

Hesiod's Theogony^o

Let us begin to sing of the Muses of Helikon,^o
 who hold the great and holy mount of Helikon,^o
 and dance on tender feet round the violet spring
 and the altar^o of Kronos' mighty son.
 Having washed their soft skin in Permessos'^o 5
 spring, or Hippokrene, or holy Olmeios,
 on Helikon's summit^o they lead the fair and
 beautiful dances with rapid steps.
 Setting out from there, concealed by air,
 they walk at night, chanting their fair song, 10

Title We do not know what name (if any) Hesiod gave to his poem; the generic term *theogonia* is certainly appropriate, and the poem may have been identified simply as "a theogony." Our earliest evidence for the use of *Theogony* as a specific title occurs in the fragments of the Stoic philosopher Chrysisippos, five centuries after Hesiod.

- 1 The Muses invoked by Hesiod are the divine patronesses of song and singers. It was a common practice in early Greek poetry to begin a recitation with an appeal to them (or to one of them) for inspiration and guidance. The first line of the *Iliad* addresses a Muse as "goddess" and the first line of the *Odyssey* calls upon an anonymous "Muse," as do *Hh* 4, 5, 9, 14, 17, 19, and 20; *Hh* 25, 32, and 33 address the Muses as a group, and 31 specifically invokes the Muse Kalliope. It was also usual for early singers to begin their performance with a hymn to a god or gods as an introduction; the shorter *Hymns* are clearly prefaces of this sort. Hesiod introduces his song with a hymn to the Muses because they are more than a poetic convention to him; they actually appeared to him and made him a singer (22-33), and they commanded him to sing first of themselves.
- 2 Mount Helikon is the highest mountain of Boiotia, about halfway between Thebes and Delphi. The town of Askra on its slopes was the home of Hesiod; according to Pausanias (9.29.1-2) Askra was founded by the Aloadae (two gigantic children who tried to take over Olympos), and they also started a cult of the Muses on Helikon.
- 4 There may have been a cult of Zeus on Helikon, as the presence of an altar implies.
- 5-6 The Permessos is a stream of Helikon, and the Olmeios is a nearby river into which it flowed. Hippokrene, a spring high on Helikon, was later said to have been created by a kick of the hoof of the winged horse Pegasus; the name means "spring of the horse."
- 7-10 The Muses are coming down from Helikon's summit because they are on their way to meet Hesiod, as described in 22-34.

singing° of Zeus Aigiochos° and mistress Hera of Argos,° who walks in golden sandals, and Zeus Aigiochos' daughter, owl-eyed Athena, and Phoibos Apollo and archeress Artemis, and Poseidon earth-embracer,° earth-shaker, 15 and revered Themis° and glancing Aphrodite, and gold-crowned Hebe and lovely Dione,° Leto, Iapetos,° and crafty Kronos, Eos, great Helios, and bright Selene,° Gaia, great Okeanos, and black Nyx,° and 20

- 11-21 Like Hesiod, the Muses sing of gods and goddesses, and all of the deities named here will appear later in the *Theogony*, although not in this order.
- 11 Zeus' descriptive epithet "Aigiochos" is usually translated "aegis-bearing" and thought to refer to the *aigis*, a goat-skin emblem made by Hephaistos for Zeus, who uses it to frighten enemies and create thunder-storms. But West (*WD* 366-368) has shown that for linguistic reasons the epithet probably refers to a goat (*aix*) and not an *aigis*, and should mean "riding on a goat" or "being drawn by a goat." Furthermore, *aix* means not only "goat" but also a kind of bird which may be a snipe, and the snipe is associated in several European cultures with storms or a storm-god. Thus, just as Athena is "owl-eyed" and Hera is "cow-eyed," Zeus is "goat (or snipe)-drawn."
- 12 Hera's epithet *Argeia* reflects the ancient worship of Hera at Argos, where she was the goddess of the city (as Athena was at Athens).
- 15 Poseidon is called "earth-embracer" because he is a sea-god, and the ocean was regarded by the gods as a circular river which surrounded the earth; a similar meaning may be present in the etymology of Poseidon's name, which could mean "husband of earth."
- 16 Themis is a Titan goddess (135) and Zeus' second wife (901).
- 17 Hebe [Youth] is a daughter of Zeus and Hera (922). Dione is an Okeanid nymph in the *Theogony* (353), but Homer and some other sources call her the mother of Aphrodite; her name is a feminine form of "Zeus."
- 18 Leto is a daughter of the Titans Koios and Phoibe (404-406) and Zeus' sixth wife (918); their children are Apollo and Artemis (919). Iapetos is a Titan (134) and the father of Prometheus (510).
- 19 Eos [Dawn], Helios [Sun], and Selene [Moon] are children of the Titans Theia and Hyperion (371-374).
- 20 Gaia [Earth], Okeanos, and Nyx [Night] may all have played important roles in variant theogonic traditions known to Hesiod. Gaia is the primal parent of the *Theogony*, but the possibility that Okeanos had a similar function in another theogony is suggested by references in the *Iliad* (14.201, 14.246) to Okeanos as the source of all the gods. There may have been a tradition in which Okeanos and his wife Tethys were the first parents, just as the water-gods Tiamat and Apsu are the first couple in the "Enuma Elish" (*In* 22). Or perhaps there was a version in which Okeanos and Gaia, water and earth, were the first parents (*Ps* 94); the early mythographer Pherekydes speaks of a union between Okeanos and Gaia, and Hesiod mentions a union between Gaia and the sea-god Pontos, her son and Okeanos' half-

the holy race of other immortals who always are.

Once they taught Hesiod beautiful song° as he watched his sheep° under holy Helikon; this is the first thing the goddesses told me, the Olympian Muses,° daughters of Zeus Aigiochos: 25
 "Rustic shepherds, evil oafs, nothing but bellies,° we know how to say many lies as if they were true,° and when we want, we know how to speak the truth."
 This is what the prompt-voiced daughters of great Zeus said; they picked and gave me a staff, a branch of strong laurel,° 30

- brother (131-132). Nyx appears as the first being or as one of the first pairs of beings in the early cosmogonies attributed to Mousaios and Epimenides, as well as one of the Orphic versions, and in her dark obscurity is similar to Chaos, Hesiod's first being.
- 22 We may presume that the Muses did not actually appear to Hesiod, but we may not presume that he did not think they did, in a dream, day-dream, or vision of some sort; gods have been appearing regularly to mortals since religion began. On the other hand, this kind of divine visitation may have already become a poetic convention by the time of Hesiod; he may be saying "the Muses made me a singer" in the same way we say "the devil made me do it."
- 23 The sheep watched by Hesiod may also be a poetic convention (West, *T* 160).
- 25 The "Olympian" Muses are the same as the "Helikonian" Muses in 1; they are called Helikonian because Helikon is one of their favorite places and a site of their cult, and Olympian because they sing to and of their father Zeus, whose home is Olympos. G. Nagy ("Hesiod" in *Great Writers: Greece and Rome*, ed. T. J. Luce, Vol. 1 [New York, 1982] 55-56) has suggested that the distinction between Helikonian and Olympian is the difference between local variant theogonies and the Hesiodic panhellenic theogony which superseded them.
- 26 The colloquial insults with which the Muses address Hesiod are 1) a convention in primitive and archaic ritual; 2) a convention in visions of superior gods to inferior mortals (West, *T* 160), and 3) because they are addressed to a plural audience, a characterization of a class of people (ignorant farmers) among whom Hesiod will be an exception, precisely because of the Muses' favor.
- 27-28 The lies which have the appearance of truth may refer to variants and contradictions in the theogonic traditions which Hesiod knew. They may once have seemed true and may still seem so to some people, but Hesiod now will learn and sing the truth about such matters, thanks to the guidance of the Muses.
- 30 To hold a staff, in early Greek literature, is to have the authority to speak; staffs are held by kings, priests, prophets, heralds, and speakers in the Homeric assembly of chieftains. Professional singers after the time of Hesiod often carried a laurel wand, and an ancient commentator claimed that Hesiod invented this practice (no doubt using this passage as his evidence). The laurel is associated with Apollo and with oracles and prophecy; it is therefore fitting for singers also, since singers and prophets in ancient Greece shared a calling and knowledge not available to ordinary mortals. There were other concrete signs (blindness, for example) which, at least in myth and legend, characterize both singers and prophets as possessors of arcane knowledge.

a fine one, and breathed into me a voice°
 divine, to celebrate what will be and what was.
 They told me to sing the race of the blessed who always are,
 but always to sing of themselves first and also last.
 But what is this of oak or rock to me?° 35

Hesiod, let us start from the Muses, who with singing°
 cheer the great mind of father Zeus in Olympos,°
 telling things that are and will be and were before,
 with harmonized voice; the unbroken song flows
 sweet from their lips; the father's house rejoices, 40
 the house of loud-sounding° Zeus, as the delicate voice
 Of the goddesses spreads, the peaks of snowy Olympos echo,
 and the homes of the immortals; with ambrosial voice
 they praise in song° first the august race of gods
 from the beginning, whom Gaia and wide Ouranos begot, 45
 and those born from them, the gods, givers of good;
 and second of Zeus, the father of gods and men,
 [the goddesses sing, beginning and ending the song]
 how he is best of gods and greatest in power;
 next, singing of the race of men and mighty Giants° 50
 they cheer the mind of Zeus in Olympos, themselves

- 31-32 As a result of the Muses' inspiration, Hesiod will sing of "what will be and what was." Knowledge of both past and future is another characteristic shared by mythical singers and prophets.
- 35 This puzzling line must be a proverb of some kind. Ancient evidence and modern interpretations are discussed in detail by West (*T* 167-169), who admits that "the truth is lost in antiquity." The meaning may be "Why do I speak further of incredible things?" (i.e., the epiphany of the Muses), but this cannot be demonstrated. At any rate, the verse is an indication that one topic is ending and another is about to begin.
- 36-103 Having told of his own relationship with the Muses, Hesiod now starts over. This second part of his prologue is much more like the standard hymn to a divinity, relating the Muses' function and situation among the gods (37-74), the details of their parentage and birth (53-62), their names (75-79), and their functions in regard to mortals (80-103).
- 37 The chief function of the Muses is to entertain Zeus; they sing to cheer his mind (37, 51), and their song is mostly about him (47, 49, 53-54, 56-67, 71-74).
- 41 Zeus is "loud-sounding" because he is a thunder-, lightning-, and storm-god.
- 44-50 The song of the Muses recapitulates the themes of the *Theogony* and its sequel, the *Catalogue of Women*: the first gods and the Titans (44-45), the Olympian gods (46), Zeus (47, 49), mortals 50).
- 50 Why the Muses sing of mortals and Giants together is puzzling, especially since the battle of Zeus with the Giants is not mentioned in the *Theogony*, which tells only of the Giants' conception and birth (185-186). Herakles, while still a mortal, was the

the Muses of Olympos, daughters of Zeus Aigiochos.
 Mnemosyne, who rules the hills of Eleuther,° having lain
 with the father, Kronos' son, in Pieria,° bore them to be
 a forgetting of evils and a respite from cares.° 55
 For wise Zeus lay with her nine nights°
 apart from the immortals, going up to the holy bed;
 but when a year went by, and the seasons turned round,
 as moons waned, and many days were completed,
 she bore nine like-minded daughters, in whose
 breasts and spirit song is the only care, 60
 just below the summit of snowy Olympos. There
 are their polished dance-floors and lovely houses;
 next to them the Charites and Himeros have homes°
 in joy; chanting from their lips a sweet song, 65
 they sing, and praise the customs and noble ways of
 all the immortals, chanting a most sweet song.
 Then they went to Olympos, rapt in the lovely air,°
 the ambrosial song; the black earth echoed round
 to their singing, and a sweet beat arose under their
 feet as they went to their father; he was ruling the
 sky, holding the thunder and fiery lightning-bolt himself,
 having conquered father Kronos by might; in right detail
 he dealt laws and appointed honors to the immortals. 70

- indispensable participant in the gods' battle against the Giants (*Ap* 1.6.1), and this may be hinted at in 954, but 954 was probably not written by Hesiod and there is no clear reference to this battle in literature or art until a century after Hesiod.
- 53 Mnemosyne, the mother of the Muses, is the personification of Memory, and therefore most important to a poet whose tradition is entirely or largely orally transmitted. Eleuther is on Mount Kithairon, another Boiotian mountain which may have been the site of a cult of the Muses, as well as the place where the infant Oidipous was exposed and where Herakles killed a monstrous lion.
- 54 Pieria, the area north of Mount Olympos in Thessaly, was well-known in antiquity for its cult of the Muses.
- 55 That Memory should bear "forgetfulness" is an oxymoron and almost a pun.
- 56-60 The intercourse of Zeus and Mnemosyne lasts for nine nights because she will bear nine children. Somewhat similarly, Zeus is said to have enjoyed the night he spent with Alkmene so much that he extended the night to three times its normal length (*Ap* 2.4.8), and this inordinate amount of time was responsible for the great strength of Herakles, the child Alkmene conceived (Diodoros 4.9).
- 64 The Charites [Graces] are three daughters of Zeus and Eurynome (907-909). Himeros [Longing] is an attendant of Aphrodite (201), but his parentage is not given in early Greek literature.
- 68 The Muses' procession to Olympos presumably follows immediately after their birth.

These things the Muses sang, who hold Olympian homes,^o 75
 nine daughters begotten by great Zeus,
 Kleio, Euterpe, Thaleia, and Melpomene,
 Terpsichore, Erato, Polymnia, Ourania,
 and Kalliope, who is most eminent of all,
 for she is companion of reverent kings.^o 80
 Whomever of kings, favored by Zeus, the daughters
 of great Zeus honor and see being born,
 they pour sweet dew on his tongue, and
 from his lips flow honeyed words; his people
 all look to him as he decides issues with 85
 straight judgments; speaking unerringly he
 quickly and wisely ends even great strife;
 this is why there are sensible kings, since
 they secure restitution for the wronged in
 public and easily, persuading by soft words; 90
 going to assembly, they pray to him as to a god,
 with supplicant awe; in assembly he is pre-eminent.
 Such is the holy gift of the Muses to men.
 For from the Muses and far-shooting Apollo
 are men on earth who sing and play the harp, 95
 but kings are from Zeus; he prospers, whom the
 Muses love; a sweet voice flows from his lips.
 For if one has grief in his newly-vexed spirit,^o and

75-79 The number and names of the nine Muses may have been invented by Hesiod. There is of course no way to prove this, but a reason to suspect that the names occur here for the first time is the fact that the names reflect words and phrases earlier used by Hesiod (West, *T* 180-181). For example, Kleio appears in *kleiousin* (67), Erato in *eraten* (65) and *eratos* (70), Kalliope in *opi kale* (68). It was not until late Roman times that individual Muses were given separate authority for different arts: Kleio for history, Euterpe for music, Thaleia for comedy, Melpomene for tragedy, Terpsichore for dance, Erato for lyric poetry, Polymnia for mime, Ourania for astronomy, and Kalliope for epic poetry (there were many variations of this list). A modern "museum" is a "place of the Muses" [*mouseion*], and in ancient Greece philosophers (such as Plato and Aristotle) and scholars put their schools under the sponsorship of the Muses.

80-97 The Muses have functions among mortals as well as among the gods, and kings are an obvious example of the benefit of their assistance. If rulers are not to rely on force on every occasion, they must be able to persuade their subjects with inspired words. Also, the *Theogony* may have been composed for a competition at Chalkis in honor of a dead king and before a royal audience (*In* 2); it would not hurt Hesiod's prospects if he inserted his judges in his poem.

98-103 Mention of a "newly-vexed spirit" whose "grief" is diverted by a singer also suggests that Hesiod's poem is intended for performance at a funeral (West, *T* 45).

his heart is withered in sorrow, and then a bard,
 the Muses' servant, sings the fame of former men 100
 and the blessed gods who hold Olympos, soon
 he forgets his mind's burden and remembers none of
 his cares; quickly the goddesses' gifts divert him.
 Greetings, children of Zeus; grant me lovely song,^o
 and praise the holy race of immortals who always are, 105
 who were born from Gaia and starry Ouranos,^o
 and from dark Nyx, and those salty Pontos raised.
 Tell how at first gods and earth came to be,
 and rivers and vast sea, violent in surge,
 and shining stars and the wide sky above, 110
 [and the gods born from them, givers of good]
 how they divided their wealth and allotted honors
 and how first they held valed Olympos.
 Tell me these things, Muses with Olympian homes,
 from the first, say which of them first came to be.^o 115
 First^o of all Chaos^o came into being; but next
 wide-breasted Gaia, always safe foundation of all

104-115 Again Hesiod seems to start over. This section describes the main genealogical concerns of his poem, and also suggests his main purpose, to depict the establishment of a permanent divine hierarchy on Olympos (112-113).

106-107 The descendants of Gaia and Ouranos will include not only the Titans, their children, but ultimately all the Olympian gods and goddesses (and a great many others). The children of Nyx are the fifteen singular and collective personifications named in 211-225, and the children of Pontos are Nereus (233), father of the Nereid nymphs (240-264), and four others (237-239) from whom most mythical monsters will be descended (265-336).

115-116 The last line of the prologue leads directly into the main body of the poem. Hesiod asks the Muses to say what "first came to be" [*proton genet'*] and the Muses' answer follows immediately: "first of all Chaos came into being" [*protista Chaos genet'*]. The remainder of the *Theogony* is the song the Muses taught to Hesiod.

116-122 The world begins with a stage radically set apart from everything that follows, in that the first four beings to appear are spontaneously generated without source or cause (*Ps* 90-93).

116 The primary meaning of the Greek word *chaos* is not disorder or confusion, but rather an opening or gap. Related to the verb *chasko* [open, yawn, gape], *chaos* signifies a void, an abyss, infinite space and darkness, unformed matter. The etymology may suggest a womb which opens to bring forth life, but there are much stronger connotations of an impenetrable and immeasurable darkness, an opacity in which order is non-existent or at least unperceived. The concept of a primordial Chaos is reminiscent of the boundless and featureless watery waste called Nun in Egyptian cosmogony and the formless void and abyss of *Genesis*.

immortals who possess the peaks of snowy Olympos,^o
and dim Tartaros^o in a recess of the wide-pathed earth,
and Eros,^o most beautiful among the immortal gods, 120
limb-weakener, who conquers the mind and sensible thought
in the breasts of all gods and all men.

From Chaos were born Erebos and black Nyx;^o
from Nyx were born Aither and Hemera,

117-118 Gaia is not only the earth, but also the primal mother from whom almost all of subsequent creation is descended. In virtually all cosmogonies (with the topographically determined exception of the Egyptian) Earth is the primordial maternal symbol, and in Greek myth she plays an especially important role as mother and wife of Ouranos, mother of the Titans, and grandmother of Zeus and the first generation of Olympian gods. There is a suggestion in *WD* 108 that mortals also were born from Earth: “gods and mortal men are born from the same source.” Hesiod calls Earth “mother of all” (*WD* 563), and Euripides uses the same phrase in a fragment which also refers to the birth of men from the earth: “Earth, who receives the wet rain-drops and bears mortals, bears plants and the tribe of beasts; therefore you are rightly called mother of all”. The connection between Earth and Mother was felt so strongly by the Greeks that Plato could say “The woman in her conception and generation is but the imitation of the earth, and not the earth of the woman” (*Menexenus* 238a).

119 Tartaros is the lowest part of the underworld, and since the underworld is everything below the surface of the earth, Tartaros seems to be the lowest part of Earth. Like many cosmogonic phenomena, Tartaros is both a place and also a (barely) anthropomorphized being, who mates and produces offspring but has no personality or career. Tartaros is not mentioned in the *Odyssey*, but is described in *Iliad* 8.13-16 in terms quite similar to Hesiod’s description at 720-725. In early Greek literature the underworld is usually called the “house of Hades (and/or Persephone)”; later (and once in Homer, *Iliad* 23.244) “home of” tends to be omitted, and the place as well as the god who rules it are called simply “Hades.” The Titans and the monster Typhoeus are specifically mentioned as being thrown into Tartaros by Zeus (717-731, 868), and Tartaros may be the “dark hole” of Earth in which Ouranos confines his children (158); the Greek word for “dark hole” is *keuthmon*, and Aeschylus will later speak of the *keuthmon* of Tartaros (*Prometheus* 222). In later Greek literature Tartaros became the underworld home of a select group of criminals, the most famous and earliest being Tantalos, Sisyphos, Tityos, and Ixion (*Ps* 90-93).

120 Eros is a creative principle of Desire in the universe; his appearance is the necessary condition separating the first stage of the world from all later development. After Eros comes into existence, all creation will be procreation (*Ps* 89).

123 First Chaos, and then Gaia (126-132), begin reproducing. The breadth of the Hesiodic concept of Eros is suggested by the fact that the first children to be produced are fatherless: Erebos and Nyx are born to Chaos, and Ouranos, the Ourea, and Pontos to Gaia. It is not until this point (133) that Eros is sexualized and becomes desire of a reproductive partner. The darkness of Chaos is replicated in her children Erebos [Darkness] and “black Nyx” [Night].

whom she conceived and bore, joined in love with Erebos.^o 125
Gaia first bore a child^o equal to herself,
starry Ouranos, to cover her all over, and
to be an always safe home for the blessed gods.
She bore the high Ourea,^o pleasing homes of divine
Nymphs, who dwell in the valed mountains. 130
She also bore the barren sea,^o violent in surge,
Pontos, without love’s union; but next
she lay with Ouranos^o and bore deep-whirling Okeanos,

124-125 The union of Darkness and Night produces Aither [Brightness] and Hemera [Day], their elemental and complementary opposites.

126-128 Gaia’s first child Ouranos [Sky] is also her complement; the phrases “equal to herself” and “to cover her all over” seem to depict Earth and Sky as two halves of one large mass. This would correspond well with the hypothesis that Earth and Sky are engaged in continual intercourse (see on 154-160), and appears in mythical form in a fragment of Euripides: “Earth and Sky were one shape, and when they were separated they begot all things.”

129-130 The Ourea are the Mountains, and the nymphs who dwell in them are often called Oread nymphs (*ourea* is a poetic form of *orea*).

131-132 Gaia’s final parthenogenic son is Pontos [Sea], by whom she will later produce children (233-239). The distinction between Pontos and Okeanos, Sea and Ocean, is based on the identification of Okeanos as a river which encircled the earth.

133 The marriage of Gaia and her son Ouranos, Earth and Sky, is found in many cosmogonies around the world. The interesting and obvious question about their relationship is how Sky above and Earth below manage to connect with one another in order to produce children. A completely anthropomorphized answer would see them as two huge bodies lying one on top of the other, a notion which seems required by Hesiod’s story of the castration of Ouranos. The usual answer, however, is metaphoric rather than anthropomorphic, and views this cosmic sexuality in the form of rain and lightning, projections of the sky-god’s procreative power (*Ps* 94-95); the fragment from Aeschylus’ *Danaides* cited there reads: “Eros makes holy Ouranos lie with Gaia, Eros makes Gaia want to lie with Ouranos; rain falling from Ouranos’ coming makes Gaia pregnant. She bears flocks of sheep, and grain, so men may live; the forest comes to life, watered by this marriage.” Ouranos is the Indo-European father-sky-god, of whom Zeus will be the third, last, and greatest version. Although the first Indo-Europeans to enter Greece presumably brought with them an earth-goddess mate for their sky-god, she must have soon been assimilated with the great mother-earth-goddess who dominated the Mediterranean religions the first Greeks encountered. The clearest example of such assimilation between the two cultures appears in the myth of Zeus’ birth on the island of Crete (477-484). The circular river Okeanos is the eldest child of Gaia and Ouranos and the father of 6000 other rivers and Okeanid nymphs (337-370). He seems rather out of place in the list of Titans, and this may be due to the possibility that Hesiod transplanted him here from another version in which his role was that of a primal parent (see on 20).

and Koios and Kreios and Hyperion and Iapetos,
 and Theia and Rhea and Themis and Mnemosyne 135
 and gold-crowned Phoibe and attractive Tethys.
 After them was born the youngest, crafty Kronos,^o
 most terrible of children; he hated his lusting father.^o
 Next she bore the Kyklopes^o with over-proud heart,
 Brontes and Steropes and hard-hearted Arges, 140
 who gave Zeus thunder and made the lightning-bolt.
 They were like the gods in everything else,
 but a single eye was in the middle of their foreheads;
 they were given the name Kyklopes because
 one round eye was in their foreheads; 145
 strength, force, and skill were in their works.
 Next others were born from Gaia and Ouranos,
 three great and mighty sons, unspeakable

133-137 The twelve children here named will be called the Titans by their father Ouranos in 207. It was once thought that the Titans represented the gods of the pre-Greek indigenous population of Greece, but our present knowledge of Near Eastern parallels suggests that the concept of a group of gigantic older gods (e.g., Kingu and the "older gods" in the "Enuma Elish") was borrowed from the East, perhaps during the Mycenaean period. Koios, Kreios, and Hyperion have virtually no separate identities and serve only a genealogical function (Koios is father of Leto and Hyperion of Helios). The same is true of Phoibe and Theia, the wives of Koios and Hyperion. Kreios' wife will be the almost equally colorless Eurybia, daughter of Gaia and Pontos, who is at least distinguished by having a "heart of adamant" (239). Themis and Mnemosyne will become wives of Zeus (901, 915), Tethys is the wife of Okeanos (and, like him, perhaps one of the primal couple in a variant theogony), and Iapetos (whose name resembles that of Noah's son Japheth in *Genesis*) will be the father of Prometheus and his brothers (507-511). Besides Okeanos, the only Titans to have much of a story connected with them are Kronos and Rhea, who succeed Ouranos and Gaia as the ruling couple.

138 The reasons why Kronos is "most terrible" and why he "hated his lusting father" will be revealed in 156-181. Kronos' chronological position as youngest son pre-determines his eventual succession to his father's throne (*Ps* 95-96).

139-146 The names of the Kyklopes-Brontes, Steropes, Arges-mean Thunderer, Lighter, and Flashing. These Kyklopes, who make the lightning-bolts which are Zeus' chief weapon, are sometimes called the "ouranian" Kyklopes for their father Ouranos; later Hephaistos will replace them as armorer of the gods, with the Kyklopes as his assistants. Already in the *Odyssey* there is a second group of Kyklopes, a primitive race of giants met by Odysseus either in Sicily or on the coast of Italy. The Greeks also believed that a race of Kyklopes built the fortification walls whose ruins they observed on Mycenaean sites (*In* 19); these Kyklopes were supposed to have helped Proitos fortify Tiryns and Perseus fortify Argos. The single great eye and huge size of the Kyklopes, as well as their place in the older generation of gods, may reflect the strongest impression received by an infant's immature vision of an adult face a few inches away.

Kottos and Briareos and Gyges, rash children.
 From their shoulders shot a hundred arms 150
 unimaginable, and fifty heads on the shoulders
 of each grew over their strong bodies;
 great and mighty strength was in their huge shape.^o
 For all^o who were born from Gaia and Ouranos were the
 most terrible of children, and their father hated them 155
 from the first; when any of them first would be born,
 he would hide them all away, and not let them come up
 to the light, in a dark hole of Gaia; the evil deed
 pleased Ouranos. But she, vast Gaia, groaned within
 from the strain, and planned an evil crafty trick. 160
 Quick she made the element of grey adamant,^o
 made a great sickle,^o and advised her sons,
 speaking encouragingly, while hurt in her heart:^o
 "Children of me and a wicked father, if you are willing
 to obey, we may punish the evil outrage of your 165
 father; since he first planned unseemly deeds."
 She said this,^o but fear seized them all and none of them
 spoke. But great and crafty Kronos was brave, and

147-153 The three Hundred-Handed, as later mythographers call them, do not have names as explicitly metaphoric as those of the Kyklopes. Kottos seems to be a Thracian name, Briareus has connotations of strength, and Gyges may be related to Ogyges, a mythical Attic king (*West*, *T* 209-210). The name Ogyges became synonymous with "primateval"; the "primal water" of Styx (805) is "*hydor ogygion*."

154-160 All the children of Ouranos share Kronos' attribute of "most terrible," and the reason for this, as well as the reason Kronos hated his father, is now made clear; their father hates them and refuses to allow them to come out of the body of their mother. Ouranos hates his children because he has married his mother, and he fears that his children will want to follow his example and replace him (*In* 16). The "dark hole" of Gaia in which the children are confined is presumably her womb, and this innermost place of the earth may also be Tartaros. The means by which Ouranos suppresses his children must be continuous sexual intercourse with Gaia; this would explain why their imprisonment will be ended immediately by castration.

161 Adamant is a mythical element, hardest of all metals; it means "unconquerable."

162 A sickle is the weapon often used to fight monsters. Perseus uses a sickle to decapitate the Gorgon Medousa, and Iolaos uses a sickle to help Herakles against the monstrous Hydra during Herakles' second labor. In various later versions the sickle of Kronos was said to have been thrown into the sea; from it several places were supposed to have grown, such as Sicily, the Homeric island of the Phaiakians, and Cape Drepanon in Greece.

163-175 How Gaia manages to speak to the children inside her should not present a problem; in the Hurrian "Kingship in Heaven" myth, Anu has a long conversation with Heshub, who is inside the body of Kumarbi. Kronos' place of "ambush" must be a position closest to the surface of Earth.

quickly gave an answer to his dear mother:
 “Mother, I would undertake and do this task, 170
 since I have no respect for our father
 unspeakable; since he first planned unseemly deeds.”
 He spoke and vast Gaia was greatly pleased in her mind.
 She placed and hid him in ambush, and put in his hands
 a sickle with jagged teeth, and revealed the whole trick. 175
 Great Ouranos came, bringing on night,^o and upon Gaia
 he lay, wanting love and fully extended;
 his son,^o from ambush, reached out with his left hand
 and with his right hand took the huge sickle,
 long with jagged teeth, and quickly severed 180
 his own father’s genitals, and threw them to fall
 behind; they did not fall from his hand without result,
 for all the bloody drops which spurted were
 received by Gaia; as the year revolved,

176 Sky’s embrace of Earth is so close it blots out the light, thus “bringing on night.”

178-187 The castration of Ouranos, which accomplishes the separation of Earth and Sky, is reminiscent of the castration of Anu [Sky] in “Kingship in Heaven.” A further similarity is the fertility of castration: Kumarbi, who swallows the genitals of Anu, becomes pregnant with three gods, two of whom are born when Kumarbi spits out part of what he had swallowed on the earth; Kronos’ severed genitals are transformed into Aphrodite and the drops of blood which fall on the earth produce three groups of offspring. The Erinyes are the Furies, mythical spirits of retributive vengeance who punish those crimes, especially within the family, which threaten the traditional structures of home and society. Their particular concern with the crimes of children against parents may be seen in their relentless pursuit of the mythical matricides Orestes and Alkmaion. Themselves born from the crime of sons against their father, the Erinyes are symbols of guilt, especially that attached to the enactment of hostile impulses against parents. Born from castration, they are themselves castrating, as Apollo reminds them in Aeschylus’ *Eumenides* 185-190: “It is not fit that you inhabit this house, but rather where there are beheadings and eye-gougings and throat-slit judgments, and-by castration the virility of young men is ruined, and mutilations and stoning, and men moan most pitifully, impaled under the spine.” The names of the three Erinyes, according to *Ap* 1.1.4, are Alekto, Tisiphone, and Megaira. The Giants will have a long gestation period within the earth, since Gaia will keep them inside her until a time comes when she will need champions to fight for her. That occasion will occur when she decides to punish Zeus for his defeat of the Titans, her children; the resultant war between the Olympian gods and the Giants [the Gigantomachy] is a near-duplicate of the battle between Olympians and Titans [the Titanomachy] and is described most fully in *Ap* 1.6.1-2, although it was already a favorite subject for the sculpted decorations of temples by the 6th century. The nymphs called Meliai are properly “ash-tree” nymphs; the Greek word for ash-trees is *meliai* also. Why they are mentioned here, or born in this way, is unclear and may reflect a local aetiological myth.

she bore the strong Erinyes and great Giants, 185
 shining in armor, holding long spears in their hands,
 and the nymphs called Meliai on the endless earth.
 As soon as he cut off the genitals with adamant,^o
 he threw them from land into the turbulent sea;
 they were carried over the sea a long time, and white 190
 foam arose from the immortal flesh; within a girl
 grew; first she came to holy Kythera, and
 next she came to wave-washed Cyprus.
 An awesome and beautiful goddess emerged, and
 grass grew under her supple feet. Aphrodite 195
 [foam-born goddess and well-crowned Kythereia]
 gods and men name her, since in foam she grew;
 and Kythereia, since she landed at Kythera;
 and Kyprogenes, since she was born in wave-beat Cyprus;
 and “Philommeides,”^o since she appeared from the genitals. 200
 Eros accompanied her, and fair Himeros followed,^o

188-199 The birth of Aphrodite from the castration of Ouranos is not so bizarre or at least so incongruous as it may seem. Just as Athena, goddess of wisdom, will be born from the head of Zeus, now the goddess of sexual desire is born from a god’s genitals. Furthermore, the appearance of a symbol of desire immediately after, and as a result of, an act of castration repeats the pattern of 119-120, where the emergence of Tartaros, a place associated with castration, leads to the appearance of Eros (*Ps* 91). Hesiod’s Aphrodite, like Eros, is a primal erotic principle which comes into existence at the world’s beginning. The name of Aphrodite contains *aphros* [foam] and is commonly interpreted to mean “born from foam.” But this would be *aphrogenes* (196) or something similar, and Hesiod says that she grew within the foam, not from it; the severed penis of Ouranos is what is transformed into the goddess, just as the genitals of Anu become the three gods of the Hurrian myth. A possible explanation of the foam in both her name and the myth is that sea-foam symbolizes semen, a possibility which occurs in several Greek sources and in the Hindu epic *Mahabharata*, where soma (a mythical equivalent of semen) is created by the gods in the form of foam produced by churning the ocean with an uprooted mountain. Eros is to Aphrodite as desire is to its realization, and the consummation of male erotic desire is accompanied both by the emission of semen and by an inevitable, if temporary, ‘castration.’ The names Kythereia and Kyprogenes, as Hesiod says, are due to her associations with the islands Kythera and Cyprus, which were early and famous centers of the worship of Aphrodite, whose most familiar title in Greek literature is Kypris [the Cyprian].

200 Philommeides [laughter-loving] is an early epithet of Aphrodite (*Iliad* 3.424, *Odyssey* 8.362, *Th* 989). Hesiod’s pun, which derives this name from *medea* [genitals], plays on the similarity in pronunciation between the morphemes *meid* [laughter] and *med* [genitals].

201 As an attendant of Aphrodite, Eros seems already to be changing from the cosmic principle of 120 into his later role as companion and (usually) son of Aphrodite. Himeros [Longing] is a double of Eros (see on 64).

when first she was born and went to join the gods.
 She has such honor from the first, and this is her
 province among men and immortal gods:
 girls' whispers and smiles and deceptions, 205
 sweet pleasure and sexual love and tenderness.

Great Ouranos, their father, called his sons Titans,^o
 reproaching the sons whom he himself begot;
 he said they strained in wickedness to do a
 great wrong, but there would be revenge afterwards. 210

Nyx^o bore hateful Moros^o and black Ker and
 Thanatos, she bore^o Hypnos and the tribe of Oneiroi.
 Next Momos and painful Oizys were born to
 the dark goddess Nyx, though she lay with no one,
 and the Hesperides who keep, beyond famous Okeanos,^o 215

207-210 Hesiod derives the name *Titanes* from the verb *titaino* [strain]; there is also a secondary connection with *tisis* [revenge]. In the late rationalizing account of Diodoros, who interpreted all myths as distorted versions of actual human history, the Titans got their name from their human mother Titaia, later called Gaia. Diodoros' strange version goes on to say the eldest daughters of Ouranos and Titaia were Basileia and Rhea (or Pandora). Basileia succeeded to the throne after her father's death and married her brother Hyperion, by whom she had two children, Helios and Selene. But her brothers, the Titans, murdered Hyperion and drowned Helios, at which Selene jumped to her death from a roof-top. Helios then appeared to Basileia in a vision and told her the Titans would be punished and that he and his sister would give their names to the sun and moon (formerly called "holy fire" and "mene"). Basileia then vanished from mortal sight and was honored as the Great Mother, and all the Titans were killed in a battle with Dionysos and his followers.

211-336 Before relating the families of the Titans, Hesiod returns to the first generation and completes the story of the descendants of Nyx (211-232) and of Gaia and her son Pontos (233-336).

211 Moros [Doom], Ker [Destiny], and Thanatos [Death] each signify a different aspect of death (West, *T* 227). All the children of Night are thematically associated with her in some way; they occur at night (e.g., Dreams, Love) or they are dark and terrible (e.g., Death, Pain, Discord) like "dark" (214) and "deadly" (223) Night herself.

212-232 The remaining children of Night are personifications of Sleep [Hypnos], Dreams [Oneiroi], Blame [Momos], Pain [Oizys], Daughters of Night [Hesperides], Fates [Moirai], Destinies [Keres], Retribution [Nemesis], Deceit [Apate], Love [Philotes], Old Age [Geras], and Discord [Eris]. The children of Eris are Hardship [Ponos], Forgetfulness [Lethe], Starvation [Limos], Pains [Algea], Battles [Hysminai], Wars [Machai], Murders [Phonoi], Manslaughters [Androktasiai], Quarrels [Neikea], Lies [Pseudea], Stories [Logoi], Disputes [Amphillogiai], Anarchy [Dysnomia], Ruin [Ate], and Oath [Horkos].

215-216 The Hesperides are beautiful nymphs who, along with Atlas (517-520) and a monstrous serpent (334-335), guard the tree of golden apples in a marvelous garden somewhere in the imaginary world at the ends of the earth. A Hesiodic frag-

the beautiful gold apples and the fruit-bearing trees;
 and she bore the Moirai and pitiless Keres,^o
 [Klotho and Lachesis and Atropos, who give to
 mortals at birth both good and evil to have]
 who pursue the sins of men and gods; 220
 the goddesses never end their terrible anger
 until they inflict evil on anyone who sins.
 And deadly Nyx bore Nemesis,^o a plague to mortal
 men; after her she bore Apate and Philotes^o
 and painful Geras and hard-hearted Eris.^o 225

ment says there were three Hesperides, named Aigle, Erytheia, and Hesperethousa, but the third name is sometimes divided in half to make two nymphs, Hesperia and Arethousa (*Ap* 2.5.11). The location of their garden is "beyond Okeanos" (215), "toward Night" (275), "at the limits of the earth" (517); later, when the Greeks knew more about the geography of remote places, they situated the garden somewhere beyond Mount Atlas in Morocco. The mythographer Pherekydes said that Gaia gave the golden apple tree to Zeus and Hera as a wedding present, and Gaia asked that it be planted in the garden. The garden of the Hesperides is a paradise like Homer's "Elysian plain" or the situation of Hesiod's Golden Race (*WD* 109-120). Although its descriptions are similar to those of the human paradises, it is a garden of the gods and not of men; its ultimate source may be the Sumerian garden of the gods called Dilmun (*ANET* 37-41). The capture of the golden apples is the objective of Herakles' eleventh labor, and they also appear in two myths connected with marriage: Melanion (or Hippomenes) uses them to delay the pursuit of Atalante and thus wins her hand in marriage (*Ap* 3.9.2), and the appearance of an inscribed golden apple at the marriage of Thetis and Peleus begins the chain of events which culminates in the Trojan War (Hyginus, *Fabula* 92).

217-219 Hesiod later calls the Moirai the daughters of Zeus and Themis (904), and gives them the names which they traditionally have, but the names seem here to be assigned to the Keres. They must, however, belong to the Moirai; 218-219 are almost identical to a later description of the Moirai (905-906) and may have been inserted here from the later passage by an editor or commentator who wanted to balance the description of the Keres in 220-222 with a prior description of the Moirai. The Keres are a plural form of the singular Ker in 211, and both Keres and Moirai represent the destined end of life.

223 Nemesis, the Erinyes, the Moirai, and the Keres are essentially personifications of different aspects of human mortality. The special role of Nemesis is to punish excess, whether of good or of evil, and in this leveling function she is the agent of Zeus, who "crushes the strong," "lowers the high," and "withers the proud" (*WD* 5-7). Nemesis represents the fundamental Greek conception that anyone who rises too high exposes himself to the envy and vengeance of the gods. The famous shrine of Nemesis near Marathon in Attika contained a statue of the goddess which the sculptor Phidias made from a block of Parian marble; the invading Persians had brought the marble, intending to set up a trophy after they defeated the Athenians.

224 Deceit and Love appear together because, in Hesiod's view, they belong together.

225 Old Age personifies a stage of life portrayed often in Greek poetry, especially in the poems attributed to Anakreon, as a fate worse than death. Eris [Discord] is the spirit of enmity and conflict who "advances evil war and battle" (*WD* 14), and who

And hateful Eris bore painful Ponos,
 Lethe and Limos and the tearful Algea,
 Hysminai, Machai, Phonoï, and Androktasiai;
 Neikea, Pseudea, Logoi, and Amphillogiai,
 Dysnomia and Ate, near one another,° 230
 and Horkos,° who most afflicts men on earth,
 Then anyone willingly swears a false oath.
 Pontos begot Nereus,° truthful and never false,
 eldest of his children; he is called the Old Man
 since he is true and gentle; what is lawful 235
 he remembers, and he knows just and gentle thoughts.°
 Then he begot great Thau-mas° and proud Phorkys,
 from union with Gaia, and fair-cheeked Keto, and
 Eurybia, who has in her breast a heart of adamant.
 To Nereus were born numerous divine children 240
 in the barren sea; their mother was fair-haired Doris,°
 daughter of Okeanos, the full-circling river:

used a golden apple to start a conflict between three goddesses which led to the Trojan War. In the *Works and Days* Hesiod reconsiders and says that she has an older sister, also named Eris, who personifies healthy competition (11-26).

230 Ate is Doom resulting from delusion or misguided thinking. Homer, who calls her the daughter of Zeus, tells how she deceived her father and was banished from Olympos (*Iliad* 19. 85-138).

231 Oath is a negative concept because he represents the punishment one promises to undergo if an oath is false (e.g., "if I am lying [or do not do what I say], may I be punished").

233-236 Nereus is often called the "Old Man of the Sea" or simply the "Old Man," and he may be the extant mythical figure most closely related to a primordial oceanic father-god (see on 20). He is similar to, and may be the same as, other sea-deities called Proteus, Glaukos, and Phorkys. Since water-deities in general have the ability to change their appearance and shape (water itself having no fixed shape), this confusion is not surprising. The metamorphic power of these sea-gods is often connected with their prophetic ability: Proteus turns into a lion, serpent, leopard, boar, water, and a tree in his effort to avoid Menelaos' questions about the future (*Odyssey* 4. 456-458); according to Pherekydes, Nereus changes into water and fire before telling Herakles the directions to the garden of the Hesperides.

233-336 This long section lists the children who result from the union between Gaia and Pontos, and their descendants.

237-238 Thau-mas, Phorkys, and Keto will be the parents of monstrous and marvelous offspring, and their names hint at this. *Thauma* means "marvel," *ketos* means "whale" or "sea-monster," and *phoke* means "seal" (although *phorkys* and *phoke* cannot be derived from one another linguistically, there is a certain sound-similarity, and Proteus sleeps with a herd of seals in *Odyssey* 4).

241 The birth of Doris, mother of the Nereids, will be reported at 350.

Protho,° Eukrante, Sao, Amphitrite,°
 Eudora, Thetis,° Galene, and Glauke,
 Kymothoe, swift Speio, lovely Thalia, 245
 Pasithea, Erato, and rose-armed Eunike,
 graceful Melite, Eulimene, Agaue,
 Doto, Proto, Pherousa, and Dynamene,
 Nesaia, Aktaia, and Protomedea,
 Doris and Panope and shapely Galateia,° 250
 lovely Hippothoe, rose-armed Hipponoe,
 Kymodoke, who easily calms waves on the windy
 sea and the blowing of windy gales,
 with Kymatolege and fine-ankled Amphitrite,°
 and Kymo, Eione, and well-crowned Halimede, 255
 Glaukonome, who loves smiles, and Pontoporeia,
 Leiagora and Euagora and Laomedea,
 Poulynoe and Autonoe and Lysianassa,
 Euarne of lovely shape and blameless form,
 Psamathe° of graceful body, divine Menippe, 260
 Neso, Eupompe, Themisto, and Pronoe, and
 Nemertes, who has the mind of her immortal father.
 These were the daughters of blameless Nereus:
 fifty girls, skilled in blameless works.
 Thau-mas° married deep-flowing Okeanos' 265

243-264 The fifty Nereid nymphs are representations of the beautiful and positive aspects of the sea and appear in myth usually as attractive spectators. Nereids of individual significance are Amphitrite (243), Thetis (244), Galateia (250), and Psamathe (260).

243 Amphitrite will be the wife of Poseidon at 930.

244 Thetis is the most famous Nereid. When Zeus learns she is fated to bear a son who will be greater than his father, he forces her to marry the mortal Peleus. The son of Thetis and Peleus is Achilles, and Thetis plays a major role in the *Iliad* as protector and advisor of her son. Thetis personifies the good and nurturant mother; she also saves and raises Hephaistos when Hera throws him out of Olympos (*Iliad* 18. 395-398), and similarly gives refuge in the sea to Dionysos (*Ap* 3.6.1). Estranged from her husband Peleus after the birth of Achilles, she nevertheless appears to him on several occasions, most notably when he is one of the Argonauts and she and the other Nereids guide the ship Argo through the Clashing Rocks (*Ap* 1.9.25).

250 Galateia is the object of the Kyklops Polyphemos' unrequited love in *Theokritos* 11.

254 Why Amphitrite appears both here and at 243 is a mystery.

260 Psamathe will marry Aiakos and bear a son Phokos (1003-1005). Psamathe changes into a seal in her effort to resist the advances of Aiakos (*Ap* 3.12.6); hence the name of her son Phokos (from *phoke*, "seal.")

265 Like his brother Nereus, Thau-mas marries a daughter of Okeanos.

daughter Elektra,^o she bore swift Iris
and the fair-haired Harpies,^o Aello and Okypete,
who fly as the birds and gusts of winds
on swift wings, rushing high in the air.

Keto bore to Phorkys the fair-cheeked hags,
grey from birth, who are called the Graiai^o
by immortal gods and men who go on earth,
fine-robed Pempredo and saffron-robed Enyo,
and the Gorgons,^o who live beyond famous Okeanos,
at the limit toward Night, with the clear-voiced
Hesperides, Sthenno, Euryale, and unlucky Medousa;

266 The birth of Elektra appears in 349. Iris is the personification of the rainbow and, since the rainbow seems to connect sky and earth, she is a messenger between gods and men.

267-269 The Harpies are storm-wind spirits. They appear on grave stones carrying the souls of the dead, and are said to have carried off the daughters of Pandareos (*Odyssey* 20.77). To be “carried away by the stormwinds [*thyellai*]” or “by the Harpies” seems to mean “to disappear” or “to die.” They appear in art with the body of a bird and the breast and face of a woman (like the Sirenes). In the Argonaut myth, they are the persecutors of the blind prophet Phineus (*Ap* 1.9.21). The name *harpia* is related to the verb *harpazo* [snatch, carry off] and perhaps also to *harpe* [sickle, bird of prey]; the mythographer Parthenios calls Eros “Harpys,” and a fragment of the lyric poet Alkman calls Eros the son of Iris and nephew of the Harpies.

270-273 The two Graiai, Pempredo and Enyo, have in later accounts a third sister, usually named Deino (*Ap* 2.4.2). According to Apollodoros, they have only one eye and one tooth between them, which they pass to whichever one wants to see or eat; Perseus steals the eye and tooth and compels the Graiai to help him in his search for Medousa. The Graiai are grey-haired at birth, as are the babies born at the end of the Iron Race (*WD* 181). That they are both grey-haired and “fair-cheeked” is typical of the ambivalence which often characterizes female monsters in Greek myth; the Graiai, the Gorgon Medousa, the viper-woman Echidna, and even the Erinyes can be both beautiful and hideous.

274-276 The Gorgons, like the Graiai, are known for their part in the myth of Perseus, who is sent by the king Polydektes to bring back the head of Medousa. They live in that imaginary land far to the west (beyond the ocean) where other fantastic and monstrous creatures dwell; Hesiod places them near (or in) the garden of the Hesperides. Apollodoros (2.4.2) describes them as having snakes for hair, tusks like a boar, bronze hands, and golden wings. If a Gorgon looks at someone looking at her (i.e., if their eyes meet), that person is turned to stone. Underlying this punishment must be a fantasy of the danger involved if one is caught looking at a forbidden sight; such a fantasy typically originates in childhood and the forbidden sight is presumably sexual in nature. Parallel mythical incidents are the punishments of Teiresias and Aktaion, who are blinded and torn to pieces, respectively, for accidentally seeing a goddess naked (*Ap* 3.6.7, 3.4.4). According to Pausanias (8.47), even a lock of Medousa’s hair could rout an entire army.

she was mortal, but they were immortal and ageless,^o
both of them; the Dark-Haired god^o lay with her
in a soft meadow and flowers of spring.

And when Perseus cut off her head, out
jumped great Chrysaor^o and the horse Pegasus,
who has this name^o since by the springs of Okeanos
he was born, and the other holds a gold sword in his hands;
he^o flew off and left the earth, mother of flocks,
and came to the immortals; he lives in the house
of wise Zeus and carries his thunder and lightning.
Chrysaor begot three-headed Geryoneus,^o from union
with Kallirhoe, daughter of famous Okeanos.
Mighty Herakles killed Geryoneus^o by his
rolling-gaited cattle in sea-washed Erytheia
on the very day he drove the wide-faced cattle
to holy Tiryns, having crossed the ford of Okeanos
and killed Orthos and the herdsman Eurytion
in the misty stable beyond famous Okeanos.

277 The discrepancy between Medousa’s mortality and her sisters’ immortality is compared by West (*T*, 246) to the status of Kastor and Polyneikes, but these two brothers had different fathers; a more appropriate parallel is the monstrous Lernaian Hydra (314-315), who had eight mortal heads and one immortal head (*Ap* 2.5.2).

278-279 The “Dark-Haired” god is Poseidon, and the “soft meadow and flowers of spring” indicate that the site of this union, and perhaps the permanent home of the Gorgons, is the garden of the Hesperides. In the attraction Medousa holds for Poseidon, we see again the beauty/ugliness ambivalence of some female monsters, their capacity to inspire both desire and fear. The destructive power of the Gorgons is also subject to ambivalence: blood drawn from their left-hand veins brings instant death, while blood from the right-hand veins can restore the dead to life (*Ap* 3.10.3).

280-281 Chrysaor and Pegasus, the children of Medousa and Poseidon, seem to be born from her head rather than from her trunk.

282-283 Pegasus is named for springs [*pegai*] and Chrysaor for the weapon he carries at his birth, a golden sword [*chryseon aor*].

284-286 Pegasus is best known as the winged horse on which Bellerophon rides to his heroic victories (Pindar, *Olympian* 13), but his usual home is the stables of Zeus.

287-288 The birth of Kallirhoe is at 351. Geryoneus, who appears on vase paintings as three warriors joined together side by side, is usually called “triple-bodied” (as in Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 870) rather than “three-headed.”

289-294 Geryoneus also lives in the imaginary far west; his island Erytheia (also the name of one of the Hesperides) is somewhere in the Atlantic. The tenth labor of Herakles is to capture the cattle of Geryoneus and bring them to Eurystheus at Tiryns. To ferry the cattle from island to mainland, Herakles uses the golden cup of

She° bore another unbeatable monster, in no way
like mortal men or immortal gods, in a
hollow cave, the divine and hard-hearted Echidna,
half a nymph with glancing eyes and lovely cheeks,
half a monstrous snake, terrible and great, a
shimmering flesh-eater in the dark holes of holy earth. 295
There she has a cave, down under the hollow rock,
far from the immortal gods and mortal men; there
the gods allotted to her a famous house to live in. 300
Grim Echidna watches in Arima under the earth,
an immortal and ageless nymph for all days.° 305
They say that Typhoeus° was joined in love with her,
the arrogant and lawless monster with the glancing girl;
she conceived and bore strong-hearted children:
first she bore Orthos, the dog of Geryoneus;°
next she bore the unfightable and unspeakable 310
flesh-eating Kerberos,° bronze-voiced dog of Hades,
fifty-headed, pitiless and strong;
third she bore the ill-intended Hydra° of

the Sun; to win the cattle he has to kill Geryoneus, his monstrous dog Orthos (309), and his herdsman Eurytion.

295-303 "She" is presumably Keto. Echidna is another ambivalently-regarded hybrid, half-serpent and half-nymph. Hesiod does not specify which half is which, but the viper-maiden met by Herakles is described by Herodotos (4.8-10) as a woman from the buttocks up and a serpent below. This would conform with other composite monsters (Harpies, Sphinx, etc.); if they are part-woman, the upper part is human (since this is the part of the mother with which the male child is familiar; the other, lower part is unseen, therefore exciting curiosity and fantasy).

304 The location of Arima (or perhaps "the Arimoi") is unknown, although it is associated with Typhoeus, Echidna's husband, by Homer (*Iliad* 2.783).

305 Although Hesiod calls Echidna immortal, her death is told by Apollodoros (2.1.2).

306-308 Typhoeus is the greatest monster of them all, and Zeus' most formidable enemy (820-868). The union of Echidna and Typhoeus will produce four offspring who take after their hundred-headed father (825) in their own variable multiplicity of heads.

309 Orthos is a two-headed dog (*Ap* 2.5.10).

310-312 Kerberos guards the entrance to the underworld, refusing to let inmates out or visitors in. Various sources give him from three to a hundred heads. Herakles' twelfth and final labor is to bring Kerberos up from Hades.

313-318 The number of the Hydra's heads ranges from one to a hundred, with nine as the usual number; her appearance is like that of an octopus, with a head at the end of each tentacle. The second labor of Herakles is to kill the Hydra, but he found that two new heads grew whenever he knocked one off. Since the Hydra was aided by a giant crab, Herakles also received assistance from his nephew Iolaos, who

Lerna, whom the white-armed goddess Hera raised
in her infinite anger against mighty Herakles; 315
she died by the unfeeling bronze sword of Herakles,
son of Zeus and stepson of Amphitryon, with war-loving
Iolaos, by the plans of army-leading Athena.
She° bore Chimaira, who breathes furious fire,
terrible and great, swift-footed and strong, 320
with three headsone of a hard-eyed lion,
one of a goat, one of a snake, a strong serpent;
[a lion in front, a snake behind, a goat in between,
breathing the terrible strength of blazing fire]
Pegasos and noble Bellerophon killed her. 325
And she° bore the deadly Sphinx, destroyer of the Kadmeians,
from union with Orthos, and the Nemeian lion°
whom Hera, noble wife of Zeus, raised and
settled in the hills of Nemeia, a plague to men.
There he lived and ravaged the tribes of men, 330
master of Nemeian Tretos and Apesas, but
the great strength of Herakles overcame him.
Keto joined in love with Phorkys and bore her youngest,°

cauterized the necks with a torch and prevented new heads from sprouting. Hera's hostility is a recurrent feature of the myth of Herakles, her most hated stepson; she also deprives him of his birthright, sends serpents to strangle him in his crib, incites the Amazons against him, and drives him mad.

319-325 The ambiguous "she" is probably Echidna, not Hydra. The word chimaira means "he-goat." Lines 323-324 are bracketed because they repeat exactly *Iliad* 6.181-182; they suggest that Homer, at least, believed the lion's head grew from the monster's neck, the goat's from its back, and the serpent's was its tail. Killing Chimaira was the trial imposed on Bellerophon by the Lykian king Iobates (*Iliad* 6.155-183). According to the Byzantine critic Tzetzes (on *Lykophron* 17), Bellerophon used his spear to lodge a piece of lead in Chimaira's throat; when her fiery breath melted the lead, she swallowed it and died.

326 "She" could be either Echidna or Chimaira. The Sphinx (or Phix, in Hesiod's Boiotian dialect) has the body of a lion, wings, and the head and breast of a woman. The Kadmeians are the Thebans (named after Kadmos, founder of Thebes), and the Sphinx is called their destroyer because she killed and ate whoever could not answer her famous riddle. When Oidipous finally answered correctly, she leapt from a height to her death (a strange sort of suicide for a winged creature).

327-332 The brother of the Sphinx is the Nemeian lion, raised by Hera (like the Hydra) as a weapon in her animosity against Herakles. Herakles' first labor was to kill this lion, a task made more difficult by the fact that the lion's skin could not be pierced. Herakles therefore strangled it and from then on wore the lion-skin as his familiar cloak. Tretos and Apesas are mountains between Mycenae and Corinth.

- a terrible serpent in the recesses of dark earth,
at the great limits, who guards the all-golden apples. 335
And this is the progeny from Keto and Phorkys.^o
Tethys bore to Okeanos the swirling Rivers,^o
Neilos, Alpheios, and deep-whirling Eridanos,
Strymon, Maiandros, and fair-flowing Istros,
Phasis, Rhesos, and silver-swirling Acheloos, 340
Nessos, Rhodios, Haliakmon, Heptaporos,
Granikos, Aisepos, and divine Simois,
Peneios, Hermos, and fair-flowing Kaikos,
great Sangarios, Ladon, and Parthenios,
Euenos, Aldeskos, and divine Skamandros. 345
And she bore a holy race of Kourai,^o who on earth
raise youths to manhood, with lord Apollo
and the Rivers, holding this duty from Zeus:
Peitho, Admete, Ianthe, and Elektra,^o
Doris, Prymno, and Ourania of divine form,^o 350
Hippo, Klymene, Rhodeia, and Kallirhoe,^o
Zeuxo, Klytia, Idyia, and Pasithoe,
Plexaura, Galaxaura, and beautiful Dione,^o
- 332-335 The final child of Keto and Phorkys is the huge serpent who guards the apples of the Hesperides. Apollonios (*Argonautika* 4.1396) calls him Ladon and says he is a son of Gaia; Apollodoros (2.5.11) says he has a hundred heads and speaks with many voices (like Typhoeus, *Th* 829-835). One of the rivers born from Okeanos will be named Ladon (344).
- 336 Hesiod now comes to the families of the Titans, beginning with the children of Okeanos and Tethys. The sons are rivers and the daughters are nymphs of springs.
- 337-345 Neilos is the Nile, and Eridanos and Phasis are legendary rivers. As for the other 22 named rivers, they are identified by West (*T*, 259) as "divided between Greece (Acheloos, Alpheios, Peneios, Ladon, Haliakmon, Euenos), Greek Asia Minor (Maiandros, Hermos, Kaikos), the Troad (Skamandros, Simois, Aisepos, Rhesos, Heptaporos, Rhodios, Granikos), Aegean Thrace (Strymon, Nessos), and the south and west shores of the Black Sea (Istros, Aldeskos, Sangarios, Parthenios)."
- 346-348 The Okeanid nymphs, daughters of Okeanos and Tethys, are not called *Okeanides*, but later *Okeaninai* (364) and here simply kourai [daughters, girls, maidens], a title which suggests their function of raising youths [*kourizousi*, 347]. This function must be connected with cult practices which put child-rearing under the sponsorship of legendary guardians of local springs and rivers, along with Apollo.
- 349 Peitho is the personification of Persuasion; in *WD* 73, she helps to dress and decorate Pandora. Elektra is the wife of Thaumias (265-266).
- 350 Doris is the mother of the Nereid nymphs (241). Ourania is also the name of a Muse (78).

- Melobosis, Thoe, and fair-figured Polydora,
Kerkeis, beautiful of form, and cow-eyed Plouto, 355
Perseis, Ianeira, Akaste, and Xanthe,
lovely Petraia, Menestho, Europe,
Metis, Eurynome, and saffron-robed Telesto,^o
Chryseis, Asia, and desirable Kalypso,^o
Eudora, Tyche,^o Amphirho, and Okyrhoe, 360
and Styx,^o who is most eminent of all.
These were born from Okeanos and Tethys,^o
the eldest daughters; but there are also many others,
for Okeanos has three thousand slender-ankled daughters
who, scattered over the earth and watery depths, 365
serve everywhere alike, glorious divine children.
There are as many other rivers, noisily-flowing
sons of Okeanos, whom mistress Tethys bore;
it is hard for a man to say the names of them all,
but individuals know the ones by which they live. 370
Theia bore^o great Helios and bright Selene
and Eos, who shines upon all the earth and
upon the immortal gods who hold the wide sky,
after Theia was won in love by Hyperion. 375
Divine Eurybia^o joined in love with Kreios and
bore Astraiois and great Pallas and Perses,^o

- 351 Hippo must be one of the springs created by the kick of Pegasos [*hippos* = horse]. Klymene will be the wife of the Titan Iapetos (506-507).
- 353 For Dione see on 17.
- 358 Metis [wisdom, counsel] will be Zeus' first wife (886), and Eurynome will be his third (907). Eurynome and Thetis save Hephaistos when he is thrown from the sky by Hera (*Iliad* 18.395-398); see *Ps* 99.
- 359 Asia is the wife of the Titan Iapetos in *Ap* 1.2.3, and of Prometheus in Herodotos 4.45 (and in Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound*). Kalypso is probably not the famous Kalypso of *Odyssey* 5, who is usually called the daughter of Atlas (*Odyssey* 1.52).
- 360 Tyche is the personification of Chance.
- 361 Styx, who is named last, is the eldest Okeanid (776). Why Styx is "most eminent" is explained in 389-401 and 782-806.
- 362-370 The 6000 children of Okeanos and Tethys easily make them the most prolific of Greek divinities, another hint of their possible role as a primal couple.
- 371-374 The children of the Titans Theia and Hyperion are Helios [Sun], Selene [Moon], and Eos [Dawn].
- 375 Eurybia is the hard-hearted daughter of Gaia and Pontos (239).
- 376 Astraiois is an appropriate name for the father of the Stars (382); Pallas will be the husband of Styx (383); Perses will be the father of Hekate (409-411).

who stands out among all for his knowledge.^o
 To Astraios Eos bore the strong-hearted winds,
 cleansing Zephyros and swift-running Boreas,^o
 and Notos,^o a goddess united in love with a god; 380
 after these Erigeneia bore the star Eosphoros^o
 and the shining Stars the sky wears as a crown.
 Styx, daughter of Okeanos, lay with Pallas and bore^o
 Zelos and fine-ankled Nike in the house;
 and she bore famous children, Kratos and Bia, 385
 whose house is not apart from Zeus; they neither sit
 nor go, except where the god should lead them,
 but always are stationed by deep-thundering Zeus.
 This is what immortal Styx, daughter of Okeanos, planned^o
 on that day when the Olympian lightning-holder 390
 called all the immortal gods to vast Olympos
 and said whichever gods with him would fight the Titans
 would not lose their rights, but each would have
 the honor he held before among the immortal gods.
 He said that whoever held no honor or right under Kronos 395
 would enter upon honor and rights, as is just.
 First immortal Styx came to Olympos^o
 with her children, by the advice of her father;^o
 Zeus honored her and gave outstanding gifts.^o
 He set her to be the gods' great oath and^o 400
 gave to her children to live with him for all days.
 Just as he promised, to all without fail he

377 The outstanding knowledge of Perses contrasts with the outstanding foolishness of another Perses, Hesiod's brother (*WD* 286, 397, 633).

379 Zephyros is the west wind, Boreas the north wind.

380 Notos is the south wind.

381 Erigeneia [Early-Born] is a title of Eos [Dawn]. Eosphoros [Dawn-Bringer] is Venus, the Morning Star.

383-387 The children of Styx and Pallas are the personifications Zelos [Envy], Nike [Victory], Kratos [Power], and Bia [Force], who continually attend Zeus.

389-396 The politic Zeus promises to any god who will help him in the war against the Titans that he will not take away offices from previous office-holders and that he will give offices to any who do not have them.

397 Olympos is the headquarters of Zeus' faction in the Titanomachy (633).

398 Okeanos' treason against his brother Titans suggests again that in some version he is not really a Titan (see on 20).

399 Zeus treats Styx in the same way that he will treat Hekate (412).

400 See 782-806.

fulfilled; as for himself, he rules with great power.

Phoibe^o came to Koios' bed of much desire;
 the goddess, pregnant by the god's love, 405
 bore dark-robed Leto,^o always sweet
 and gentle to men and immortal gods,
 sweet from the first, most mild in Olympos.
 She also bore remarkable Asteria,^o whom Perses
 led to his great house to be called his wife. 410
 She conceived and bore Hekate,^o whom above all
 Zeus, Kronos' son, honored; he gave her notable gifts,^o
 to have a share of the earth and barren sea.
 She also has a share of honor from the starry sky,
 and is honored most of all by the immortal gods. 415
 For even now, whenever someone of men on earth
 sacrifices fine things and prays in due ritual,
 he invokes Hekate; much honor comes to him
 very easily, whose prayers the goddess favorably
 receives, and she grants him wealth, since this is 420
 her power. For as many were born of Gaia and Ouranos^o

404 Phoibe's name seems connected with (perhaps derived from) that of her grandson Phoibos Apollo.

406 Leto will be Zeus' sixth wife, and the mother of Apollo and Artemis (918-920).

409 Phoibe's other daughter Asteria has the same name as the island (later called Delos) where Leto gives birth to Apollo and Artemis (*Ap* 1.4.1). Since Delos was also known as Ortygia, Apollodoros has Asteria change herself into a quail [ortyx] to avoid the advances of Zeus. Stories like this support the version attributed to Mousaios that Perses was the husband of Asteria, but Zeus was the father of Hekate.

411-452 The great emphasis put on the worship of Hekate and on her omnipresent power is best explained (with West, *T* 276-280) as due to Hesiod's personal interest in the goddess. The Hekate cult seems to have come to Greece from Karia in Asia Minor; if Hesiod's father was a member of the cult, this may explain why he named his other son Perses, the same name as Hekate's father. Despite the extensive praise given to Hekate, we should not suppose that Hesiod regarded her as equal to, or above, the major Olympian deities. Her status was presumably more like that of a patron saint, to whom one prays for special favors as well as for regular guidance and success in various ventures.

412 There seems to be an intentional parallel between Hekate and Styx, who also received honor and "outstanding gifts" from Zeus (399). Styx seems to have the same function among the gods as Hekate does among mortals; each of them is invoked on particular occasions, Styx for the oath of the gods (400) and Hekate for concrete favors (416-421, 429-447).

421-425 Again Hekate is similar to Styx, in that each maintains the rights and powers she held before the reign of Zeus (Styx in 392-394).

and obtained honor, among them all she has her due;
 Kronos' son neither wronged her nor took away
 what she received among the Titans, the former gods,
 but this she keeps, as was the division at the beginning. 425
 Nor, since she is an only child,^o does the goddess obtain
 less honor and privileges on earth and sky and sea,
 but rather she has still more, for Zeus honors her.
 Greatly she assists and benefits whom she will;^o
 she sits by reverent kings in judgment, and he is 430
 eminent among the people in assembly, whom she wishes;
 whenever men arm for man-killing war, then
 the goddess is there, and to whom she wishes
 she gladly grants victory and extends glory.
 She is good to stand by cavalry, by whom she wishes; 435
 she is also good when men compete in the contest;^o
 then also the goddess assists and benefits them;
 one who wins by might and strength bears off the fine
 prize easily and happily, and brings glory to his parents.
 To those who work the grey sea's discomfort^o 440
 and pray to Hekate and loud-sounding Earth-Shaker,
 the noble goddess easily grants much catch, and
 easily takes it back when it appears, if her heart wishes.
 She is good, with Hermes, to increase the stock in barns;
 herds of cattle and wide herds of goats and 445
 flocks of wooly sheep, if her spirit wishes,
 she increases from few and from many makes less.
 So even though being her mother's only child, she
 is honored with privileges among all the immortals.
 Kronos' son made her guardian of the young, who after 450
 her saw with their eyes the light of much-seeing Eos.
 So always she guards the young, and these are her honors.^o

426 Concern for the status of Hekate as an only child seems to be an extension to the divine realm of the precarious civic and legal status of a single female child in human society.

429-435 These lines may well be intended for Hesiod's audience, the rulers of Chalkis.

436-439 These lines also point to the occasion of the Chalkis contest, and express Hesiod's hope that the goddess will grant him victory.

440-447 That Hekate can either increase or decrease a fisherman's catch, or the number of a farmer's animals, suggests that her role is not only to help when invoked; she also can harm those who ignore her.

450-452 Hekate's role as guardian of the young associates her with Apollo, her cousin, and also with the Okeanid nymphs, including Styx (see on 364-368).

Rhea lay with Kronos and bore illustrious children:^o
 Hestia,^o Demeter, and gold-sandaled Hera and
 strong Hades,^o who lives in a palace under the ground 455
 and has a pitiless heart, and loud-sounding Earth-Shaker^o

453-506 Coming now to Kronos and Rhea, Hesiod rejoins the story of the succession myth. We would expect the family of Kronos to come last, since Kronos is the youngest of the Titans, but Hesiod puts Kronos before Iapetos so that Zeus' victory can be mentioned before telling the story of Iapetos' son Prometheus (a story in which Zeus is already king of the gods). This part of the succession myth is based largely on two identifiable sources, the Near Eastern myths of divine conflict and Minoan myths of the birth of a god in a mountain cave. For the logic of Hesiod's version, see *In* 16-17; for its psychological meaning see *Ps* 95-97.

454 Hestia, the eldest daughter of Kronos and Rhea, has virtually no mythical function or role. The *Hh to Aphrodite* mentions her, along with the other two famous virgin goddesses Athena and Artemis, as untouched by the "works of Aphrodite." Courted by both Poseidon and Apollo, she swore to Zeus that she would remain a virgin always; instead of marriage Zeus gave to her the right of being the goddess of the hearth. The hearth was the center of ritual; the city hearth, site of civic ritual, represented for the entire population what the private hearth in each home meant to the individual and family. Its fire was not allowed to go out and every day it was the focus (Latin *focus* = hearth) of ritual activities such as food offerings and libations. Like Hesiod's Hekate, Hestia is connected with actual everyday life, and like Hekate she is said to have received high honor among gods and mortals (*Hh to Aphrodite* 29-32). Demeter, the second daughter, is primarily a goddess of grain, vegetation, and fertility. She is best known in the myth of the loss and recovery of her daughter Persephone, carried off by Hades to be his bride in the underworld but ultimately restored to her mother. While Demeter mourns the loss of Persephone, nothing grows; upon their reunion the earth bursts into bloom. Demeter is a maternal goddess, but in a special sense: she is the mother lost by the child and the mother to whom one hopes to return. She will be Zeus' fourth wife (912-914). Hera, Zeus' seventh and final wife (921), is primarily a goddess of weddings and marriage in Greek cult. In myth she is the powerful wife of Zeus, but both her power and her status as wife are more negative than positive. She is rarely maternal (see on 922), but is usually a hostile and resentful stepmother. Her anger is aimed chiefly at Zeus' many illegitimate children, whose rise to heroic status is in large part the result of their attempts to resist, avoid, or placate her fury. As a wife she is usually portrayed as jealous and spiteful, and on two occasions she bears parthenogenic sons (Hephaistos and Typhoeus) as a direct result of her desire for revenge against her husband; see *Ps* 99-101.

455 Hades is the god of death and the underworld; his name seems to mean the "Unseen One" and the Greeks were generally reluctant to call him by name, preferring instead to use euphemisms like "Master of Many," "Receiver of Many," and the "Rich One" [Polysemantor, Polydegmon, Plouton]. He appears rarely in myth, since he rarely leaves his underworld palace; the one notable exception is his brief appearance on earth to carry off Demeter's daughter Persephone.

456 Poseidon, the "Earth-Shaker," is the chief among several gods of the sea; we have already seen Pontos, Okeanos, and Nereus, and there are others. Poseidon is also associated with earthquakes and with horses; he is frequently called Poseidon Hip-

and wise Zeus,^o the father of gods and men,
 by whose thunder the wide earth is shaken.
 Great Kronos^o would swallow these, as each
 would come from the holy womb to his mother's knees,^o 460
 intending this, that none of Ouranos' proud line^o but
 himself would hold the right of king over the immortals.
 For he learned from Gaia and starry Ouranos^o
 that it was fate that his own son would overthrow him,
 although he was powerful, by the plans of great Zeus. 465
 So he kept no blind man's watch, but alertly
 swallowed his own children; incurable grief held Rhea.

pios [Horse Poseidon]. Perhaps his connection with the sea is a secondary development, which occurred after the Greeks entered the Mediterranean region and encountered the sea; such an important domain (both geographically and economically) must be made the domain of one of Zeus' brothers. In general Poseidon, like the storm-god Zeus, is a god of force; he is the god who brings sea-storms and earthquakes (or averts their harm), and in his sexual encounters he overcomes monsters such as Medousa or takes the form of a stallion. His emblem is the phallic trident, a counterpart to Zeus' lightning.

457-458 Zeus is a sky-god like his grandfather Ouranos, associated especially with rain, storms, and lightning. He is king of the gods because he is most powerful, but he is also most wise. He seems to be connected with no particular city or region, but is the most panhellenic of the gods. He is also the most sexually active; Okeanos may have more children, but almost all are from the same wife, whereas Zeus fathers many children by many wives and in many different metamorphoses. As in the myth of Semele (*Ps* 94), his sexuality, his strength, and his rule converge in the symbol of his irresistible lightning.

459-467 For Kronos' strategy see *In* 15-17 and *Ps* 95-96. There are similarities between the story of Kronos swallowing his children and the Hurrian myth of Kumarbi and the children who grew inside him; there are also important differences (*In* 24-26).

460 The Greek word for "knee" [*gonu*] is related to various words referring to the organs and process of generation: *gone* is "semen" (*WD* 733), *gonos* is "child" (*Th* 919), *goneus* is "begetter" (*WD* 235), etc. In *Hh to Apollo*, Leto gives birth to Apollo from a kneeling position (117).

461-462 Kronos' motive for confining his children is explicitly stated, since it requires an independent action (swallowing them); Ouranos, on the other hand, kept his children pent up in their mother's body by his incessant intercourse. For both of them, sexual dominance seems to be the underlying purpose in their treatment of their children.

463-465 Gaia and Ouranos foretell, but do not determine, the future. Their prophecy to Kronos may put him on the alert, but his efforts will necessarily fail. Gaia's prophetic power appears again in the statement by Aeschylus (*Eumenides* 1-8) that she was the first god of the Delphic oracle, followed by Themis, Phoibe, and finally Apollo. Ouranos is not usually credited with prophetic powers, but in the myth of Kumarbi it is Anu, the Hurrian counterpart of Ouranos, who predicts to Kumarbi his downfall (*In* 21).

But when she was about to bear Zeus, father of gods^o
 and men, she begged her own dear parents,
 Gaia and starry Ouranos, to help her think 470
 of a plan, by which she might secretly have
 her son, and make great crafty Kronos pay the
 Erinyes of her father and the children he swallowed.
 They heard and obeyed their dear daughter
 and told her what was destined to happen 475
 concerning king Kronos and his strong-hearted son.
 They sent her to Lyktos, to the rich land of Crete,^o
 when she was about to bear her youngest son,
 great Zeus; vast Gaia received him from her
 in wide Crete to tend and raise. 480
 Carrying him through the swift black night, she came^o
 first to Lyktos; taking him in her arms, she hid him
 in a deep cave, down in dark holes of holy earth,
 on Mount Aigaion, dense with woods.

468-476 Gaia and Ouranos prophesy also to Rhea; their revelation is the same one they gave to Kronos. More importantly, Gaia actively assists her and thus plays a role in the fulfillment of her prophecy. The Erinyes are the spirits of guilt and retribution whose presence is the result of Kronos' misdeeds against his father and his children (see on 178-187).

477 At this point the Greek version of the Near Eastern succession myth begins to merge with a Minoan myth of a divine child. The myth of Zeus' birth in Crete is clearly derived from the Aegean cults which preceded the arrival in Greece of Indo-Europeans and their sky-god. In the Bronze Age matriarchal religion of Crete, there seems to have been a cult in honor of a male fertility-spirit, who was born and died each year. He may have been represented sometimes as the bull who appears so prominently in Minoan iconography, sometimes as a young man later named Kouros, the consort (and perhaps son) of the mother goddess. As various parts of the Aegean religion were assimilated into the beliefs of the Greeks, the cult of Kouros was replaced by that of Zeus. A thousand years after the end of Minoan civilization, Zeus is still addressed as the "greatest Kouros" in a hymn from Palai-kastro in east Crete, and there was even a tomb on Crete in which Zeus was supposedly buried. Lyktos is a town near Mount Lasithi in east-central Crete.

481-484 Mount Aigaion (the "Aegean Mountain") is probably an ancient name for Mount Lasithi [if the Greek text is correct]. The cave in which Zeus was hidden by Gaia may be Psychro, a cave high on the Lasithi Plateau (still advertised to tourists today as the birthplace of Zeus). For details about the various Lasithi caves, see West, *T* 297-298. Ancient writers other than Hesiod located the Cretan cave of Zeus on Mount Ida to the west or Mount Dikte to the east, neither of them near Lyktos; Apollodoros (1.1.6) resolves the problem by naming the mountain Dikte and one of Zeus' nurses Ida.

Rhea° wrapped a huge stone in a baby's robe, and fed it
to Ouranos' wide-ruling son, king of the earlier gods;
he took it in his hands and put it down his belly,
the fool; he did not think in his mind that instead
of a stone his own son, undefeated and secure, was left
behind, soon to overthrow him by force and violence and
drive him from his honor, and rule the immortals himself. 485

Swiftly then° the strength and noble limbs
of the future lord grew; at the end of a year,
tricked by the clever advice of Gaia,°
great crafty Kronos threw up his children, 490
defeated by the craft and force of his own son.
First he vomited out the stone° he had swallowed last;
Zeus fixed it firmly in the wide-pathed earth
at sacred Pytho in the vales of Parnassos,
to be a sign thereafter, a wonder to mortal men. 500

He released from their deadly chains his uncles,°
Ouranos' sons, whom their father mindlessly bound.
They did not forget gratitude for his help,

485-488 The trick of Rhea may have a parallel in the myth of Kumarbi, who, with three gods already inside him, asks for a "son" (or a "stone") to eat; unfortunately the text here (column ii 39-54, *ANET* 121) is so badly preserved that it can scarcely be read at all. According to Pausanias, a local Arcadian legend said that Rhea had earlier hidden Poseidon among lambs and given Kronos a foal to swallow instead of Poseidon (8.8), and several places (e.g., Mount Thaumasio in Arcadia, 8.36; Mount Petrachos in Boiotia, 9.41) were claimed by local inhabitants to be the place where Rhea gave Kronos the stone to swallow.

492-493 It seems to take a year for Zeus to grow up; the length of time may reflect the role of the Minoan year-god.

494-496 "Clever advice of Gaia" may be what she told Rhea, or may now tell Zeus. Apollodoros (1.2.1) says Metis assisted Zeus by giving Kronos an emetic drug.

497-500 The stone disgorged by Kronos was exhibited at Delphi (Pytho), where Pausanias saw it (10.24). Parnassos is the mountain of Delphi, and Pytho, at first the general area around Delphi, became an alternate name for Delphi itself. There was a more famous stone at Delphi, the *omphalos* [navel-stone] which marked Delphi as the center of the earth. Pausanias (10.16) distinguishes the *omphalos* from the stone of Kronos, but Pausanias is almost 900 years later than Hesiod, who perhaps identifies the two.

501-506 The "uncles" (501) must be the *Kyklopes*, who were imprisoned in Tartaros by Ouranos and who will give Zeus the lightning (504-505); the freeing of their brothers, the Hundred-Handed, will be reported in 617-626. The Greek text is ambivalent on whether the "father" in 502 is Ouranos or Kronos; Hesiod must have meant Ouranos, but Apollodoros says that Kronos released the *Kyklopes* and Hundred-Handed at the time of Ouranos' castration and then imprisoned them again in Tartaros (1.1.4-5).

and gave him thunder and the fiery lightning-bolt
and lightning, which vast Gaia earlier had hidden; 505
relying on these, he is king of mortals and immortals.

Iapetos married the fine-ankled daughter of Okeanos,
Klymene, and went up to the same bed;°
she bore him a son, strong-hearted Atlas,° and
she bore all-eminent Menoitios, and Prometheus° 510
subtle and devious, and wrong-thinking Epimetheus,°
who was from the first an evil for men who work for food;°
he first received from Zeus the molded° woman,
the virgin. Wide-seeing Zeus sent arrogant Menoitios°
down to Erebos, striking him with a smoking thunderbolt, 515
for his recklessness and excessive pride.
And Atlas,° standing at the limits of the earth,

507-508 After hinting at Zeus' inevitable victory (506), Hesiod interrupts the story of conflict between Zeus and his father to introduce the conflict between Zeus and Prometheus. First, however, he must finish the account of the genealogy of the Titans; Iapetos, the one remaining Titan son, will be the father of Prometheus. Klymene is the Okeanid of 351.

509 Atlas, the eldest of Iapetos' four sons, is the giant who holds up the sky (519).

510 Menoitios appears elsewhere only in *Ap* 1.2.3, where he is said to have been thunder-bolted to Tartaros during the Titanomachy. Prometheus' name was interpreted by the Greeks to mean "Forethought," but the linguistic derivation is unclear. Some Sanskritists associate Prometheus with the Sanskrit verb *manth*, whose primary meaning is "vigorous backwards and forwards motion of any sort;" it refers especially to the production of fire from fire-sticks, sexual activity, stealing (particularly the theft of ambrosia or fire), churning (see on 188-199), and it is related to the name Mandara (the Indian mountain used for churning ambrosia/semen). The name Prometheus might also be related to the Hindu culture-hero Prthu, who steals the cow of immortality from the gods to help a mortal and is the founder of the civilizing arts.

511 Epimetheus [Afterthought] is the husband of Pandora and father of Pyrrha, who marries Prometheus' son Deukalion (*Ap* 1.7.2). Deukalion and Pyrrha are the Greek version of the Biblical Noah and his wife.

512 An allusion to Epimetheus' folly in accepting Pandora from Zeus, as described in the following two lines.

513 Pandora is "molded," because she is made from earth by Hephaistos (571-572).

514-516 The only stated offense of the "arrogant" Menoitios is his "recklessness and excessive pride," which must put him in the category of gigantic figures (e.g., Typhoeus, the Giants, the Aloidae) who try to usurp Zeus' position.

517-520 In the *Odyssey* (1.52-54) Atlas is the father of Kalypso and holds up the pillars which separate earth and sky. In 746-748 Atlas will be situated somewhere in the underworld, but here he is placed with the Hesperides in their garden in the far west. This may not be a contradiction; the location of the underworld in archaic Greek literature is notoriously elusive, and appears in the *Theogony* as both under

before the clear-voiced Hesperides, under strong compulsion,
 holds the wide sky with head and untiring arms;
 or this is the fate wise Zeus allotted him. 520
 He bound devious Prometheus^o with inescapable
 harsh bonds, fastened through the middle of a column,
 and he inflicted on him a long-winged eagle, which ate
 his immortal liver; but it grew as much in all
 at night as the long-winged bird would eat all day. 525
 Herakles,^o the mighty son of fine-ankled Alkmene,
 killed it and freed from evil suffering the son
 of Iapetos and released him from anguish
 by the will of high-ruling Olympian Zeus,

the earth and at the ends of the earth. The sky-holding is evidently a punishment, since Atlas is "under strong compulsion," but the reason for his punishment is even less clear than in the case of Menoitios. If we exclude Epimetheus, who functions as a mortal rather than as a god (West, *T* 309-310), we are left with three similar brothers, a "decomposition" or splitting into three versions of the figure of a rebellious giant who is punished.

521-525 Although the scene of Prometheus' punishment is said in almost all accounts to be the Caucasus Mountains (or Skythia, which may be the same), there seems to be another version in which he, like Atlas, is at the western ends of the earth. This is the site of the garden of the Hesperides, and it is during Herakles' search for this garden that he encounters Prometheus. The most famous version of Prometheus' punishment, Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound*, is set in Skythia (2), but in the lower margin of the ancient Hypothesis to this play the following note appears: "Prometheus is not bound in the Caucasus as in the usual story but at the European limits of the ocean, as can be seen from the words spoken to Io." Aeschylus also calls Prometheus the son of Themis (18), and an Aeschylean fragment has the eagle visit Prometheus every other day. The focus of the eagle's attention is Prometheus' liver, because the liver was associated with passion and erotic striving at least as early as Aeschylus; the punishment is a kind of castration, since the offense of Prometheus is an oedipal crime (see *Ps* 92-94). West (*T* 313-314) objects to this significance of the liver since it is not stated explicitly before the 5th century, but it is surely implicit in the punishment of Tityos in the *Odyssey* (11.576-579). Tityos is bound while two vultures devour his liver, and the similarity of the punishments inflicted on Tityos and Prometheus would suggest that the meanings of their crimes are also similar.

526-534 Herakles, the greatest hero of Greek myth, is the son of Zeus and Alkmene. He is usually said to have released Prometheus during his eleventh labor (the golden apples of the Hesperides). There may seem to be a contradiction between this account of Herakles' killing the eagle and freeing Prometheus "from evil suffering" and the later statement that "great bondage holds" Prometheus (616). West (*T* 313) takes the present tense of "holds" too literally and solves the contradiction by having Herakles kill the eagle but leave Prometheus still chained. This is possible but unlikely; Zeus is said to have ended his anger (533), and the present tense "holds" occurs in a moralizing coda finishing the story with a general principle.

so that the glory of Theban-born Herakles 530
 would be more than before on the nurturing earth;
 thinking of this, he honored his famous son, and
 though he was angry quit the rage he had ever since
 the Titan matched wits with Kronos' mighty son.
 For when gods and mortal men made a settlement^o 535
 at Mekone,^o then he cleverly cut up a big ox and
 set it before them, trying to deceive the mind of Zeus.
 For Zeus he set out meat and innards rich with fat
 on the skin, covering it with the stomach of the ox;
 but for men he set the white ox-bones,^o with crafty skill 540
 arranging them well and covering them with shining fat.

535-564 The account of the deceptive banquet at Mekone is, on one level, an explanation of why, in Greek blood sacrifice, the bones of the sacrificed animal are given to the gods while the flesh is kept for humans to eat. Human sacrificers could justify this distribution by referring to the choice Zeus had made (knowingly, according to Hesiod) at Mekone. On another level, it is an example of a repeated motif in the Prometheus myth, his deception of Zeus and the appropriation of Zeus' prerogative. This motif appears again in the theft of fire (565-566) and in various later stories (e.g., that Prometheus, when creating mankind, was supposed to present his work to Zeus for approval, but kept back and hid Phainon, the handsomest boy). On this second level, the banquet at Mekone is parallel to the banquet of Tantalos, who tried to deceive Zeus by serving him his chopped-up son Pelops at a meal (Pindar, *Olympian* 1). The myths of Tantalos and Prometheus are in several ways doubles of one another: a) at a communal meal each of them conceals something beneath the surface of food in an ambiguously successful attempt to deceive Zeus; b) each of them steals a prerogative of Zeus which mortals are forbidden to possess, Prometheus fire and Tantalos ambrosia (which are symbolically and structurally equivalent); c) each of them is punished by Zeus, Tantalos in Tartaros and Prometheus in a fashion almost exactly the same as Tantalos' fellow-sufferer Tityos. For a discussion of this comparison see *Ps* 92-94.

535-536 The meeting between men and gods at Mekone marks the end of the time when men and gods lived and ate together; the period before their separation may be the time of Hesiod's Golden Race (*WD* 109-126). The banquet of Tantalos, as well as his theft of ambrosia, must also take place at a time when men and gods have not yet been finally separated. Mekone is the old name for Sikyon, a city near Corinth in the north-east Peloponnese.

540-541 The skillful arrangement of the bones may express the care Prometheus took to conceal his trick from Zeus. But it may reflect the wide-spread care given to the arrangement of bones in primitive sacrificial cults, a concern based on the hope that the dead animal will come to life again. In a Magyar myth cited by Frazer (*Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild* [London 1890], vol. 2, p. 263), a hero is cut into pieces; the serpent-king lays the bones together in their proper order and washes them; the hero comes to life, but his shoulder blade has been lost, so he is given a substitute of gold and ivory. In the myth of Tantalos' banquet, his son Pelops is restored to life and given an ivory shoulder to replace the shoulder Demeter had eaten.

Then the father of men and gods said to him:
 "Son of Iapetos, distinguished of all gods,
 sir, how unjustly you divided the portions."^o 544
 Thus Zeus, knowing deathless plans, spoke and mocked him.
 But clever Prometheus answered him, gently
 smiling, and did not forget his crafty trick:
 "Zeus, most honored and greatest of eternal gods,
 take of these whichever the spirit within tells you."
 He spoke with the trick in mind; but Zeus, knowing deathless 550
 plans, knew and did not miss the trick;^o in his heart
 he foresaw evils^o which were going to happen to mortal men.
 With both hands he lifted up the white fat,
 but he was angry in mind and rage came to his spirit,
 when he saw the white ox-bones in the crafty trick. 555
 Therefore the tribes of men on earth burn to the
 immortals white bones on reeking altars.
 Greatly angry, cloud-gatherer Zeus said to him:
 "Son of Iapetos, knowing thoughts beyond all,^o
 sir, you still have not forgotten your crafty trick." 560
 So spoke angry Zeus, who knows deathless plans;
 from then on, never forgetting the trick, he would
 not give the strength of untiring fire to ash-trees
 for mortal men, who live on the earth.^o

543-544 An ironic statement, if Zeus really recognizes the trick of Prometheus (551).

550-551 "It has long been recognized that in the original story Zeus did not see through the trick and was thoroughly deceived" (West, *T* 321). Hesiod's version is an attempt to rescue Zeus, the hero of his poem, from the appearance of being duped.

552 The "evils" are the withholding of fire and the creation of Pandora.

558-559 These lines will be repeated almost exactly in *WD* 53-54.

562-564 It is unclear whether men had fire before and Zeus now deprives them of it, or if they had never possessed it. The reference to "ash-trees" (563) may refer to a belief that originally fire was present within trees (West, *T* 325); such a belief no doubt goes back to a time when fire was procured from lightning-struck trees. Alternatively, the word "ash-trees" [*melieisi*] may be an adjective with "mortal men"; in *WD* 143-145 the men of the Bronze Race are made from ash-trees [*melian*], and the phrase in the *Theogony* may mean "early men."

565-567 Myths of the theft of fire are found among primitive cultures on every inhabited continent. Sometimes the thief is a culture-hero like Prometheus, but typically it is an animal, most often a bird or insect (because of their ability to fly from earth to sky and back); an interesting collection of these myths is in Frazer's *Apolo-dorus: The Library* (Harvard 1921), vol. 2, pp. 326-350. Because of the necessity of fire for many of the technical advances of civilization, the thief of fire may become a culture-hero like Prometheus, who is said by Aeschylus to have taught men

But the great son of Iapetos deceived him^o 565
 and stole the far-seen light of untiring fire
 in a hollow narthex;^o this bit deep in the spirit
 of high-thundering Zeus and his heart was angry
 when he saw the far-seen light of fire among men.
 In return for fire, he quickly made an evil for men;^o 570
 for the famous Lame One^o made from earth the likeness

woodworking, astronomy, mathematics, the domestication of animals, navigation, medicine, prophecy, and metallurgy, in addition to giving them fire and "blind hopes" (*Prometheus Bound* 436-506). Indo-European myths contain a vast complex of stories in which fire or ambrosia is stolen from the gods and carried through the air to men; in Hindu myths, which contain the most extensive versions of this theft, fire and ambrosia are virtually interchangeable, and in Greek myth we have seen the close similarity between Prometheus (fire) and Tantalos (ambrosia). As the prerogative of the sky-god, fire ultimately represents his jealously-guarded sexual power, and the hero who steals it from him must pay for his crime with a symbolic castration. Thus the fire-god Hephaistos, defeated when he fights with Zeus on his mother's behalf, falls from sky to earth and is lamed as a result. Similarly, Frazer's collection (337-338) contains a myth of the Nigerian Ekoi in which the boy who steals fire from the Sky God is lamed as punishment; he is known only as "Lame Boy," just as Hephaistos is often referred to simply as the "Lame One" (e.g., *Th* 579). Even the animal versions contain symbolic castrations: the Karok Indians of California say that the frog originally had a tail, but lost it while stealing fire (343), and a similar story about how the deer lost its once-long tail is told by the Tlingit Indians of Alaska (348). On the psychology of the theft of fire see *Ps* 92-94.

567 A narthex is the giant fennel plant; its slowly combustible interior and hard rind make it an appropriate vessel in which to carry and conceal fire.

570-589 Zeus punishes men by ordering the creation and adornment of Pandora, the first woman. How men earlier reproduced themselves without women is not mentioned, but belief in some sort of asexual reproduction is not impossible. Myths told of men being born from stones (*Ap* 1.7.2) or from the earth, through the work of a craftsman god like Prometheus or Hephaistos; both Prometheus and Hephaistos are called the creators of Pandora, and Prometheus is said to have created men from earth and water (*Ap* 1.7.1) just as Hephaistos made Pandora (*WD* 60-61). Within a few centuries of Hesiod's time the first Greek philosophers were repeating these ideas in a new form of "scientific" speculation. For Anaximander, life began when water and earth were heated to a certain temperature; since this took place in the "moist," the first men during the helplessness of infancy were nurtured and reared within fish. In the 5th century Archelaus of Athens is supposed to have believed that at first men appeared from the earth, were nurtured on ooze, and only later began to reproduce, Empedokles said that "shoots of miserable men and women" were born "from the earth, having a portion both of water and heat," and Demokritos held that the first men were created from water and mud (these theories are discussed W. K. C. Guthrie, *In the Beginning* [Ithaca 1957] 32-38).

571-572 The "Lame One" is Hephaistos. These two lines are repeated almost exactly in *WD* 70-71; earlier in the latter poem Hephaistos is ordered by Zeus to make Pandora from earth and water (60-61).

of a modest virgin, by the plans of Kronos' son.
 Owl-eyed Athena sashed her and dressed her^o
 in silver clothes; she placed with her hands a
 decorated veil on her head, marvelous to see; 575
 [and lovely fresh garlands, the flowers of plants,
 Pallas Athene put around her head]^o
 and she placed on her head a golden crown
 which the famous Lame One had made himself,
 shaping it with his hands, to please father Zeus. 580
 On it he carved many designs, a marvelous sight;
 of all dread beasts the land and sea nourish,
 he included most, amazingly similar to living
 animals with voices; and beauty breathed over all.
 But when he made the lovely evil to pay for the good, 585
 he led her where the other gods and men were;^o
 she delighted in the finery from the great father's
 owl-eyed daughter; awe filled immortal gods and mortal
 men when they saw the sheer trick, irresistible to men.
 For from her is the race of female women,^o 590
 [from her is the deadly race and tribes of women]^o

573 This line reappears as WD 72. Athena and Hephaistos, the two gods most closely associated with crafts, are entrusted with the creation, dressing, and adornment of Pandora. In WD 60-82 a divine task force joins in this work, including Hephaistos (60), Athena (63), Aphrodite (65), Hermes (67), the Charites [Graces] and Peitho [Persuasion] (73), and the Horai [Seasons] (75). In addition to an elaborate adornment scene, the WD version adds other details not found in the *Theogony*: the name Pandora is given to the woman (who is unnamed in the *Theogony*) because all the gods "presented a gift" (82), which probably means that all the gods gave Pandora as a gift to men, not that each god gave her a separate gift; Pandora is received by Epimetheus, despite Prometheus' warning never to take a gift from Zeus (84-89); Pandora opens a jar and allows all evils and diseases to escape into the world, while retaining Elpis [Hope] within the jar (94-104); before Pandora and her jar men lived a paradisaal existence (90-92) like that of the Golden Race (109-120).

576-577 These lines are suspected by most editors because of the repetition of Athena's name in 573 and 577.

586 If before Pandora mankind lived in a Golden Age, this would explain why men and gods are together when Pandora is brought out for exhibition (see on 535-536).

590-601 The *Theogony* version is much more misogynistic than the WD version. In the latter the evils come from the jar which Pandora unfortunately opens, but here it is woman herself who is a great evil to man. This evil, it turns out, is the old-age complaint (of envious men) that women are idle consumers of the wealth a man has worked hard to amass.

591 Since 590 and 591 are alternate expressions, one of the lines is presumably not genuine.

a great plague to mortals, dwelling with men,
 not suited for cursed Poverty, but for Wealth.^o
 As when bees in covered hives feed^o 595
 the drones, companions of evil works,
 the bees work until sunset, all day
 and every day, and make the pale combs,
 while the drones stay inside, in the covered hives,
 reaping the work of others into their own stomachs;
 similarly for mortal men, high-thundering Zeus 600
 made an evil: women, the partners of evil works.
 He gave a second evil to balance a good,^o
 since whoever escapes marriage and women's harm,
 by refusing to marry, comes to deadly old age
 with no son to tend him; not lacking livelihood 605
 while he lives, when he dies distant kin divide
 his estate. But^o even the man whose fate is to marry
 and acquires a good wife, suited to his wants,
 for him from the first good and evil are balanced
 always; but whoever acquires the wicked sort 610
 lives with unending trouble in his mind and
 spirit and heart, and the evil is incurable.
 So it is impossible to cheat or surpass the mind of Zeus.
 For not even Iapetos' son, good Prometheus,
 escaped his heavy anger, but of necessity 615
 great bondage holds him, though he knows many things.^o

593 Poverty [Penia] and Wealth [Koros] are personified; they have no role in myth, although Plato makes Penia the mother of Eros (*Symposium* 203b).

594-601 A bee and drone simile recurs in WD 303-306, where a man who does not work is compared to the idle drones:

Gods and men are angry at a man who lives
 without work, behaving like the stingless drones
 who waste the bees' labor, not working but eating

602-607 The "second evil" (602) is lack of a son (605), and the "good" (602) is managing to escape marriage and to live alone. If someone avoids the first evil (woman) by remaining single, he will receive the second evil from Zeus, the absence of a son to take care of him in his old age and maintain his estate after he has died.

607-612 It is impossible, even for the man who manages to find a good wife, to have unmixed happiness, but the man who marries a bad wife will have unmixed misery. Why will the man with a good wife have evil as well as good? This may refer to the evils and diseases released from Pandora's jar in the WD, but it may also mean that even the good wife is not altogether good (see *Ps* 103).

616 For the apparent discrepancy between Prometheus' present bondage and his earlier liberation by Herakles, see on 526-534.

When first the father was angry at heart with Obriareos°
 and Kottos and Gyges, he bound them in strong bondage;
 when he noticed their great manhood, their looks
 and size, he put them under the wide-pathed earth.° 620
 They lived there under the earth in pain,
 at the farthest borders of the great earth,°
 suffering much and long, with great grief of heart.
 But Kronos' son and the other immortal gods,
 whom fair-haired Rhea bore from Kronos' embrace, 625
 brought them up to the light, by Gaia's counsel.
 For she told them everything° in detail, how with
 their help they would win victory and bright fame.
 For a long time they fought in bitter exertion
 against one another in harsh battles, 630
 the Titan gods and those born of Kronos,

617-620 The digression on Prometheus and the creation of woman has completed the genealogies of the Titans, and Hesiod returns to the war between the Olympians and the Titans (the Titanomachy), which was about to begin at 506. Myths worldwide contain stories of a war between the gods at the beginning (or end) of the world. The most relevant parallel to the Greek Titanomachy is the Babylonian "Enuma Elish," in which Marduk, like Zeus, defeats the older generation of gods (*In* 22-23).

Obriareos is a lengthened form of Briareos, one of the Hundred-Handed; Homer (*Iliad* 1.404) says that the gods call him Briareos, but men call him Aigaion. Having already released the Kyklopes and acquired a lightning supply (501-506), Zeus releases the three Hundred-Handed, who will be his heavy artillery. The Hundred-Handed will play a large role in the war (only they and Zeus are mentioned as fighting on the Olympian side), while the Kyklopes disappear from view, their lightning now in the hands of Zeus.

Who is the "father" in 617, Ouranos or Kronos? West (*T* 338) believes that it is "obviously" Ouranos, but how could Ouranos have noticed (and envied) their "manhood, their looks and size" if he did not allow them out of their mother's body (156-158)? Either the "father" is Kronos (as in *Ap* 1.1.5) or (and this may be more likely) the "manhood, etc." of the Hundred-Handed is a result of the projective envy of Ouranos, the very reason for which he keeps them from being born.

622 Earth's "farthest borders" may be the farthest down (i.e., Tartaros), or the phrase may be equivalent to such expressions as "beyond Okeanos." Atlas also is located both in the far west and in the underworld (see on 517-520), and Homer situates the underworld itself "beyond Okeanos," "far under the earth," and "at the limits of the earth."

626-628 Gaia prophesies that the Olympians will win the war if they secure the help of the Hundred-Handed. In the war of the Olympian gods against the Giants (*Ap* 1.6.1), the gods possess an oracle revealing that the Giants can only be killed if the gods have a mortal ally; Gaia, who is on the opposite side in this war, tries to help

the proud Titans from lofty Othrys
 and from Olympos° the gods, givers of good,
 whom fair-haired Rhea bore, having lain with Kronos.
 With bitter war against one another 635
 they fought continually for ten full years;°
 there was no end or relief from harsh strife
 for either, the war's outcome was evenly balanced.
 But when he gave them everything fitting,°
 nectar and ambrosia, which the gods eat themselves, 640
 and the proud spirit grew in the breasts of all,
 [when they tasted nectar and desirable ambrosia]
 then the father of gods and men said to them:
 "Hear me, good children of Gaia and Ouranos,
 that I may say what the spirit in my chest commands.° 645
 For a long time now against one another
 we have fought every day for victory and power,
 the Titan gods and we born of Kronos.
 Show your great strength and unbeatable arms
 against the Titans in savage war; 650
 remember our kindness, and how much you suffered
 before you came to the light from grievous bondage
 under the murky gloom, thanks to our plans."
 When he had spoken, blameless Kottos replied:
 "Divine one, you tell us what we know; on our own 655
 we know your superior mind and thoughts, and
 that you defended the immortals from icy harm;

the Giants by searching for an herbal drug to make the Giants invulnerable to mortals, but Zeus finds the herb first and picks it.

632-633 The "Olympian" gods first acquire this title because Mount Olympos is the site of their camp in the war. Since Olympos is north of the Thessalian plain and Mount Othrys, the Titans' camp, is south of the plain, the battle itself was presumably fought on the plain between the two mountains.

636 We learn now that the war has already lasted for ten years when Zeus learns from Gaia of the need for the Hundred-Handed. The Trojan War also lasts for ten years; see on 722-725.

639-641 After their long stay in the underworld, the Hundred-Handed are revived by eating ambrosia and nectar. For ambrosia see on 510 and *Ps* 93; nectar is usually the liquid counterpart of ambrosia, but the two foods are frequently indistinguishable. The divine meal enables the Hundred-Handed to fight and also, it seems, to talk, just as Odysseus gives a drink of blood to the spirits of the dead so they will converse with him (*Odyssey* 11).

645 The appearance of this line nine times in the Homeric poems is a good example not of one poet borrowing from another, but of the shared repertory of epic singers.

by your counsels we came back from the murky gloom,
back from the unyielding bonds, obtaining
the unexpected, lord son of Kronos. 660

So now with firm mind and willing spirit
we will defend your power in hostile war,
fighting the Titans in harsh battles."

After he spoke, the gods who give good welcomed
the words they heard; their spirit longed for war
even more than before, and they roused grim conflict 665
that same day, all of them, female as well as male,^o
the Titan gods against those born of Kronos and
those Zeus brought to light from darkness

under the earth, dread and strong, with huge might. 670
A hundred arms shot from the shoulders
of each and all, fifty heads grew from the
shoulders of each, from their massive bodies.

They stood against the Titans in grim battle,
holding great rocks in their massive hands; 675
the Titans opposite strengthened their ranks
expectantly; both displayed the work of arms
and might together, and the vast sea echoed loudly
and the earth resounded greatly, and the wide sky
shook and groaned, and great Olympos was shaken 680
from its foundation by the immortals' charge; a heavy
tremor of feet reached dim Tartaros, and the loud
noise of unspeakable rout and violent weapons.

So they hurled at each other the painful weapons;^o
shouts from both sides reached starry Ouranos, 685
as they came together with a great outcry.

Zeus no longer restrained his might, but now his
heart was filled with wrath, and he revealed all
his strength; from the sky and Olympos both, 690
he came throwing a lightning-flurry; the bolts
flew thick with thunder and lightning
from his massive hand, whirling a holy flame,

667 Even the goddesses take part in the war, although Hesiod is silent about their role.

In the war against the Giants, none of Zeus' sisters participate, although Artemis kills Aigaion (the Homeric name for one of the Hundred-Handed [see on 617-620]), Athena throws an island on Enkelados, and the Moirai club two Giants to death (*Ap* 1.6.2).

684 What weapons the Titans hurled is unknown.

one after another; the life-giving earth resounded
in flames, the vast woods crackled loudly about, 695
the whole earth and Okeanos' streams and the
barren sea were boiling; the hot blast enveloped
the chthonic^o Titans, the flame reached the upper
air in its fury; although they were strong, the blazing
glow of thunder and lightning blinded their eyes.

The awful heat seized Chaos;^o it seemed, 700
for eyes to see and ears to hear the sound,
just as if earth and wide sky from above came
together; for so great a noise would arise
from the one fallen upon and the other falling down;

such a noise arose from the strife of clashing gods. 705
The winds^o stirred up earthquake and dust and
thunder and lightning and blazing lightning-bolt,
the weapons of great Zeus, and brought the shout
and cry into the midst of both sides; a great din
arose from fearful strife, and might's work was revealed. 710

But the tide of battle turned; before, in mutual
collision, they fought continuously in grim battles;
but now in the front ranks they^o roused dread war,
Kottos and Briareos and Gyges, hungry for war.

They threw three hundred rocks from massive hands 715
at once, and with their missiles overshadowed
the Titans; they sent them under the wide-pathed
earth, and bound them in cruel bonds,
having defeated them by force, despite their daring,
as far below the earth as sky is above the earth;^o 720

697 The Titans are called "chthonic" [chthonious] because their mother is Earth (*chthon* = earth); see on 767.

700 Chaos is mentioned not because we are expected to know the exact location of the first being, but to indicate the enormous space which felt the blast of heat. Chaos is somewhere in the underworld (814), and presumably far below the surface of the earth; the heat extends even down to Chaos, just as it reaches up to the "upper air" [*aiether*, 697].

706-709 The winds do not cause earthquake, lightning, etc., but amplify their effect. Winds also play an important role in Marduk's battle against Tiamat and the older gods in the "Enuma Elish" (*In* 22-23).

713-719 Now that Zeus seems to have won the war, the Hundred-Handed are re-introduced to finish the job and to fulfill Gaia's prophecy (626-628).

720-819) That the description of the underworld takes up exactly 100 lines is probably not meaningful, since no editor regards all of the lines as genuine (West brackets 734-745, 768, and 774). Hesiod's underworld can be reconstructed only in a very

for it is that far from the earth to dim Tartaros.^o

A bronze anvil falling for nine nights and days
from the sky would reach the earth on the tenth;^o
and a bronze anvil falling for nine nights and days
from the earth would reach Tartaros on the tenth. 725
Around it runs a bronze fence;^o and about its
neck flows night^o in a triple row; while above
grow the roots^o of earth and the barren sea.

general sense; many details are uncertain or contradictory, including the important question whether Tartaros is the entire underworld or only its lowest part. The surface of Tartaros lies as far below the surface of the earth as the earth below the sky, with an open space between (open enough, at any rate, for an anvil to fall for ten days); night “flows” around it, and the “roots” of earth and sea are above it (720-728). In 743, however, the sources (= roots?) of earth, sea, sky, and Tartaros are all together (in Tartaros?) and a man entering the open space would fall, or be blown around by winds, for at least a year before reaching the bottom. “In front” (of Tartaros?) are Atlas (746) and the homes of Night and Day (748); Sleep and Death (758-759), Hades (767), Kerberos (769), and Styx (776). The four lines about the sources of earth, sea, sky, and Tartaros (736-739) are then repeated exactly in a supposedly genuine passage (807-810), and the open space between earth and Tartaros seems to be identified as Chaos (814). But earlier, in 729-731, it seemed that earth included this open space and perhaps Tartaros as well, since the Titans are imprisoned at the “limits of vast earth.” The Hundred-Handed are the guards of Tartaros (734-735), but also live at the foundations of Okeanos (815-816). We should assume, I think, that the underworld is everything below the earth’s surface, that Tartaros is Hesiod’s name for the underworld, that the Titans are put in a prison at the farthest point of Tartaros, that Hades, Night, Styx, etc., are outside the prison but inside Tartaros, that the roots, or sources, of the four cosmological divisions are in Tartaros (that is, they all reach beneath the earth’s surface), that even Chaos is located in Tartaros, and that at certain points (especially the far west beyond Okeanos) the limits of the earth extend horizontally as well as vertically. In later Greek thought, the prison itself is called Tartaros and receives new inhabitants, and the entire underworld comes to be called Hades.

720-721 For Homer Tartaros is as far below “Hades’ house” as earth is below sky (*Iliad* 8.16).

722-725 The number ten seems to be a popular choice for mythic expressions of great magnitude or duration. The anvil falls for nine days and lands on the tenth, the Titan-War and Trojan War last for ten years apiece, and the prophet Teiresias, asked whether men or women get greater pleasure in sex, answers that on a scale of ten men are one and women are nine (*Ap* 3.6.7). See also on 789-792, 801-804, 918-920. Any discussion of the significance of the number ten and the ratio 9:1 should bear in mind that by the Greek method of reckoning time a child is born in the tenth month of its mother’s pregnancy (e.g., *Hh to Hermes* 11: Hermes is born in the “tenth moon”).

726 The fence establishes the location of the Titans as a prison.

727 “Night” may signify here the darkness of Chaos (814).

728 The “roots” of earth and sea are their lowest extensions (see on 807-810). The notion of a “world-tree” appears in the cosmological myths of many cultures, and is

There the Titan gods under the dim gloom
are hid away by the plans of cloud-gatherer Zeus, 730
in a moldy place, the limits of vast earth.^o
For them is no escape, since Poseidon put in
bronze doors,^o and the fence runs on both sides.

[There Gyges, Kottos, and great-spirited Obriareos
live, the faithful guards of Zeus Aigiochos.]^o 735

There dark earth and dim Tartaros
and the barren sea and starry sky
all have their sources and limits in a row,
terrible and dank, which even the gods abhor;^o
[the chasm is great, and not until a year’s end^o 740
would a man reach the bottom, if first he were within
the doors, but terrible gust after gust would carry him
here and there; it is awful even for the immortal gods]
[this is monstrous; and the terrible house
of dim Nyx stands covered in dark clouds] 745

In front the son of Iapetos^o holds the wide sky
with his head and untiring arms, standing
immobile, where Nyx and Hemera^o come near and
address one another, passing the great threshold
of bronze; one will go down in, the other comes from 750
the door, and the house never holds both within,
but always one is out of the house and
traverses the earth, while the other is in the house
and awaits the time of her journey, when it will come;

especially prominent among the northern Indo-Europeans (e.g., Celtic, Norse, Siberian), but is absent from Hesiod’s cosmology.

731 See on 720-819.

732-733 Of the three sons of Kronos, only Poseidon is associated with building.

734-735 These lines are bracketed because they seem contradicted at 815-819 (West, *T* 358), but the two passages may express the same notion in different forms.

736-739 See on 807-810.

740-743 These lines are bracketed because they seem to contradict 724-725 (West, *T* 364). West’s arguments here are problematic; Hesiod does not portray the chasm as bottomless (as West maintains), and the time difference between anvils and a man may be due to the effect of the “terrible” gusts of wind rather than the difference in weight between a man and an anvil.

746-747 The son of Iapetos is Atlas; “in front” here as in 767 means apart from the prison of the Titans. Ubelluri, the Hurrian Atlas in the “Song of Ullikummi,” seems to live beneath the sea (*In* 26).

748-754 Night and Day live in the same house beneath the earth, but never at the same time.

one holds much-seeing light° for those on earth, 755
 the other,° who holds in her arms Hypnos, brother of
 Thanatos, is deadly Nyx, covered in misty cloud.

There the children of dark Nyx have their homes,
 Hypnos and Thanatos, awful gods; never does
 shining Helios look on them with his beams, 760
 as he goes up to the sky or comes down from the sky.

The former crosses the earth and wide backs of
 the sea harmless and gentle to men, but the
 other's heart is iron, and his bronze heart is
 pitiless in his chest; he holds whomever he once 765
 seizes of men; he is hateful even to the immortal gods.

There in front the echoing homes of the nether° god
 [of mighty Hades and awesome Persephone]°
 stand, and a terrible dog° is on guard in front,
 unpitying possessor of an evil trick; on those 770
 going in he fawns with his tail and both ears, but
 does not let them go back out and, waiting,
 eats whomever he catches going out the doors.

[of mighty Hades and awesome Persephone]°
 There dwells a goddess° hated by the immortals, 775
 terrible Styx, eldest daughter of back-flowing
 Okeanos; away from the gods she lives in a noble
 house, roofed with great rocks; on all sides

755 "Much-seeing light" is not the sun, but the light of day.

756-766 Night's children Hypnos [Sleep] and Death [Thanatos], since they are never seen by Helios [Sun], seem to have their effect on mortals only at night, when they are carried abroad in their mother's arms. This poetic expression surely does not mean that mortals can die or sleep only at night, but it may imply that Death comes to claim his due at night (perhaps after burial; in Euripides' *Alkestis*, Death is not present when Alkestis dies, but is found later by Herakles at her tomb). Did ancient Greeks sleep during the day, and if they did was it out of the sunlight?

767 The word translated "nether" is *chthoniou*, which here must mean "under the earth's surface"; see on 697. The "nether god" is Hades.

768 This line is bracketed because it seems redundant (and therefore may be a clarification added later).

769-773 The dog of Hades is Kerberos; see on 310-312.

774 This line repeats 768.

775-779 For Styx, see 383-401 and notes on 399, 412, 421-425; that Styx is hated [*sty-gere*] is implied in her name [*Styg-*]. Okeanos is called "back-flowing" because he circles the earth and flows back into himself. The columns which reach up to the sky are reminiscent of the "sources" of the sky which extend into the underworld (777-778), and both concepts are most easily understood if we imagine the underworld as extending to the "limits" of the earth's surface as well as of its depth (see following note).

it reaches up to the sky with silver pillars.
 Rarely does Iris,° swift-footed daughter of Thaumias, 780
 come as messenger over the sea's wide backs.
 Whenever conflict and strife arise among the immortals°
 and one of those who have Olympian homes should lie,
 Zeus sends Iris to bring the gods' great oath
 from afar in a golden pitcher, the famous cold 785
 water which trickles down from a high steep
 rock; far below the wide-pathed earth it
 flows from the holy river° through black night;
 a branch of Okeanos, a tenth part° is allotted to it;
 nine parts winding around the earth and sea's wide 790
 backs in silver eddies fall into the sea, but the
 tenth flows out from the rock, a great woe to the gods.
 Whoever pours libation and breaks his oath,° of the
 immortals who hold the peaks of snowy Olympos,
 lies unbreathing until the year's end; 795
 he never comes near ambrosia and nectar
 for food, but lies unbreathing and unspeaking
 on a covered bed, and an evil coma covers him.
 But when he ends being sick for a great year,°
 another harsher ordeal succeeds the first; 800
 for nine years he is parted from the gods who always

780-781 For Iris as messenger, see on 266. That Iris must travel across the sea to reach Styx suggests again that the underworld (or its entrance) is located, at least in part, at the farthest limits of the earth's surface.

782-784 Styx was appointed the gods' oath at 400. By pouring a libation consisting of the water of Styx (793), a god commits himself to the punishment described in 795-803 if he should swear falsely. 783-784 might seem to imply that an oath is sworn only after a god is detected lying, which would make the oath superfluous. What they must mean is that in a dispute between the gods, one of the disputing parties must be lying, but it is not known which one. They therefore swear an oath by Styx, and the liar (if found out), or the one who does not do what he promises, is punished.

788 The "holy river" is Okeanos (789).

789-792 A tenth part of Okeanos' water flows down through the earth, emerging as a waterfall down from a high rock. Again we have the number ten and the ratio 9:1 (see on 722-725).

793-798 Whether the coma is the result or cause of ambrosia-deprivation is not made clear.

799-804 The one-year coma of the perjuring god is followed by nine years of solitary banishment from the company of the other gods, which ends "in the tenth" (803). Again the number ten and the 9:1 ratio. I know of no instance in which a god is said to have undergone this punishment.

are, and never joins in council and feasts,
 for nine full years; in the tenth he rejoins the
 meetings of the immortals who have Olympian homes.
 The gods made the eternal and primal water of Styx° 805
 such an oath; it emerges through a forbidding place.
 There dark earth and dim Tartaros°
 and the barren sea and starry sky
 all have their sources and limits in a row,
 terrible and dank, which even the gods abhor. 810
 There are shining gates and a bronze threshold°
 with never-ending roots, unmoveable and
 natural; beyond and far from all the gods
 live the Titans, past gloomy Chaos.°
 But the famous helpers of loud-thundering Zeus° 815
 live in houses on Okeanos' foundations,
 Kottos and Gyges; but the deep-roaring Earth-Shaker
 made Briareos his son-in-law for his courage,
 and gave him his daughter Kymopoleia to marry.
 But when Zeus drove the Titans from the sky,° 820

805 The water of Styx is immortal because the goddess Styx is immortal. In much later myths the immortality of this water could be transferred to someone (e.g., Achilles) who was dipped in it (Hyginus, *Fabula* 107).

807-810 Earth, Tartaros, sea, and sky are the four components of the universe. Their "sources and limits" are presumably the same as the "roots" in 728. That they are "in a row" [hexeies] probably means that they are separate, at least at some point. The "roots" of earth and sea were said to be above the prison of the Titans (727-728); perhaps the roots of Tartaros are below those of earth and sea, and those of sky are above.

811-814 The gates and threshold are those of the entrance to the underworld. In a sense, they are the most important part of the underworld, the entrance which allows no exit. The most famous version of this gate is the door in Canto 3 of Dante's *Inferno*, above which is a sign ending "Abandon all hope, you who enter here." Through Dante's door one encounters first the river Acheron and its ferryman Charon; on the far side is a bottomless Abyss (like Chaos); the Styx, portrayed as a waterfall ending in a great swamp, appears in Canto 7.

814 Chaos seems to be an open space between Tartaros and the earth's surface (see on 720-819).

815-819 Briareos is singled out from his brother Hundred-Handed to marry Poseidon's daughter, but he still may live with his brothers. Their homes "on Okeanos' foundations" seem to be among the roots, limits, and sources in the underworld; this passage does not necessarily contradict 734-735.

820-868 Zeus must now fight one last battle before he can settle down to the business of ruling and procreating. Angered by the defeat of the Titans, Gaia mates with Tartaros (see on 822) and produces Typhoeus, the most formidable monster of

vast Gaia bore her youngest child Typhoeus
 from the love of Tartaros, through golden Aphrodite;°
 his hands are strong, to do his work, and the
 mighty god's legs never tire; from his shoulders
 grew a hundred snake-heads, a dread serpent's° 825
 with dark and lambent tongues; his eyes
 under the brows on the awesome heads shot fire;
 [from all the heads fire blazed as he glowered]°
 from all the dread heads came voices° which 830
 spoke all unspeakable sounds; at one time, 835
 they made sounds the gods understand; at another,
 the sound of a proud bellowing bull, unstoppable
 in wrath; at another, a lion with ruthless spirit;
 again, sounds like a pack of dogs, marvelous to hear;
 again, he would hiss and high mountains re-echoed. 835

them all. In later accounts, the war between Zeus and Typhoeus is more complicated and of less certain outcome than in Hesiod's version; Apollodoros has Typhoeus temporarily win the upper hand by cutting out the sinews of Zeus' feet and hands and hiding them (1.6.3), and Nonnos (5th century A.D.) has Typhoeus steal Zeus' thunder and lightning, as well as the sinews (*Dionysiaka* 1). For Hesiod, however, the battle is decided as soon as Zeus exerts his full power (853-855), just as he had won the Titanomachy by throwing off restraint and attacking in full force (687-689). The Typhoeus-War, in fact, is very much a repetition of the Titan-War, and Typhoeus will end up in Tartaros with the Titans. The Typhoeus episode has obvious parallels with Near Eastern myth (West, *T* 21-22, 379-380, 391-392), especially the Hurrian "Song of Ullikummi," in which the Storm-God becomes king but must then fight against the giant diorite monster Ullikummi (*In* 25). For the relationship between Typhoeus and Hephaistos, and the psychological meaning of this episode, see *Ps* 100-102.

822 This line could be excised without damage to the text. Tartaros is personified nowhere else in the *Theogony*, Typhoeus is a parthenogenic son (of Hera) in *Hh to Apollo* 305-356 (see *Ps* 100-102), and Gaia, in a parallel incident, produces the Giants quasi-parthenogenically (their father is the blood of Ouranos, *Th* 183-186) because of her anger at the defeat of the Titans (*Ap* 1.6.1).

825 Typhoeus is part serpent, like his mate Echidna (297-307), and he has multiple heads, like his children Orthos, Kerberos, Hydra, and Chimaira (309-322).

828 This line seems redundant.

829-835 The different sounds made by Typhoeus may suggest that separate heads had the shapes of different animals, or that Typhoeus was able to metamorphize into different animals. The first alternative appears in the mannerist epic version of Nonnos (*Dionysiaka* 1.157-162, 2.250-257, 2.367-370), and the second associates Typhoeus with the animal metamorphoses of Egyptian gods (e.g., Ammon/ram, Horus/hawk, Osiris/goat, Isis/cow, Thoth/ibis). Typhoeus was identified by the 5th century with the Egyptian god Seth, the evil brother and enemy of Osiris, and Seth could change into a variety of animal forms (West, *T* 386).

A thing past help would have happened that day
 and he would have ruled over immortals and mortals,
 if the king of men and gods had not thought quickly.^o
 He^o thundered hard and strong, and all the earth
 resounded horribly, and the wide sky above and 840
 sea and Okeanos' streams and earth's lowest parts.
 Great Olympos trembled under the immortal feet
 of the lord setting out, and the earth groaned.
 Heat from both of them seized the violent sea,
 from thunder and lightning, from the monster's fire, 845
 from searing winds^o and from the fiery lightning-bolt.
 The whole earth was boiling, and the sky and sea;
 great waves raged around and over the coasts from
 the immortals' attack, and endless rumbling arose;
 Hades, lord of the dead below, trembled, and so 850
 did the Titans around Kronos in Tartaros,
 from the endless noise and awful war.
 When the anger of Zeus reached its height,^o
 he seized his weapons, thunder and lightning and
 lightning-bolt, leaped from Olympos, and struck; 855
 he burned all the dread monster's unspeakable heads.^o
 When he had whipped him and broken him with blows,
 he threw him down crippled, and great Gaia groaned.^o

836-838 The intention of Typhoeus is to become king of gods and men. His role then is not so much parallel to Kronos and the Titans, whom Zeus defeated in order to become king, as to the hypothetical successor of Zeus, the son who may overthrow Zeus and continue the pattern of the succession myth (*Ps* 100-102). Nonnos' version makes clear Typhoeus' chief intention is to become the husband of Hera. Nymphs throughout the world fear for their virginities when he announces the orgy that will take place when he comes to power: Orion will have Artemis, and Tityos will finally have Leto; Kadmos is promised his choice of Athena, Leto, Charis, Aphrodite, Artemis, or Hebe, in fact anyone but Hera; and all these goddesses will serve at the elaborately-described wedding Typhoeus proposes for himself and Hera.

839-852 The cosmic repercussions of the battle duplicate in detail the description of the Titanomachy (677-686).

853-867 Again the details of the Titanomachy are recalled: Zeus is angry and releases his full strength (853-855, 687-693); the earth is set on fire (859-867, 693-700).

846 The "searing winds" recall the winds used by Marduk in the "Enuma Elish" (see on 706-709).

856 Zeus does to Typhoeus what Iolaos did to Hydra (see on 313-318).

858 It is possible that "crippled" [*gyiotheis*] Typhoeus is associated with the "Lame One" [*Amphigyeeis*] Hephaistos, also defeated and crippled by Zeus (*Ps* 98-100).

Fire^o poured from the thunderstruck lord
 in the dark rugged glens of the mountain where 860
 he was hit, and the vast earth burned widely
 from unspeakable heat, and melted as tin
 is melted in well-bored crucibles by workmen's
 skill, or as iron, hardest of all things, 865
 is melted by burning fire in mountain glens
 in the holy earth, by the arts of Hephaistos;
 so the earth melted in the glare of blazing fire.
 And Zeus, vexed in spirit, threw him into wide Tartaros.
 From Typhoeus is the strength of wet-blowing winds,^o
 except Notos and Boreas and clearing Zephyros; 870
 these are a sort from the gods, a great help to mortals.
 But the other winds blow false on the sea;
 some fall upon the misty sea, a great plague
 to mortals, and they rage with evil storm;
 they blow unpredictably, scattering ships and 875
 killing sailors; there is no defense against
 their harm for men who meet them on the sea.
 And other winds on the vast flowering earth
 destroy the beautiful fields of earth-born men,
 filling them with dust and terrible tumult. 880
 But when the blessed gods had finished their work^o
 and decided the matter of rights with the Titans
 by force, they urged wide-seeing Olympian Zeus
 to be king and rule the immortals, by Gaia's
 advice; and he divided their honors among them.^o 885

859 In later versions the fire which pours from the defeated Typhoeus becomes the volcanic activity of the mountain under which he is imprisoned (e.g., *Ap* 1.6.3).

869-880 The destructive winds descended from Typhoeus are connected with their father not in that they are "wet-blowing," but because they and he are evil. The good winds Notos, Boreas, and Zephyros are the sons of Astraos and Eos (378-380).

881-885 The capricious Gaia now advises the gods to make Zeus king. They comply.

885 Hesiod's brief reference to Zeus' division of the gods' honors is expressed more specifically and somewhat differently in *Iliad* 15.187-193, where Poseidon describes the division of the world by lot between himself and his two brothers:

For we are three brothers from Kronos, and Rhea bore us,
 Zeus and I, and third is Hades, who rules the dead;
 all things were divided three ways, and each has a share
 of honor; I received from the shaken lots the sea to live
 in always, Hades received the misty gloom, and

Zeus,° king of gods,° made Metis° his first wife,
 she who knows most of gods and mortal men.
 But when she was about to bear the owl-eyed
 goddess Athena, then he deceived her mind with a
 trick of wily words, and put her down in his belly,

890

Zeus received the wide sky in the clouds and clear air;
 but earth and high Olympos are common to us all.

886-929 Now that Zeus is king of the gods, he turns immediately to the task that will chiefly occupy him from now on, sex and procreation. This section of the *Theogony* lists the seven wives of Zeus and their children.

For a variety of reasons, it is generally agreed that the ending of the *Theogony* was not written by Hesiod, but there is general disagreement as to where what remains of the original *Theogony* ends and the later revision of the ending of the *Theogony* begins. West (*T* 397-399) argues persuasively that the original ending was similar to the ending we now have, but that everything after line 900 was remodeled by a later poet, perhaps in the 6th century. This second poet substituted for Hesiod's ending his own version, designed to lead into the *Catalogue of Women*. During the Alexandrian period this long poem of "Hesiod," consisting of the *Theogony* and the *Catalogue of Women* together, was divided into two poems by scholars, who decided that the *Theogony* should end at line 1020. In addition to the original ending of the *Theogony*, now lost, Hesiod may also have composed something like the *Catalogue of Women*. The surviving fragments of the poem by that name, however, which was usually attributed to Hesiod in antiquity, were written not by Hesiod but by the poet who revised the ending of the *Theogony*.

886 Metis is a daughter of Okeanos (358).

886-900 Having succeeded to the position of king of the gods, Zeus is still not entirely secure. His father and grandfather also ruled, but were deposed by their sons. Zeus needs both strength and strategic knowledge to protect his kingship; his power was evident in the wars with the Titans and Typhoeus, and his acquisition of knowledge is now demonstrated, at least symbolically, in the outcome of his first marriage. Metis has two important functions: she is destined to bear a son who will replace Zeus as king of gods and men (897-898), and she, who "knows most" (887), is the personification of practical wisdom [*metis*], the art of knowing what to do with what one learns. Zeus exhibits his *metis* both practically and metaphorically: first, by following the advice of Gaia and thereby preventing the birth of the ominous son, and second, by swallowing Metis and thus incorporating within himself the *metis* she represents. The child Metis is pregnant with when Zeus swallows her is Athena, whose birth from Zeus' head will be recounted in 924-926. Although Hesiod implies that Zeus' strategy is sufficient, other myths present a more complicated situation. In one version Zeus learns that a woman somewhere in the world is fated to bear a son "greater than his father;" if Zeus cannot discover her name (which is known only to Prometheus), he must either give up his amatory pursuits entirely or run the certain risk of being deposed in turn by his son. The woman turns out to be the Nereid nymph Thetis; Zeus learns her identity and forces her to marry the mortal Peleus (1006-1007). Another version suggests that the son who will try to depose Zeus is the parthenogenic son of his final wife Hera, who will bear an avenger because of her anger with Zeus. The *Theogony* mentions both the

by the advice of Gaia and starry Ouranos.° Thus they advised him, so that no other of the eternal gods would hold the office of king but Zeus. For from her wise children were fated to be born:
 first a daughter, owl-eyed Tritogeneia,°
 like her father in strength and wise counsel,
 but then she was going to bear a son
 proud of heart, king of gods and men;
 but first Zeus put her into his own belly,
 so the goddess might advise him on good and evil.

895

900

• • • • •

Second, he married sleek Themis,° who bore the Horai,
 Eunomia and Dike and blooming Eirene,

anger and the fatherless son, who is Hephaistos (927-928), but says nothing about a conflict between Zeus and Hephaistos. In *Hh to Apollo* 305-356, Hera's anger also leads to a parthenogenic birth, but the son is not Hephaistos but Typhoeus. Perhaps the role of Typhoeus in the *Theogony* replaces that of Hephaistos in a lost myth, traces of which may remain in the account of conflict between Zeus and Hephaistos in *Iliad* 1. For these myths and their psychological significance see *Ps* 98-100. For the "wisdom" demonstrated by Zeus see on 889-891 and *In* 16.

889-891 Since Metis, like all water-deities, can change her shape, Zeus seems to have tricked her (with "wily words") into assuming a shape in which she could be easily swallowed. Whatever the "wily words" may be, they seem to be the only instance in this episode of Zeus taking the initiative in the use of "practical wisdom" [*metis*]. The actual swallowing seems due to the advice of Gaia and even more to the logic of the succession myth, which would seem to leave Zeus no other alternative (*In* 16-17).

895 Athena's epithet "Tritogeneia" may mean "born by the river Triton," but this is by no means certain.

901-906 Themis, Zeus' second wife, is of the Titan generation (135). As in the case of Metis, her name indicates the benefit Zeus derives from alliance with her; *themis* means "right" or "established custom." The children of Zeus and Themis are the three Horai [Seasons]-Eunomia [Lawfulness], Dike [Justice], Eirene [Peace]-and the three Moirai [Fates]-Klotho [Spinner], Lachesis [Allotter], Atropos [Unbending]. In cult the Horai are principally goddesses of the seasons and therefore of the vegetative cycle (their Athenian cult names Thallo and Karpo mean "grow" and "bear fruit"). The names given to them in the *Theogony* suggest that they function in civic and political life as well, another area in which regularity and predictability are essential. This is not an abrupt change; the connection between the farmer's well-being and the need for good governance, as well as a marked emphasis on Dike, are important in the *Works and Days*, especially in regard to Hesiod's personal problem with his brother Perses. The Moirai were earlier called daughters of Night (217); the inconsistency may be due to the second poet's negligence (or Hesiod's), or to either poet's wish to present an alternate version. As their names suggest, they are the determiners of a lifetime, visualized as a thread which one spins, the second measures, and the third fixes at the measured length, often by cutting it.

who tend the works of mortal men, and the
Moirai, to whom wise Zeus gave most honor,
Klotho and Lachesis and Atropos, who give
mortal men to have both good and evil. 905

Eurynome, ° Okeanos' daughter of fairest form,
bore to him the three fair-cheeked Charites,
Aglaiā, Euphrosyne, and lovely Thalia;
limb-loosening desire poured from their glancing
eyes; beautifully they glanced under their brows. 910

Next he came to the bed of nurturant Demeter; °
she bore white-armed Persephone, whom Aidoneus
seized from her mother; but Zeus allowed it.

Then he loved fair-haired Mnemosyne, ° who bore 915
the nine Muses with golden headbands,
whose delight is banquets and the pleasure of song.
And Leto, joined in love to Zeus Aigiochos, °

They are birth spirits, occasionally appearing in myth to predict the destiny of a new-born infant; the most famous instance is the birth of Meleagros (*Ap* 1.8.2). As goddesses of destiny, they are involved with the value, as well as the length, of a lifetime (906).

907-911 The third wife is the Okeanid Eurynome, whose three daughters are the Charites-Aglaiā [Splendor], Euphrosyne [Gladness], Thalia [Festivity]. Personifications of everything that is beautiful and graceful in nature and human life, they seem also, like the Horai, to be associated with vegetative life; in Athenian cult one of them is named Auxo [Increaser]. Charis (a singular form of Charites, like Moira and Moirai) is the wife of Hephaistos at *Iliad* 18.362, while in the *Theogony* he is married to Aglāia, youngest of the Charites (945-946). The description of the Charites in 910-911 emphasizes their erotic attractiveness and desirability, and they appear often as attendants of Aphrodite.

912-914 Zeus' fourth wife is his sister Demeter. The abduction of their daughter Persephone by Hades, with the connivance of Zeus, is narrated most fully in the *Hh to Demeter*. Both Demeter and her daughter are associated with vegetative phenomena, like the Horai and the Charites, and the two may originally have been two aspects of the same goddess. Aidoneus is a lengthened form of the name Hades. Apollodoros (1.3.1) calls Styx the mother of Persephone. See also on 454.

915-917 For Mnemosyne and the Muses, see on 53, 56-60, 75-79.

918-920 Leto is the daughter of the Titans Koios and Phoibe (404-406) and thus Zeus' cousin. She appears frequently in lists of particularly important, prestigious, or senior goddesses (e.g., *Th* 18), probably because of her famous children. The difficult birth of Apollo and Artemis is narrated first in the *Hh to Apollo*: Leto wandered throughout the world in search of a place to bear her children, but every land was afraid to be the birthplace of Apollo; finally the barren island of Delos consented, after Leto promised that Apollo would have his temple there; Leto went into labor, but Hera kept away her daughter Eileithyia, goddess of childbirth, and Leto's labor was prolonged for nine days and nights; a committee of goddesses sent Iris to bribe Eileithyia with a necklace and on Eileithyia's arrival Apollo was born (on the tenth

bore Apollo and archeress Artemis, beautiful
children beyond all of Ouranos' descendants. 920

Lastly he made Hera his blooming wife; °
she bore Hebe and Ares and Eileithyia,
having joined in love with the king of gods and men.

He himself bore from his head owl-eyed Athena, °
the awesome, fight-rousing, army-leading, unwearied
mistress whose delight is din and wars and battles; 925
but Hera, who was angry and at odds with her husband, °
without love's union bore famous Hephaistos,
excellent in arts beyond all of Ouranos' descendants.

From Amphitrite and loud-sounding Earth-Shaker ° 930
was born great and mighty Triton, ° who in the sea's

day of labor; for the ratio 9:1, see on 722-725). The Hymn says that Artemis was born on Ortygia and Apollo on Delos, but according to Apollodoros (1.4.1) both are names of the same island; Artemis was born first, then acted as midwife in the birth of her twin brother (this is apparently an attempt to justify the practice of invoking the virgin Artemis as a goddess who assists in births). See on 409.

921-923 The three children of Zeus and Hera, his seventh and permanent wife, are Hebe (goddess of youth), Ares (god of war), and Eileithyia (goddess of childbirth). None of them is particularly significant. Hebe, the personification of eternal pubescence, marries Herakles when he becomes a god (*Odyssey* 11.602-604). Ares appears in myth chiefly as the lover of Aphrodite (*Odyssey* 8.266-366), in the use of his name as a synonym for war, and occasionally as a participant (often unsuccessful) in battle (e.g., *Iliad* 5.835-863, 21.391-433). Eileithyia is primarily an agent of her mother's resentment against Zeus' mistresses, other wives, and illegitimate children; she interferes with the birth of Apollo and Artemis (see on 918-920) and with the birth of Herakles (*Ap* 2.4.5).

924-926 Since Athena has apparently been inside Zeus during six marriages, it is perhaps not surprising that artistic and literary representations of her birth portray her as a fully-grown, fully-armed adult (e.g., *Ap* 1.3.6). Either Hephaistos (Pindar, *Olympian* 7.65) or Prometheus (Euripides, *Ion* 454) splits open Zeus' head with an axe, so that Athena can be born.

927-929 Hera's quarrel with Zeus is the result of his having given birth to Athena; since he seems no longer to need a woman to produce a child, she decides to show him that she does not need a man to bear a child herself (*Hh to Apollo* 307-352; see *Ps* 99-102). Her first attempt results in the crippled Hephaistos, whom she throws out of the sky; her second produces the monster Typhoeus. Hephaistos, born from Hera's anger and desire for revenge, would seem to represent the fated son who will attempt to overthrow Zeus. Vestiges of this representation survive in *Iliad* 1.571-594, but this rebellious function is transferred almost entirely from Hephaistos to Prometheus and Typhoeus (*Ps* 98-102).

930 Finished with the children of Zeus and Hera, Hesiod moves to Zeus' brother Poseidon (Earth-Shaker); Hades and Persephone have no children, the only instance in Greek myth of a fruitless divine union. Amphitrite is a Nereid (243).

931-933 Triton is a Greek merman, half-man and half-fish, who is frequently depicted in decorative sculpture. His "awfulness" appears in stories like the one told by

depth lives with his mother and lord father in olden homes, an awful god. But to Ares, piercer of shields, Kythereia^o bore Phobos and Deimos, terrible ones who rout the dense ranks of men in cold war with city-destroying Ares, and she bore Harmonia, whom high-spirited Kadmos took as his wife. 935

And the Atlantid Maia bore to Zeus glorious Hermes,^o herald of the gods, after going up to his holy bed.

And the Kadmeid Semele^o bore an illustrious son, much-cheering Dionysos, after joining Zeus in love, mortal with immortal; now they both are gods. 940

And Alkmene bore mighty Herakles, having joined in love with cloud-gathering Zeus.^o

And Hephaistos, the famous lame god, made Aglaia,^o youngest of the Charites, his blooming wife. 945

Pausanias (9.20) that Triton tried to rape the women of Boiotian Tanagra as they bathed in the sea, but was prevented by Dionysos. The earliest surviving mention of Triton is in the *Theogony*, and it may be relevant that Hesiod, like the women of Tanagra, is Boiotian.

934-937 Kythereia ["of the island Kythera"] is a title of Aphrodite (198). The sons of Ares and Aphrodite are Phobos [Fear] and Deimos [Terror], personifications of Ares' effect in battle. Kadmos is the founder of Boiotian Thebes; he kills a giant serpent, Ares' son, and from the serpent's teeth grow the Spartoi [Sown-Men], the first citizens of Thebes; he then is reconciled with Ares and marries his daughter Harmonia (*Ap* 3.4.1-2).

938-939 According to Apollodoros (3.10.1-3, 3.12.1), Atlas and the Okeanid Pleione had seven daughters called the Pleiades. Three of them have affairs with Zeus and produce important sons: Taygete has Lakedaimon, Elektra has Dardanos (founder of the Trojan dynasty), and Maia, the eldest, has Hermes. The story of Hermes' birth and infancy, his invention of the lyre, and his quarrel with Apollo, is told in the *Hh to Hermes*. Hermes is the herald, or messenger, of the gods because he is the god of boundaries and of the crossing of boundaries; thus he passes between mortals and immortals and also, as Hermes Psychopompos [the "Guide of Souls"], between the living and the dead. A boundary marker in Athens was called simply a hermes, a square pillar with a protruding phallus and Hermes' head.

940-942 Semele is the daughter of Kadmos and Harmonia (see on 933-937). For the affair of Semele and Zeus, see *Ps* 94; from the ashes of the thunder-struck Semele, Zeus rescued the foetus, put it in his thigh, and later gave birth to the god Dionysos (Euripides, *Bacchae* 88-100). The deification of Semele seems to be due to the fact that she was consumed by Zeus' lightning (Pindar, *Olympian* 2.25), rather than to her role as mother of Dionysos.

943-944 See on 56-60.

945-946 See on 907-911.

And gold-haired Dionysos took auburn Ariadne,^o daughter of Minos, as his blooming wife; Kronos' son made her immortal and ageless for him.

The strong son of fair-ankled Alkmene, mighty Herakles, having finished his painful labors, took Hebe,^o child of great Zeus and gold-sandaled Hera, as his modest wife in snowy Olympos; he is happy, who finished his great work and lives with the immortals, carefree and ageless for all days. 950

To untiring Helios the famed Okeanid Perseis^o bore Kirke and the king Aietes. Aietes, son of Helios who shines on mortals, by the gods' plans married fair-cheeked Idyia, the daughter of the perfect river Okeanos; she bore to him fine-ankled Medeia, conquered in love thanks to golden Aphrodite. 955

Farewell now, you who have Olympian homes, you islands, mainland, and salty sea within;^o now, sweet-voiced Olympian Muses,^o daughters of Zeus Aigiochos, sing the band of goddesses, 960

947-949 Ariadne is the daughter of Minos, king of Crete. In the most common version, she helps the Athenian prince Theseus escape from the labyrinth at Knossos and is taken by him to the island of Naxos. There he abandons her, but Dionysos finds and marries her. In Athens, on the second day (the "Choes" day) of the Anthesteria festival, the marriage of Ariadne and Dionysos was re-enacted; Ariadne was played by the wife of the archon basileus (the chief religious magistrate), and the god appeared either as a symbolic artifact or as a disguised man (or perhaps both).

950-955 For the marriage of Herakles and Hebe, see on 921-923. The "painful labors" of Herakles are the tasks (usually twelve) he undertakes for Eurystheus, a punishment for having murdered his family while maddened by Hera (*Ap* 2.4.12-2.5.12); see on 215-216, 289-294, 313-318, 327-332. The marriage of Herakles and Hebe, which presupposes Herakles' deification, is one of the most frequently-cited reasons (along with the mention of Latinos and the Etruscans in 1013-1016) for regarding the ending of the *Theogony* as written by someone later than Hesiod, since Herakles does not seem to be treated as a god before the sixth century (West, *T* 398, 417).

956-962 The children of Helios (371) and Perseis (356) are Kirke, the famous sorceress of the Odyssey, and Aietes, king of Kolchis and owner of the Golden Fleece at the time of the Argonauts' voyage. The daughter of Aietes and the Okeanid Idyia (352) is Medeia, who will marry Iason (1000) after helping him win the Fleece.

963-964 These two lines mark the end of the theogonic and cosmogonic purposes of the poem; 963 bids farewell to stories of gods (as opposed to goddesses) and their children, and 964 to the physical components of the visible world.

965-968 The subject of the remainder of the *Theogony* is stated; it is a new subject and so the Muses are invoked anew.

immortals who went to bed with mortal men and bore children similar to gods.

The divine goddess Demeter,^o joined in dear love with the hero Iasion in a thrice-plowed field, 970
in the rich land of Crete, bore kindly Ploutos,
who goes over the whole earth and the sea's wide
backs; who meets him and takes him in his arms,
the god makes rich and grants him much prosperity.

Harmonia, daughter of golden Aphrodite, to Kadmos^o 975
bore Ino and Semele and fair-cheeked Agaue
and Autonoe, whom long-haired Aristaios married,
and Polydoros in well-crowned Thebes.

Kallirhoe,^o Okeanos' daughter, joined in golden
Aphrodite's love to strong-hearted Chrysaor, 980
bore a son, the strongest of all mortals,
Geryoneus, whom mighty Herakles killed in
sea-swept Erytheia for his rolling-gaited cattle.^o

And Eos bore to Tithonos bronze-crested Memnon,^o
king of the Aithiopes, and the lord Emathion. 985
And to Kephalos she bore a glorious son, valiant

969-974 The union of Demeter and Iasion in a thrice-plowed field is mentioned by Homer (*Odyssey* 5.125-128) and must reflect a ritual practice intended to promote the fertility of the fields; this is why their son is Ploutos [Wealth]. The hero Iasion seems here to be Cretan, although we never hear of Cretan parents for him; Apollodoros makes him a son of Zeus and Elektra (3.12.1; see on 938-939). Both Homer and Apollodoros say that Iasion paid for his erotic ambition by being struck with Zeus' lightning.

975-978 The children of Harmonia and Kadmos: the unfortunate Ino, wife of the Boiotian king Athamas, tried to kill her step-children and then killed her own son and herself (*Ap* 1.9.1-2); transformed into the sea-goddess Leukothea, she gives an immortal veil to Odysseus in *Odyssey* 5.333-353. For Semele see on 940-942. Agaue is the mother of the Theban king Pentheus; in Euripides' *Bacchai* Pentheus is seduced by his enemy Dionysos into spying on the god's secret rites, whereupon the ecstatic Agaue mistakes her son for a lion and tears off his head. Aristaios, a son of Apollo, and Autonoe are the parents of Aktaion, who chances to see the goddess Artemis naked and is punished by being torn to pieces by his own hunting dogs (*Ap* 3.4.4). Polydoros is the father of Labdakos and great-grandfather of Oidipous (Euripides, *Phoinissai* 7-9).

979-983 The son of Kallirhoe (288, 351) and Chrysaor (281) is the triple-bodied (or -headed) Geryoneus (287).

982-983 is a restatement of 289-290.

984-991 The rapacious goddess Eos [Dawn], although married to Astraios (378), is continually carrying off other men; Apollodoros (1.4.4) says that her affair with Ares angered Aphrodite, who caused Eos to be continually in love. By the Trojan

Phaethon, a man like the gods; when he was young in the delicate flower of famous youth, a child of tender thoughts, laughter-loving Aphrodite snatched him up and took and made him innermost keeper of her holy temples, a godlike daimon.^o 990

Aison's son,^o by the plans of the eternal gods, took from Aietes, god-raised king, his daughter, having finished the many painful labors which the great and arrogant king assigned, 995
Pelias, violent and impetuous doer of wrong; having finished these, Aison's son came to Iolkos^o after much labor, bringing the glancing girl on the swift ship, and made her his fresh bride.
Tamed by Iason, shepherd of the people, she 1000
bore a son Medeios, whom Phillyra's son Cheiron raised in the mountains; great Zeus' will was done.

Tithonos she bore Memnon, king of Troy's allies, the Aithiopes, and Emathion. Zeus granted her request that Tithonos be immortal, but she forgot to ask also that he be ageless; finally he was reduced to a babbling and shriveled wreck (*Hh to Aphrodite* 218-238). Memnon is killed in the Trojan War by Achilleus, and Emathion is killed by Herakles during his eleventh labor (*Ap* E.5.3, 2.5.11). The Athenian Kephalos, son of Hermes, Deion, or Pandion, is married to Prokris, daughter of the Athenian king Erechtheus; carried off by Eos, he becomes the father of Phaethon, whom Aphrodite abducts in emulation of Zeus' rape of Ganymedes. In Euripides' lost *Phaethon*, Phaethon is a son of Helios who takes his father's chariot and horses on an ill-fated joy-ride.

992-996 Aison's son is Iason, leader of the Argonauts; the daughter of Aietes is Medeia (957-962); the "many painful labors" which Aietes compels Iason to perform before he can receive the Golden Fleece are, at least in later versions, accomplished for the most part by Medeia on her helpless lover's behalf. Pelias is a "doer of wrong" because, among other crimes, he seized the kingdom of Iolkos from Aison, Iason's father and the rightful king.

997-1002 Upon arriving in Iolkos, Medeia tricks the daughters of Pelias into killing their father, thus winning revenge for Iason just as she had won for him the Golden Fleece. Medeios, the son of Iason and Medeia, is the namesake of the Medes. Usually (as in Euripides' *Medea*) the sons of Iason and Medeia are killed by their mother to punish Iason, who has left her for another woman, and Medeios (or Medos) is the son of Medeia and Aigeus, a king of Athens (*Ap* 1.9.28). Medeios is one of several heroes raised and educated by the wise centaur Cheiron in his famous cave on Mount Pelion overlooking the bay of Iolkos (modern Volos). Phillyra is a daughter of Okeanos, according to a fragment from the lost epic *Gigantomachy* (the War with the Giants); Cheiron's father is Kronos, and the fact that Cheiron is half-horse, half-man is due to the fact that Kronos assumed the shape of a stallion to have sex with Phillyra (supposedly to escape the notice of his wife Rhea, or because Phillyra first changed herself into a mare).

As for the daughters of Nereus,^o old man of the sea,
the divine goddess Psamathe bore Phokos from the
love of Aiakos, thanks to golden Aphrodite; 1005
and the silver-shod goddess Thetis, tamed by Peleus,
bore Achilleus, the lion-spirited manslayer.^o

And well-crowned Kythereia bore Aineias, having
joined in dear love with the hero Anchises
on the peaks of windy Ida with many glens.^o 1010

And Kirke,^o daughter of the Hyperionid Helios,
in the love of patient-minded Odysseus bore
Agrios and Latinos, blameless and strong;
[and she bore Telegonos thanks to golden Aphrodite]
far away in a niche of holy islands 1015
they ruled over all the famous Tyrsenians.

The divine goddess Kalypso,^o joined to Odysseus
in dear love, bore Nausithoos and Nausinoos.

1003-1005 The Nereid Psamathe (260) has an affair with Aiakos, king of the island Aigina and husband of Endeis. Their son Phokos (see on 260) is killed by his better-known half-brothers Telamon (an ally and lover of Herakles) and Peleus, the future father of Achilleus (*Ap* 3.12.6, 2.6.4).

1006-1007 See *Ps* 97-98.

1008-1010 The affair of Aphrodite and the Trojan shepherd Anchises is told in the *Hh to Aphrodite*. Zeus, blaming Aphrodite for the compulsion felt by himself and other gods to have sexual relations with mortals, inflicts a similar passion on the goddess; disguising herself as a mortal woman, she appears to Anchises, who falls in love and takes her to bed; afterwards the goddess reveals herself, announces that she will bear him a son Aineias, and warns that Zeus will strike Anchises with lightning if he reveals her name. Ida is a mountain of Troy, not the famous Mount Ida of Crete (see on 481-484). Aineias is the famous hero of the foundation of Rome in the Roman poet Vergil's epic *Aeneid*.

1011-1016 Kirke (957), the enchantress who turns Odysseus' men into animals in *Odyssey* 10, is usually the mother (and Odysseus the father) of Telegonos; the weight of this tradition is probably the reason why 1014 was inserted at some unknown time. Agrios may be associated with Faunus, who is the father of Latinus in one branch of early Italian myth (West, *T* 434). Latinus is the legendary king of the Latins, whom Aineias meets upon arriving in Italy, and the Tyrsenians are the Etruscans, the earliest historical inhabitants of Italy north of Rome. Although the author of 1015 seems to have little idea of the whereabouts of these peoples (somewhere in a "niche of holy islands"), knowledge of Latins and Tyrsenians (Etruscans), living somewhere to the west, must have been available in Greece during the second half of the 6th century (West, *T* 436).

1017-1018 Atlas' daughter Kalypso (see on 359) is the nymph who keeps Odysseus in amiable servitude for seven years (*Odyssey* 7.244-263). She is childless in the *Odyssey*; of the two sons here given to her, Nausithoos is the name of the first king of the Phaiakians in the *Odyssey* (7.56-62). Since Odysseus comes directly from Ka-

These are the immortals who went to bed with^o
mortal men and bore children similar to gods.^o 1020
Now, sweet-voiced Olympian Muses, daughters of
Zeus Aigiochos, sing of the race of women]^o

lypso to the Phaiakians, where Nausithoos' son Alkinoos currently rules, the Phaiakian Nausithoos can hardly be the son of Odysseus and Kalypso; Homer, in fact, calls Nausithoos the son of Poseidon and Periboia. Nausinoos, which sounds also like a Phaiakian name (cf. Nausikaa), is otherwise unknown.

1019-1020 These two lines are virtually identical with 967-968, and mark the conclusion of the type of genealogies promised in the earlier passage.

1021-1022 These two lines repeat 965-966 with only one word changed-"women" for "goddesses." A new subject is being introduced, with the Muses' help, and it must be the *Catalogue of Women* (see on 886-929).