion of the genealogy of the Hydra and Hera's previous mythic connections to it (*Theog.* 313-315). Another link to earlier aspects of his life exists for Herakles in the use of fire in his death; this links to the method used in the deaths of his children by Megara (2.4.12). The apotheosis itself demonstrates aid by Zeus; this is represented through the sky god aspects present in the actual elevation to Olympos. The divinity aspect was also earned through the accomplishment of the labours (2.4.12). The divine afterlife of Herakles is presented in text by two elements: the reconciliation with Hera and the marriage to Hebe. The reconciliation aspect produces many queries as to the provocation of such an event; evidence can be found in the text or rather the absence of

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[332] Stafford (2005) 84.
[333] Svenbro (1993) 65-67.
[334] Svenbro (1993) 68-69.
[335] Svenbro (1993) 71-75: Astyanax 'lord of the city', Ekhephron 'who possess intelligence', Thrasumedes 'with ambitious plans', Peisistratos 'who persuades the army'.
[336] Naming can also simply be repetition of the ancestor's name, however this isn't applicable here. Svenbro (1993) 75.

examples of Hera's malevolence after the Gigantomachy, suggesting this last event may have had positive repercussions for the two figures. The marriage to Hebe provides Herakles with the much needed aspect of eternal youth to go with his immortality. In this marriage and apotheosis we see the final depiction of the relationships between the three key figures. Herakles is granted immortality through Zeus; however it is Hera, with whom he is now reconciled, who provides him with this last aspect required for immortal happiness, eternal youth in the form of her daughter Hebe.

Conclusion

The treatment of the relationships between Herakles, Hera and Zeus in the *Bibliotheke* of Apollodoros has been the major focus of this work. These relationships demonstrate not only Apollodoros' treatment of myth but the ways in which he manipulated and modified elements to produce his ideal work. The structure of the work aids Apollodoros in his manipulation of myth and also provides us with information on the *Bibliotheke*. These relationships are depicted clearly through the analysis of five episodes in the *Bibliotheke*. When viewed in chronological order,[337] a progression of the relationships can be seen. Absolutely negative when Herakles is conceived, Hera attempts to ruin then eliminate the child; Zeus, after proclaiming his prophecy and the resulting sabotage by Hera, does little but stand by and watch Herakles assume his new mortal destiny (2.4.5-9). The negativity between Hera and Herakles reaches its climax when Hera inflicts madness upon him; in this case Zeus is completely absent from events (2.4.12).

The conflict over Herakles between Hera and Zeus reaches its climatic point later after Hera interferes with the hero by sending storms against him; this act endangers Herakles and depending on the view, may have been Hera's attempt to prevent his participation in the Gigantomachy (1.3.5-6; 2.7.1). The actual battle against the gigantes depicts several unusual scenes and behaviour types for all three figures. Hera is passive in her actions, present as a figure to be targeted then rescued. Zeus afflicts a gigas with desire for Hera, then with Herakles, who is specifically mentioned, saves his queen; here Herakles aids in the rescue of the most destructive figure in his life (1.6.1; 2.7.1). The death of Herakles is the result of mortal error or monstrous cunning,[338] but his apotheosis and godhood is immortally granted. The apotheosis process is presented through an exhibition of Zeus' sky god powers; this provoked by Herakles' mortal achievements, the labours (2.4.12). The reconciliation between Hera and Herakles demonstrates the most positive point of their relationship. This reconciliation, in Apollodoros' text, appears to be provoked by Herakles' actions in the Gigantomachy; this idea is reinforced by Hera's lack of malevolence after the cosmic battle. The divine afterlife, including the marriage of Herakles to Hebe, shows aspects of influence by both Zeus and Hera. The immortal father of Herakles is responsible for the immortality while the text here credits Hera as the mother of Hebe (2.7.7). In the granting of Hebe to Herakles, Apollodoros demonstrates the link between Hera and Herakles. In which case, Hera gives Herakles the vital aspect of eternal youth, to go with

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[337] Birth, Madness, Punishment, Gigantomachy, Death and Afterlife.
[338] Caused by Hydra poison (2.5.2) and the deception of Deianeira by the centaur Nessos (2.7.6).

his everlasting life (2.7.7); as shown in Chapter Six, these two elements do not always appear together.

The progression of the relationships from negative to neutral, if not positive, is arguably a deliberate emphasis on the part of Apollodoros. The author demonstrates his ability to manipulate myth throughout the work; this occurs through the inclusion and exclusion of elements and structural placements of myths. The relationships themselves are manipulated by Apollodoros; this is demonstrated through the comparison of this text to other primary resources. Missing elements that Apollodoros excludes exist in the lack of some of Hera's chthonic connections; many chthonic links exist for the goddess, yet nothing connects Hera to the Lernean Hydra, when this link is present in previous works like Hesiod's *Theogony* (313-315). The lack of later malevolence is also a missing element, although this is evoked through the deliberate placement of the Gigantomachy in the life of Herakles. The aid of Herakles, the specific mention of the hero in the rescue of Hera, also displays a deliberate aspect. An important arrangement of myth made by Apollodoros exists in the progression of madness to labours to apotheosis. When compared to other versions, such as Euripides' *Herakles*, the deliberate choice becomes obvious.

Another aspect present in the *Bibliotheke* is the idea of mythical remnants or motifs, which exist in later texts, long after the original myth is gone.[339] Several of these exist throughout the work, presenting us with myths that have perplexing elements. The punishment of Hera, in which Zeus inflicts a severe punishment on his wife for what seems to be a small offence, arguably makes more sense when one considers the possibility of revolt by Hera; this idea can exist with or without the earth goddess concept.[340] Aspects of the Gigantomachy also display mythical remnants; the unusual infliction of lust on Porphyrion by Zeus presents as unexpected and questionable. The idea that this could be a remnant of an older myth in which Hera had connections to the gigantes is at least worth consideration.[341] Hera's connection to Ge and her offspring are seen as questionable links for the Olympian goddess, the wife of Zeus and queen of the gods.[342] The idea of mythic remnants here at least presents the possibility that these elements belonged to an older goddess and were filtered out as time passed.

The structuring system of the *Bibliotheke* exists as a tool for Apollodoros to shape myths according to his ideal scheme. The genealogical structure forms the basic organization of

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[339] Whitman (1970) 40, 42.
[340] For discussions on the earth goddess theory see O'Brien (1993a), Whitman (1970), Renehan (1974).
[341] This idea is discussed in Chapter Two and is based off a quote from schol. T ad *Il*. 14. 296.
[342] This is discussed in Chapters Two and Three.

the work, however Apollodoros makes exceptions for this, depending on the situation.[343] We see several examples of this system in play, present in the Herakles myths. Firstly we have the dual placement of the Punishment of Hera (1.3.5; 2.7.1) and the Gigantomachy (1.6.1; 2.7.1). These episodes exist in two locations as they serve multiple purposes; for the first and main placements the focus is upon the interactions of the Olympian gods (1.3.5; 1.6.1), therefore it must exist in this section. The second placement exists to lock down the event in the life of Herakles (2.7.1; 2.7.1). This fixed timeline is one of the accomplishments Apollodoros achieves in the *Bibliotheke*.[344] Herakles' life is of importance to Apollodoros' scheme; we see this through his inclusion of Herakles in the Gigantomachy. Apollodoros chose to include Herakles as the mortal helper of the gods;[345] as a result in the overall timeline, the Gigantomachy event would have been displaced from the other major cosmic battle, the Titanomachy and would have pushed back the Typhonomachy.

The Madness of Herakles and the resulting labours demonstrate another example of the structuring system. In the madness Herakles slaughters his children, but not Megara (2.4.12). The mention of Megara as the mother of the children is the last receive of her until much later (2.6.1). When Apollodoros finishes the labours of Herakles section, he reminds us that Herakles still has a wife; this is very quickly fixed as Herakles gives her to Iolaos, his nephew (2.6.1). In separating these references, Apollodoros reminds us of the reason for the labours, but also ties off this section of the life of Herakles by eliminating the loose end of Megara. The structuring system also betrays important aspects for the background of the work. The exclusion of Rome is demonstrated in the journey of Herakles through Italy (2.5.10), the destiny of Aeneas (3.12.2) and his flight from Troy (E.6.15-15b). This exclusion is highlighted as a trait of Second Sophistic dating.[346]

In general, it is quite possible to produce a number of potential theories on the relationships between Herakles, Hera and Zeus. However this study has highlighted a major issue regarding scholarship on the *Bibliotheke*. There is a general lack of research, potentially produced through ignorance of the value of the work and the lack of awareness regarding Apollodoros' deliberate intentions. Slowly interest in the work is growing and there is the hope that future scholarship on this work will flourish and reinforce the contribution of the *Bibliotheke* to the field of Classics. I believe this work contributes to

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[343] Scott Smith & Trzaskoma (2007) xxxiii.
[344] Stafford (2012) 63.
[345] Other traditions included Dionysos. See Chapter Three for the discussion of this.
[346] Bowie (1970) 24.

the growth of information and awareness and will encourage future scholarship on this valuable work.

Figures

Figure 1

Left section of the north frieze of the Siphnian Treasury, c. 530 BCE. Delphi, Delphi Museum. Gigantomachy with Dionysos and Themis. Andronicos 1992 fig. 29.

Figure 2

Left section of the north frieze of the Siphnian Treasury, c. 530 BCE. Delphi, Delphi Museum. Gigantomachy with Apollo, Artemis and the gigas Kantharos. Andronicos 1992 fig. 30.

Figure 3

Attic red-figure hydria shoulder, Tyszkiewicz Painter, c.480 BCE, London, British Museum E 165. Gigantomachy with Athena and Zeus. Boardman 1975 fig. 187.

Figure 4

Apulian red-figure lekythos, c. 380 BCE. Berlin, Staatliche Museum, V. 1.3375. Herakles, serpentine gigas and Dionysos. Schefold 1981 fig. 135.

Figure 5

Northern frieze of the Great Altar at Pergamon, c. 180 BCE onwards. Berlin, Pergamon Museum. Moirai. Retrieved from Google Maps, Pergamon Museum, downloaded 24/11/2013.

Figure 6

Eastern frieze of the Great Altar at Pergamon, c. 180 BCE. Berlin, Pergamon Museum. Hekate and Artemis groups. Screenshot from Google Maps, Pergamon Museum, downloaded 24/11/2013.

Figure 7

Eastern frieze of the Great Altar at Pergamon, c. 180 BCE onwards. Berlin, Pergamon Museum. Herakles and Zeus. Retrieved from Google Maps, Pergamon Museum, downloaded 24/11/2013.

Figure 8

Paestan red-figure calyx krater, Asteas Painter, 4th century BCE. Madrid, National Archaeological Museum of Spain, 11094. Herakles throwing children on makeshift fire. Retrieved from:
http://ceres.mcu.es/pages/ResultSearch?Museo=MANT&txtSimpleSearch=Asteas&simpleSearch=0&hipertextSearch=1&search=advancedSelection&MuseumsSearch=MANT|&MuseumsRolSearch=36&listaMuseos=[Museo%20Arqueol%F3gico%20Nacional%20(Colecci%F3n%20Tesoros%20del%20MAN)] downloaded 08/08/2013.

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